DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA
PRESENTATION VOLUME



Gaveṣakatilaka Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.Phil (Oxon.)



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Dr. C. KUNHAN RAJA PRESENTATION VOLUME

A
VOLUME OF INDOLOGICAL STUDIES

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PREFATORY NOTE

In August 1944 Dr. C. Kunhan Raja's friends, colleagues, and former students conceived the idea of presenting him with a Volume of Studies as a token of appreciation of his contribution to Oriental Studies during the last twenty-five years. To carry out the project of presenting this Volume, a Committee was constituted as follows:—

Capt. G. Srinivasa Murti, B.A., B.L., M.B. & C.M. Vaidyaratna, Director, Adyar Library (Chairman); Dr. N Venkataramanayya, M.A., Ph.D., University of Madras (Treasurer); Sri Manian Natesan and Sri H. G. Narahari, M.A., M.Litt. (Secretaries); Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D.; Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan, M.A., Ph.D.; Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A.; Sri A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, M.A., L.T.; Sri V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A.; Dr. T. R. Chintamani, M.A., Ph.D. (Members).

The Committee approached a large number of prominent people and scholars practically every one of whom responded and agreed to be a signatory to an appeal to be made to the public for co-operation in this undertaking; and over their signatures the following appeal was sent in October 1944:—

It is well known that Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.) of the Madras University has been devoting himself for the past twenty-five years to Research work in the field of Indology and has made noteworthy contributions in the form of books and learned papers to many branches of Oriental Studies, Vedas, Darśanas, Kāvyas etc. In particular, Sanskrit Manuscript Libraries have received his special attention. After graduating from the Madras University and taking a Doctorate from the Oxford University, he has been holding an important academic position as

Head of the Sanskrit Department of the Madras University. In this capacity he has been responsible for many lines of Research work like training of students, planning of study-courses, examination and cataloguing of Manuscripts, and publication of rare texts in Manuscripts and studies on several literary and philosophical Classics. He has been connected with the Adyar Library for nearly twenty years and, during this period, the literary activities of the Library have expanded considerably. The Library started a Bulletin eight years ago, and he has been its Editor, ever since its inception. Recently he has been mainly responsible for the reorganization of the Anup Sanskrit Library in Bikaner, and for starting and making good progress with the serial publications of that Library, in Sanskrit as well as in Rājasthāni and Hindi. He has presided over the Vedic and Classical Sanskrit sections of the All India Oriental Conference, and over the Indian Philosophy section of the Indian Philosophical Congress. Besides, he has contributed much to the study of Malayalam Literature and to the growth of original research in that language.

In recognition and in appreciation of the great services he has rendered to the cause of Oriental Learning, it is proposed to present him with a Volume of Studies in September 1945. Arrangements have been made to collect Research Papers for the Presentation Volume from important scholars in India and abroad.

We seek your co-operation in this endeavour which is estimated to cost *at least* Rs. 3,000, and request a liberal donation to the cause. Subscribers of Rs. 10 and above will get a free copy of the Presentation Volume. Donations may be kindly sent to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras, Triplicane P. O., Madras.

Dr. G. Srinivasa Murti; Dr. George S. Arundale; Srimati Rukmini Devi, Maharaja of Pithapuram, Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri; H. H. Ramavarma Pareekshit, Punnathur Goda Sankara Valia Raja; Justice C. A. Kunjunni Raja, M. Mukunda Raja; Sardar Major K. M. Panikkar, Mahakavi Vallathol; Dr. J. H. Cousins, H. C. Papworth; Srimati Sophia Wadia, Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan; K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar; Prof. M. Hiriyanna, Mysore, Mahamahopadhyaya Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, Harischandrapur, Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kane, Bombay; Prof. Radhakumud Mookerji, Lucknow, Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar, Madras; Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Madras, Prof. P. N. Srinivasachari, Madras; Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Ooty; Dr. C. Narayana Menon, Benares, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya; Dr. R. N. Sardesai, Poona, V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Madras, Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan, Madras; P. Anujan Achan, Trichur, G. J. Somayaji, Andhra University; A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, Adyar Library; Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, Calcutta; Dr. A. D. Pusalker, Bombay;

Dr. T R. Chintamani, Madras, N Gopala Pillai, Trivandrum; V A. Ramaswami Sastri, Trivandrum, Dr A. N. Narasimhiya, Mysore, Dr. K. Goda Varma, Trivandrum, K V. Subrahmanya Sastri, Madras, U Venkatakrishna Rao, Madras, V Gopala Iyengar, Trichinopoly, A Shanmukham Mudaliar, Madras, N Aiyaswami Sastri, Tirupati, P K Gode, Poona, Dr. S M Katre, Poona, Dr. R. G. Harshe, Poona, Dr R N. Dandekar, Poona, Dr V Raghavan, Madras, Mrs. Devaki Menon, Madras, Mrs. O T. Sharada Krishnan, Calicut, N A Gore, Poona, M Ramakrishna Bhat, Bangalore, K. Madhavakrishna Sarma, Bikaner, Manian Natesan; H G Narahari

Liberal contributions were sent by various friends all over India, and scholars sent in their literary contributions as well.

On account of war conditions, it was not possible to contact many scholars outside India in time to include their names among the signatories to the appeal. When the war terminated, it was possible to get into touch with the scholars in Europe and America. In spite of the short notice, some of them have very kindly contributed their papers for the Volume.

The Volume was planned to be published towards the close of 1945. But the difficulties in securing paper and in printing caused some delay. That now at least it is successfully accomplished is entirely due to the willing co-operation and generous help of all those connected with this work, particularly Capt. Dr. G. Srinivasa Murti, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Dr. V. Raghavan, Sri K. Kunjunni Raja, Dr. Olivier Lacombe, Mrs. F. J. W. Halsey, and Mrs. Narahari. The special thanks of the committee are due to Sri C. Subbarayudu, Superintendent of the Vasanta Press, who, despite the difficulties of the times, has produced a publication worthy of the reputation of his Press.

MANIAN NATESAN
H. G. NARAHARI
Hon. Secretaries
Dr C. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume Committee

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja belongs to the Chittanjore branch of the Thalappilli Royal Family of Malabar, which for a long time ruled over the northern half of the present Cochin State in Malabar and the portion of the Malabar District of the Madras Presidency lying to the west of this State. Following the traditions of the family, his early education consisted of the study of Sanskrit *Kāvyas*, with a rudimentary knowledge of grammar and *Alaṁkāra* and of *Āyurveda* and *Jyotiṣa*. This Hindu tradition is in accord with the Buddhist tradition practised in Nalanda where it is recorded that some knowledge of *Hetu Vidyā* (Logic), *S'abda Vidyā* (Grammar) and *Cikitsā Vidyā* (Medicine) formed compulsory subjects, as it were, for a student of that great University. It was only in his eleventh year that he joined the Government High School at Kunnamkulam, near his home, and began the study of English and modern subjects in January, 1906, starting with the Fourth Standard. Very soon he made up his studies for the previous classes and rose to the first position in his class and, at the end of the year, he was placed in the first rank both in the annual examination and in the class progress. He kept up this position for seven years until he passed the School Final Examination of 1913 in which he stood first in the whole of the Cochin State. He had taken up the Science Subjects as his optionals at this examination and also Sanskrit. He joined the Maharaja's College at Ernakulam for his Intermediate Course in Arts and Sciences of the Madras University and took up Arts Subjects as optionals, with Sanskrit among them. He passed the Intermediate Examination in 1915 in the First Class, and started

the Honours Course in Sanskrit under the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar in the Presidency College, Madras. In 1918, he passed the Honours Examination with high distinction, securing all the medals available for the Examination. During the five years of his University course, Paṇḍitarāja K. Rama Pisharoti and MM Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar, who taught him Sanskrit, held him in high esteem for his proficiency in the subject and they ever continued to entertain great regard for him. In 1920 he proceeded with a Scholarship from the Government of India for higher studies at Oxford where he worked on the Vedas under Prof. A. A. Macdonell. On the advice of his Professor and with the consent of the India Office, he spent a part of his time in Germany studying under Prof Bruno Liebich at Heidelberg and under Prof K. F. Geldner at Marburg in Hessen; at the latter University he was matriculated and he lived there as a regular student. He took his Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (D.Phil.) at Oxford in 1924 and returned to India soon afterwards. While he was in Europe, he came to know many of the Orientalists there. He collaborated with Prof. Rudolph Otto of Marburg in bringing out the second editions of his *Viṣṇunārāyaṇa* and his translation of the *S'rībhāṣya* (1st Sūtra). Dr. Max. Lindenau was in that University at the time. Prof. Sylvain Levi of Paris and Prof. Maurice Winternitz of Prague were his particular friends. He visited practically all the great Universities in Germany, Austria and Czecho-slovakia; he also visited Sorbonne.

After his return to India, he spent nearly a year at Santiniketan, where he met Prof. Carlo Formichi and Prof. Giuseppe Tucci. It was during his stay at Santiniketan that he made good progress in various languages like Greek, Latin and Avesta. He received considerable assistance in his linguistic equipment from Dr. Mark Collins at this time. He knows French and German well, and can command the latter language with considerable ease. He read a little of Italian also while at Santiniketan.

In April 1926, he came to Adyar and took charge of the Adyar Library, and continues to be associated with this Library. In August 1927, he was appointed Head of the Department of Sanskrit in the Madras University and he holds that position even now. He started his Research when he joined the Oxford University in 1920 and, during this period, extending a little over twentyfive years, he has made his mark among the Orientalists of the world. He has been intimately connected with many Universities and Academic Institutions, and has been responsible for organising Research-work in various institutions.

In the Madras University, he is mainly concerned with planning Research-work in his Department and in guiding his colleagues, in training students in methods of research and preparing them for Research Degrees, and in organising the publication activity of the Department. He is a member of the Boards of Studies in Sanskrit and in Oriental Languages, of the Academic Council and of the Faculties of Oriental Learning and of Arts. He has been the Chairman of the Board of Studies in Sanskrit for a few years now, and the President of the Faculty of Oriental Learning for six years; at present he is the President of the Faculty of Arts. Besides the Sanskrit Series of the Madras University, it was on his initiative and according to the plan prepared by him that the Annals of Oriental Research in the University of Madras was started; he was its first Editor. The Sanskrit Honours Course was completely remodelled through his efforts. Degree Courses were opened in the Faculty of Oriental Learning (B.O.L. Pass and Hons.); the Research Degree of M.O.L. was revised; holders of Degrees in the Faculty of Oriental Learning were given access to the Research Degrees of Master of Letters, Doctor of Philosophy and Doctor of Letters. In all these reforms introduced in the University in recent years, he has played a prominent part. He has been a member of the Senate of the Madras University, and also a member of various

commissions that inspected the Colleges for purposes of affiliation. He has also conducted a full inspection of all the Oriental Colleges in the University.

When the Madras University undertook the preparation of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, making the *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Th. Aufrecht up-to-date, Dr. Raja was included in the Editorial Board. Three years later, the work was transferred to the Sanskrit Department of the University and he became its editor, with Dr. V. Raghavan, who was Assistant to the Editorial Board and who by this time was appointed as his colleague in the Department, to help him in this work. In this connection he has had to visit various libraries and examine various catalogues and lists. He took the initiative in getting fresh lists prepared in various libraries where no list was available.

Besides doing his own researches and higher studies in the University and guiding the general researches of his Department, he had to supervise the research work of a large number of students. In this connection he had to be up-to-date in his knowledge in a very wide field, since the students selected all sorts of subjects according to their tastes and aptitudes. Muni-Traya in Vyākaraṇa, the Latter-day Schools of Pāṇiniyan interpretation in India, Accent, Itihāsas in Vedas and their evolution in later Sanskrit Literature, Studies in Udayana's Kusumāñjali, Sanskrit Dramatic Technique in Theory and Practice, Kālidāsa Concordance, Ātman in Pre-Upaniṣadic Vedic Literature, Comparative Study of the Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara Schools, Kerala Contribution to Sanskrit Literature—these are some of the subjects selected by students, and in all cases he personally gave them all guidance and controlled their researches.

He has also delivered various courses of University Lectures during his tenure of office in the University. He has delivered four courses of lectures on the various aspects of Kālidāsa—Studies in Śākuntala, Plot and Characterization in Kālidāsa's Dramas, Princes and Peasants in Kālidāsa's

Works, Date and works of Kālidāsa; his other lectures of a literary nature cover dramas like the Mrcchakaṭika, Mudrārākṣasa and the Veṇīsaṁhāra. He delivered a course of lectures on Bhāsa. Manuscript-collection in India, Drink in Ancient India, Relation of Avesta and Ṛgveda, Vṛtra-Vala in Ṛgveda, Maheśvara-Sūtras in Pāṇini—these are some of the subjects on which he has delivered courses of general lectures under the auspices of the Madras University. Here one can have an idea of the range of his interest and the width of his knowledge

He has been connected with the other Universities in India in various capacities. He has been a member of the Board of Studies in Sanskrit and Board of Examiners (as Chairman when the rules of the Universities did not restrict the position to a member of that particular University) in the Andhra, Annamalai, Mysore and Travancore Universities. He has also been examiner for written examinations and for adjudicating Research Theses in the Universities of Bombay, Punjab and Dacca and the Benares Hindu University. He has conducted the Examinations of the Federal Public Services Commission of India, and of the Civil Service Commissions of Mysore and of Ceylon. He is a member of the Advisory Committee of the Oriental Manuscripts Library of the University of Travancore and of the Oriental Research Institute at Tirupati.

He has been an active member of the All-India Oriental Conference and has been attending its sessions from 1928 at Lahore, ever since he settled down in Madras as a teacher in the Madras University. He presided over the Classical Sanskrit Section of the Conference at its session held at Tirupati in March 1940, and over the Vedic section at its session held in the Benares Hindu University in Dec. 1943—Jan 1944. He was made a member of its Executive Committee at its session held at Trivandrum in 1937. He is also a very active member of the Indian Philosophical Congress. He presided over the Indian Philosophy Section of the

Congress when it met at Nagpur in 1936, and he was the Joint Secretary when the session was held in the Headquarters of the Theosophical Society, Adyar, in December 1940. He has been a member of the Congress continuously for many years now, attending the sessions and participating in the proceedings quite often.

He has been a member of various academic bodies like the Sanskrit Academy, Madras, and was once its Secretary and also its Vice-President. When the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute was started in Madras, he became a life-member and is now on its Research Committee. He has been actively supporting the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, founded by his Professor, the late MM. Kuppuswami Sastriyar, by frequently contributing articles to it. He is a member of the P. E. N. Club of India, of the Appan Tampurān Sāhitya Samāja, Trichur, Akhila-Kerala-Sāhitya-Pariṣad, Ernakulam, and the Madras Kerala Samāja, and has made very notable contribution to their literary activities.

Along with his work in the University of Madras, his great contribution to Oriental Research has centred round the Adyar Library. He first came to Adyar in April 1926 and took charge of the affairs of the Library, working under the general direction of the late P. K. Telang who was the Director at that time. Later he became Director himself; his designation underwent some changes and, for a short time, he has had no special designation at all. But his work in the Library has been unbroken all these years. During this period, the accommodation for books in the Library was enlarged by erecting steel shelves; the classified catalogue of the manuscripts in the Library was published in 1926 in two volumes; a complete alphabetical list, made up-to-date, was published in 1945; plans for the preparation of a complete Descriptive Catalogue were made ready, and in 1942 the first volume, containing the Vedic manuscripts, was published; the subsequent volumes are making good progress. The Adyar Series has made great strides; Dr. Raja himself has contributed many volumes

and has supervised the issues of others, contributing Introductions to them ; the Brahmavidyā (the Adyar Library Bulletin) was started and it is going through its tenth year, the research-staff was considerably strengthened in the Library.

Another noted achievement of Dr. Raja is the organising of the manuscripts in the Fort at Bikaner into an up-to-date library, preparing its catalogue and starting two serial publications. The collection containing over ten thousand volumes has been classified and arranged and a classified catalogue is being published, the first part has already appeared; The Ganga Oriental Series for Sanskrit and the Sadul Oriental Series for Hindi and Rajasthani have been started; and a few volumes have already been issued in both the series; a Rajasthani research institute called the Sadul Rajasthani Research Institute was founded and His Highness the Mahārāja inaugurated it personally in 1944. All these things have been accomplished through his initiative and his enthusiasm.

On the suggestion of Dr. Raja, the Alwar State has made arrangements for preparing a new, complete catalogue of the manuscripts in the State. He examined recently the rich collection of manuscripts in the Jaipur State and has already submitted a scheme for preparing a catalogue. Now the State has sanctioned the preparation of a complete list of this rich collection, hitherto quite unknown to scholars, and he is now engaged in doing the work himself.

Dr. Raja has distinguished himself in the field of Malayalam Literature. Even from his early days he had occasion to be active in that literature. His elder brother was the editor of a literary journal, and he was in close touch with all literary movements in the country; as such he came into close touch with literary journalism in Malabar even when he was a student in the High School, since he helped his brother in his journalistic activities. Dr. Raja also knew all the great poets and literary men of the age even in his boyhood. He has in recent times made many new

discoveries in the language and literature, and is a prominent writer in the language on a variety of subjects of a literary and historical character, bearing on Sanskrit, Malayalam Language and Literature, works and authors and their dates in Malayalam, History of Malabar, Grammar of Malayalam etc His literary style in Malayalam too is well appreciated among the Malayalees. He has discovered some poetic specimens of the earliest periods of Malayalam Literature. Various literary activities in Malayalam owe their origin to Dr. Raja's originality and resourceful mind Celebrating the anniversaries of literary men like Venmani of the last century and Valia Koil Tampurān who died in the beginning of this century, was one of the ways which he suggested to create an interest in the mind of the general public in literary matters; and such celebrations were conducted in a notable way. There are various other ways in which he has pointed out how literature can be made more popular and has also given active encouragement for putting his suggestions into practice.

In December, 1945, His Highness the Mahārāja of Cochin conferred on him in recognition of his services to scholarship the title of *Gaveṣakatilaka* on the occasion of His Highness's eightieth birthday. He is well-known in all academic circles both in and outside India, and the place he holds among people in high position can be estimated by the names of those who have participlated in the present undertaking.

In all the places where he has gone and where he has worked, he has produced a great impression upon others through his earnest devotion to study and scholarship. When he was in Santiniketan, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Rev. C. F. Andrews, Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya and Kshiti Mohan Sen had high regard for him, and Tagore remembered him always till his last day. In Adyar, the successive Presidents of the Theosophical Society have in their official statements recorded their great appreciation of his devoted work in the Library, and all of them have held him in high esteem. In Bikaner also, both His Highness the

Mahārāja and his Prime Minister Sardar K. M. Panikkar, who is a great scholar and author, treat him with great respect and seek his advice in all matters connected with the activities of the Library.

Dr. Raja has devoted his whole life to his literary work. Perhaps few scholars have personally dealt with so many manuscripts and manuscript libraries in recent times as he has done. There are many discoveries of new manuscripts and new identifications of many works and authors to his credit. He is equally at home in the various branches of Sanskrit: the literature, grammar and Alaṅkāra, the various Darśanas, Purāṇas and Dharma Śāstras and the Vedas. Recently he took up the study of the Saṅgīta Śāstra, and has translated into English *Saṅgītaratnākara*, of which the first volume has already been published. He has supervised the edition of the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Rāgavibodha* in the Adyar Library Series, and is editing the *Saṅgītarāja* of Mahārāṇā Kumbha of Mewar in the series published from Bikaner. He is well acquainted with Prakṛt and Pāli also.

Dr. Raja is a very resourceful person, he is full of new and original ideas, and has ever his plans ready for carrying them out. He has given out many of his ideas in the editorial columns of the Brahmavidyā; some of them are yet to be taken up for being put into practice. The importance of the study of ancient Indian literatures and culture for the regeneration of India, a higher position for Indian literatures in the educational schemes of India, raising the status of teachers of Indian languages in schools and colleges, a better international good will, amity and fraternity through mutual understanding and appreciation of their ancient cultures and traditions, the establishment of Sanskrit Universities in India—these have been some of his pet dreams, and he has always worked for such great causes. To him scholarship is not a mere profession; it is a great mission in life, and has a noble purpose in view.

G. Srinivasa Murti

APPENDIX

The following is a list of his publications (books and papers) as far as they could be ascertained:

BOOKS PUBLISHED

I *The University of Madras Sanskrit Series*

1. Rgvedānukramaṇī (Veda)
2. Rgvedabhāṣya of Skandasvāmin (Veda)
3. Vāraruc̣aniruktasamuccaya (Veda)
4. Prakriyāsarvasva of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, Taddhita (Grammar).
5. S'lokavārtikavyākhyā of Jayamis'ra (Mīmāṁsā)
6. S'lokavārtikavyākhyā or Umveka (Mīmāṁsā), second half was seen through the Press by him as mentioned in the Introduction.

Total 6

II. *Adyar Library Series*

1. Ṛgvedavyākhyā of Mādhava, Vol. I (Veda)
2. Do. Do. Vol. II half finished (Veda).
3. Sāmaveda with two commentaries (Veda).
4. Uṣāniruddha, in collaboration with Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri (Prakrit poem).
5. Prākṛtaprakās'a of Vararuci with the Commentary of Rāmapāṇivāda (Prakrit Grammar) in collaboration with K. Ramachandra Sarma.
6. A Sanskrit letter of Dara Shukoh, printed in the Adyar Library Bulletin and issued separately later as a pamphlet.
7. Saṅgītaratnākara of S'ārṅgadeva, English translation, Vol. 1, Ch. i. with detailed notes (music).
8. Do. Do. Vol II (being published).

Besides the above, the following books in the Adyar Library Series were published under his direct supervision.

9. Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts, Vol. I.
10. Do. Do. Do. Vol. II.
11. Saṁnyāsopaniṣad (Upaniṣad).
12. Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa (Poem).
13. Unpublished Minor Upaniṣads (Upaniṣads).
14. Major Upaniṣads, Vol. I (Upaniṣads)
15. Major Upaniṣads, Vol. II (Upaniṣads).
16. Descriptive Catalogue, Vol. I. Vedas.
17. Do. Do. Vol. V. Grammar (In the Press).
18. Do Do. Vol. IV, Poetry. (Ready for the Press).
19. Alphabetical index of Sanskrit manuscripts.

Total 25

III. *Theosophical Publishing House*

1. Brahmasūtrabhāṣya of S'aṅkara with Bhāmatī, Catussūtrī. English translation with Introduction and Notes, in collaboration with the late S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri (Vedānta).

2 Mānameyodaya (Mīmāṁsā). English translation with Introduction, Notes and indices, in collaboration with the late S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri

Total 27

IV. *Bikaner (Ganga Oriental Series)*

1. Anūpasiṁhaguṇāvatāra (poem)
2. Jagadvijayacchandas (poem).
3 Saṅgītarāja (music), Vol I
4. Catalogue of Manuscripts, in collaboration with K. Madhavakrishna Sarma.

Total 31

V. *Poona Oriental Series*

Mayūrasandeśa with the editor's own Sanskrit commentary, Introduction and Notes

Total 32

Besides the above, he has the following works ready or under preparation:

Anūparatnāvali by Mahārāja Anup Singh of Bikaner for the Ganga Oriental Series (Bikaner)

Nyāyakusumāñjali of Udayana with the Bodhini of Varadarāja for the Adyar Library Series.

Remaining volumes of the edition of Saṅgītarāja of Mahārāṇa Kumba for the Bikaner (Ganga Oriental) Series.

Remaining volumes of the English translation of the Saṅgītaratnākara for the Adyar Library Series.

Publication of his Papers and his University Lectures in Book form is also arranged.

PAPERS

I. *Annals of Oriental Research, Madras University*

1 Some peculiarities in Sanskrit pronunciation in Malabar.
2. Śākuntalacarcā (published serially).
3. Nirukta and Mādhava's Anukramaṇīs.
4. Sarvānukramaṇīpadyavivṛtti.
5. Niruktavārtika.
6. Poetic beauty.
7. Some Passages of Doubtful Authenticity in Kālidāsa.
8. *Raghuvaṁśa and Kumārasambhava.*
9 The Bharatavākya in Mālavikāgnimitra.
10. Allusions to Agnimitra in the works of Kālidāsa.
11. Titles of works of Kālidāsa.

Total 11

II. *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras*

1. Svāhā, Svadhā, Svasti.
2. Some unexplained Prakrit passages in the Cārudatta and their bearing on the Bhāsa Problem.

3. Mádhava, an unknown Bhāṣyakāra for the Ṛgveda.
4. Sūktaśloka.
5. Taittirīyānukramaṇī of Yāska.
6. Time Analysis in the S'ākuntala.
7. Chronology of the Vedabhāṣyakāras.
8. Viṇāvāsavadatta, Acts I to III (later issued in book form).
9. Do. Act IV
10. Payyūr Bhaṭṭas.

Total 21.

III. *Prācyavāṇī*

1. The four sons of Das'aratha.
2. Two interesting Music Works

Total 23

IV. *Poona Orientalist*

1. Kaumudī
2. Pūrṇasarasvatī.

Total 25

V. *New Indian Antiquary*

1. Pras'namālā.

Total 26

VI. *Indian Historical Quarterly*

1. Historical background of Kālidāsa's works.
2. S'ivavilāsa, a semi-historical poem.

Total 28

VII. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*

1. Dharmāmbhodhi.

Total 29

VIII. *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*

1. Kālidāsa and Astronomy.

Total 30

IX. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*

1. Education in Vedic India.
2. Some supernatural experiences.

Total 32

X. *Indian Review*

1. Freedom of the Individual in Vedic civilization.
2. Triumph of Defeat.

Total 34

XI. *Adyar Library Bulletin*

1. How the Adyar Library was founded.

2. Vāraṛucaniruktasamuccaya
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7. Time Analysis in the Śākuntala (later revised and published in the Annals of Oriental Research, Madras).
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1. I-tsing and Bhartṛhari (S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar).
2. Authors of the Ṛgveda (K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar).
3. A note on Śākapūṇi (S. Kuppuswami Sastriar).
4. Sanskrit studies in Madras (Madras ter-centenary).
5. Seats of learning and their patrons in ancient India (Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiyar).
6. Śrī Rāma and Raghuvaṁśa (P. V. Kane).
7. Hero in Mālavikāgnimitra (Bhandarkar Or. Res. Institute Silver Jubilee)
8. Sandeśakāvyas and Malabar Geography (B. C. Law).
9. Political Allegory in Kumārasambhava (Radhakumud Mukerji).
10. Daśaratha in Raghuvaṁśa (A. B. Dhruva).
11. Private Libraries in ancient India (Iyyanki Venkataramanaiya)
12. Philosophy of life in Śākuntala (M. Hiriyanna).
13. Realism in Śaṅkara (Madura Advaita Sabha Jubilee).
14. Vedic Culture (Cultural heritage of India, Ramakrishna Centenary).

15. Contemporary Malayalam Literature (A symposium on contemporary Indian Literatures).
16. Malayalam Literature (Encyclopaedia of world literature).
17. Nāgānanda (stories from Sanskrit Drama, G A. Natesan and Co, Madras).

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XXIV *Critical Introductions*

Besides the works published directly by him, in various works he has added a critical Introduction as per list below.

1. Bṛhatī (Madras University).
2. S'lokavārtikavyākhyā of Umveka (Madras University)
3. Nayaviveka (Madras University)
4. Sphotasiddhi (Madras University).
5. Bhagavadgītā (Adyar Library).
6. Sangītaratnākara (Adyar Library).
7. Vādāvali, also an index (Adyar Library).
8. Rāgavibodha (Adyar Library).
9. Ātman in pre-Upaniṣadic Vedic Literature (Adyar Library)
10. Akabaras'āhi S'ṛṅgāradarpaṇa (Bikaner).
11. Mudrārākṣasakathā (Bikaner).
12. Gītmañjari, Rajasthani (Bikaner)

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Besides the above, Dr. Raja has contributed a large number of Papers in Malayalam to many high class Malayalam journals, relating to Sanskrit Literature, Malayalam Literature, History of Malayalam Language and Literature, History of Malabar and many other subjects of academic interest. The total number of such Papers may be about a hundred But no list has been available. They are mostly in the Māthrubhūmi Weekly, Maṅgalodayam, Quarterly Journal of the Pan-Kerala Literary Academy, Kairali, Keralopahāram (of the Madras Kerala Samāja) and many special numbers of other journals and Associations

Dr. Raja has written detailed and critical reviews of many books in the Adyar Library Bulletin, Aryan Path, Indian P. E. N., "The Hindu," "The Indian Express" etc. He has also contributed many notes in the Adyar Library Bulletin and in the Indian P. E. N. on literary and cultural matters. He had also contributed some articles to the "New India," many years ago. They are on a variety of subjects of cultural and scholarly interest. There are many other writings of his of an earlier date of which it is not possible to get a list. He has also delivered a large number of lectures before students and before educated audience and in all of them he has been emphasising the need to pay more attention to the understanding of ancient Indian culture as a vital factor in our national life. Brief notices of many of them are available in newspapers.

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S'AṀKARA AND SURES'VARA

BY

PROF. M. HIRIYANNA

THE controversy, carried on in recent years, about 'Maṇḍana and Sures'vara' relates only to the identity of the two thinkers. It does not question the correctness of the other main portion of the tradition, *viz.*, that Sures'vara was once a staunch Mīmāṁsaka, upholding the supremacy of *karma*, and that he became a Vedāntin afterwards under the influence of S'aṁkara. There is enough evidence to support it, for example, in his *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*.[1] Whenever Sures'vara speaks of S'aṁkara, he does so with deep reverence,[2] as may be expected from one who felt that he owed his spiritual enlightenment entirely to him.[3] He has given a practical proof of his loyal adherence to the teaching of S'aṁkara by commenting on more than one of his works, his metrical commentary of the *Bṛhadvārttika*, which in extent approximates to half the *Rāmāyaṇa*, being one of the most important treatises on the Advaita doctrine. But such adherence to the teaching of S'aṁkara does not mean that he subscribes to every detail of it. There are, at least, two important points in which he expressly differs from his teacher; and the object of the present note is to draw attention to them. Both of them occur in the *Vārttika* just referred to.

[1] See the present writer's Introduction to the work, p. xxxii (Bombay Sanskrit Series).

[2] गुरूक्तो वेदराद्धान्तः तत्र नो वचनशक्तितः ।
सहस्रकिरणव्याप्ते खद्योतः किं करिष्यति ॥ (*Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*, i. 4).

[3] *Ibid.*, iv. 77.

(1) The fifth Brāhmaṇa of the first chapter of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad dwells, at some length, on a rite known as *sampratti* (Passages 17 ff.). The term literally means 'handing over;' and the rite is so called because it signifies the transfer by a father to his son of all his duties and responsibilities such as the study of the Veda, offering oblations to the gods, honouring guests and so forth. This rite, according to S'aṁkara, is to be performed when a householder feels that he is soon to depart this life, so that the son may thereafter continue to fulfil the spiritual as well as the secular functions of the family.[1] But Sures'vara takes quite a different view of the occasion for the performance of the rite. He is of the opinion that it is meant to be performed by one who, having been a householder, decides to become a *saṁnyāsin* (st. 263-73).[2] He maintains this view, first, by pointing out that it would avoid the rather out-of-the-way interpretation put by S'aṁkara on the word *praiṣyan* which is used in the Upaniṣadic passage in question (st. 288) and, secondly, by reference to the authority of the Kaṭha Saṁhitā which definitely connects the rite with the assumption of *saṁnyāsa* (st. 264). But he adds that, though there is disagreement in this respect between him and S'aṁkara, they are at one in so far as the general purport of the passage is concerned, *viz.*, that the son should carry on the duties of his father—no matter whether as a consequence of his death or of his renouncing the world (st. 278).

(2) The other point of divergence concerns eligibility for *saṁnyāsa*. On the strength of the word *brāhmaṇa* used in III. v. of the same Upaniṣad,[3] S'aṁkara states that Brahmins alone are entitled to formally assume *saṁnyāsa*; and he reiterates that opinion under IV. v. 15. But Sures'vara

[1] S'aṁkara expresses the same view in his com. on the Aitareya Upaniṣad, IV.

[2] The figures within brackets refer to the number of the stanzas in the corresponding portions of the *Vārttika*.

[3] एतं वै तमात्मानं विदित्वा ब्राह्मणाः पुत्रैषणायाश्च वित्तैषणायाश्च लोकैषणायाश्च व्युत्थायाथ भिक्षाचर्यं चरन्ति ॥

takes the view that all the three higher castes are equally eligible for it (st. 88 ff.). We may add that this question is discussed in the third chapter of the *Siddhāntales'asaṁgraha* of Appayya Dīkṣita, and an attempt is made there to reconcile the different views.[1]

There are three other points of a similar kind, but they relate to the interpretation of certain words of the Upaniṣad. One of them occurs in connection with the fifth section of the third chapter of the Upaniṣad already mentioned. S'aṁkara inclines to the view that this section contains a passage[2] which explicitly enjoins renunciation. Sures'vara, on the other hand, explains that passage as but an *arthavāda*—that is, as glorifying Brahma-knowledge by pointing out that the wise give up everything for the sake of attaining it. Since, however, Sures'vara also recognises that renunciation is scripturally enjoined (though not here), this divergence has no doctrinal significance (st. 165-6). The other two points have such significance. They are:

(3) The word *manuṣya* occurring in I. iv. 9 of the Upaniṣad[3] is taken by S'aṁkara as suggesting the special fitness of men, as distinguished from the gods, to study the Vedānta.[4] But Sures'vara prefers to exclude such a suggestion in order to make the interpretion accord better with what is stated in the next passage:[5] 'Whoever among the gods awoke to this, he indeed became it; so in the case of seers; and so too in the case of men'. (st. 1085-6 and 1436-7).

(4) In explaining I. v. 16 of the Upaniṣad,[6] S'aṁkara understands the particle *eva*, which occurs only once, after

[1] Cf. st. 1651 on p. 785 of the *Vārttika*. For another way of reconciling the views, see *Vārttikasāra* of Vidyāraṇya (Chowkhamba Series), p. 698.

[2] This passage is the same as the one quoted in Note 6 above.

[3] तदाहुः यद्ब्रह्मविद्यया सर्वं भविष्यन्तो मनुष्या मन्यन्ते, किमु तद्ब्रह्मावेद्यस्मात्तत्सर्वमभवत ॥

[4] Cf. Vedānta Sūtra, I. iii. 25.

[5] तद्यो यो देवानां प्रत्यबुध्यत स एव तदभवत्, तथर्षीणाम्, तथा मनुष्याणाम् ॥

[6] The relevant portion of the passage is: सोऽयं मनुष्यलोकः पुत्रेणैव जय्यो नान्येन कर्मणा, कर्मणा पितृलोकः, विद्यया देवलोकः ॥

karmaṇā and *vidyayā* also so that, according to him, they, like *puttra* in the case of 'the world of men', are respectively the *sole* means to the acquisition of the 'world of the fathers' and the 'world of the gods'. Sureśvara, however, sees no reason for thus understanding the particle where the scripture does not use it, especially because means other than *karma* and *vidyā* are found mentioned in authoritative texts for attaining the worlds in question (st. 279-81). These means, according to Ānandajñāna's *Ṭīkā* on the *Vārttika*, are such as are alluded to in the Vedānta Sūtra, IV. iv. 8.

It is possible to adduce facts which seem to support the interpretations of Śaṁkara as against those of Sureśvara, at least, in some of the above cases. Thus, as regards (4), we may say that Śaṁkara is thinking only of the *three* means explicitly mentioned in the text, and that the exclusion implied by *eva* is to be understood with reference to them. But our object here has been merely to indicate the differences of view, and not to try, to find out which of them is more justifiable.

VEDIC MANTRAS AND LEGENDS IN THE PURĀNAS

By

MM. P. V. Kane

It is stated that Vyāsa composed the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* for the benefit of women, śūdras and *dvijas* (that were so only by birth) who could not or did not study the Veda. The rites, ceremonies, usages and religious views on which most of the Purānas lay emphasis are often different from the Vedic tradition. But it should not be supposed that the Purāṇas ignore the Vedic heritage. On the contrary the Purāṇas try hard to build on the foundations of the Vedic tradition. It is proposed in this paper to illustrate this briefly from a few passages of the Brahmapurāna, which heads the lists of Purāṇas at least from the 11th century A.D., if not earlier. When Yājñavalkya I. 3 enumerates the *vidyāsthānas* commencing with 'Purāṇa', the Mitākṣara explains 'Purāna' as 'Brāhmādi.' In the lists of Purāṇas contained in many Purāṇas, the Brahmapurāṇa is placed at the head, while the Vāyu (104. 3) enumerates the Matsya as the first.[1]

The Brahmapurāṇa quotes in several places Vedic verses and texts (without accents) and also makes use of Vedic legends for the glorification of certain holy places described by it. This shows that, though the Veda could not be studied by the śūdras and women in the orthodox manner from a teacher, the authors of the Purāṇas had no objection to women and śūdras listening to Vedic Mantras when they were embodied in the narratives of the Purāṇas. A few striking

Vide भागवत, I. 4. 25.

स्त्रीशूद्रद्विजबन्धूनां त्रयी न श्रुतिगोचरा ।
इति भारतमाख्यानं कृपया मुनिना कृतम् ॥

examples will be given here. The references are to the Ānandāśrama edition of the Brahmapurāṇa.

I. Passages where Vedic Mantras and texts are quoted *verbatim* :

(*a*) Brahma 140. 22-23 state that Ātreya praised Indra with the hymn beginning with 'yo jāta eva prathamo' (the whole verse being set out). This is Ṛgveda II 12. 1.

(*b*) Brahma 174. 14-17 are the same as Ṛgveda IX. 114. 3, 4 2 and IX 112. 3.

(*c*) While narrating the story of Soma carrying away the wife of Bṛhaspati, Brahma 152. 34 repeats Ṛgveda X. 109. 6.

(*d*) Brahma 233. 62 states that there is a text of the Atharvans 'dve vidye veditavye.' This is Muṇḍakopaniṣad I. 1. 4.

(*e*) In several places the Brahma quotes brief śruti texts such as 'ardho jāyā' (compare Brahma 129. 62 and 161. 35 with Tai. S. VI. 1 8. 5, S'at Br. V. 2. 1. 10 'ardho ha va eṣa ātmano yaj jāyā), 'Iṣe tvā' (in Brahma 170. 64 with Tai. S. I. 1. 1. 1); 'Yajño vai Viṣṇuḥ' (Brahma 161. 15).

II. In some passages the Brahmapurāṇa, though not actually quoting the very words of the Veda, gives a very close paraphrase of Vedic texts :

(*f*) Brahma 151. 4 and 12 in the story of Purūravas and Urvaśī are couched almost in the same words as Ṛgveda X. 95. 16 and 15. *Vide* S'at. Br. XI. 5. 1 for the story.

(*g*) Brahma 158. 27 says 'S'ambhu is one alone without a second, wise men speak of him under different names such as those of Indra, Mitra and Agni for the benefit of those who are ignorant (deluded).' This is close to Ṛgveda I. 164. 46 (indraṁ mitraṁ varuṇam agnimāhur . . . . . ekam sad viprā bahudhā vadanti).

(*h*) Brahma 161. 35-37 and 44-48 are almost in the same words as some verses of the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛgveda X. 90. 6-7 and 12-15).

(*i*) In describing the wretched condition of a gambler and his wife, Brahma 171. 32-33 employs almost the very words of Ṛgveda X. 34. 10-11.

III. In some cases the Brahmapurāṇa presses into service famous Vedic legends for the glorification of certain tīrthas.

(*j*) In praising the tīrthas named Hariścandra, S'unaḥśepa, Viśvāmitra and Rohita on the southern bank of the

river Gautamī (Godāvarī), the Brahmapurāṇa (chap 104) narrates at length the story of S'unahs'epa and closely follows the story given in the Aitareya Brahmana (chap. 33) sometimes employing the very words of the Brāhmana text [1]

(*k*) In glorifying Indratīrtha on the Gautamī, Brahmapurāna (chap 96) narrates the story how the sin of Brāhmaṇa-murder in killing Vṛtra pursued Indra, like a *kṛtyā* (a goblin). The Taittirīya Saṁhitā (II. 5. 1) narrates how Indra incurred the sin of *brahmahatyā* by killing Vis'varūpa, and how he distributed it among the three *viz.* the earth, plants and women, and elsewhere (V. 3. 12. 1) it states how Indra became free from that sin by performing As'vamedha.

(*l*) Brahmapurāna (chap. 102) in eulogizing a tīrtha called Mṛgavyādha narrates how Brahmā (or Prajāpati) cast a libidinous eye on his own daughter who became a female deer, how Brahmā became a male deer and was pursued by S'ambhu as a hunter. The Aitareya Brahmana (13. 9) and S'at Br. (I. 7. 4) narrate this story and both state that 'the daughter' intended is 'heaven', according to some, and 'dawn' according to others.

(*m*) Brahmapurāna (chap. 105) glorifies Soma-tīrtha by narrating how *Vāk* (goddess of speech) went to the Gandharvas who were fond of women in order to purchase soma for the gods from the Gandharvas. This story is narrated in the Tait. S. VI. 1. 6 and Ait. Br. (5. 1) [2].

(*n*) In eulogizing the Pippales'varatīrtha, the Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 110) narrates the story of Pippalāda, son of Vadavā Prātitheyī and the sage Dadhīca from whose

[1] For example, compare:

नापुत्रस्य परो लोको विद्यते नृपसत्तम । ब्रह्म. 104-7.

with ऐ. ब्रा. 'नापुत्रस्य लोकोऽस्तीति तत्सर्वे पशवो विदुः'

'किं नु मूलं किमु जलं किं नु श्मश्रूणि किं तप. ।' ब्रह्म. 104-10. [The printed text is corrupt]

with ऐ. ब्रा. (33.) 'किं नु मलं किमु जलं किमु श्मश्रूणि किं तपः

[2] ब्रह्मपुराण 105-4. says 'तत्र वाग्विबुधानाह गन्धर्वाः स्त्रीषु कामुकाः'

the ऐ. ब्रा. (5-1) says:

सोमो वै राजा गन्धर्वेष्वासीत्तं देवाश्च ऋषयश्चाभ्यध्यायन् कथमयमस्मान् सोमो राजा-गच्छेदिति । सा वागब्रवीत् स्त्रीकामा वै गन्धर्वा मयैव स्त्रिया भूतया पणध्वमिति ।

bones the gods manufactured their weapons. This legend is as old as the Rgveda I. 84. 13.[1]

(o) Brahmapurana 119-120 refers to the story that plants (*osadhis*) obtained King Soma as their husband. Some of the verses therein are very similar to Rgveda X. 97.[2]

(p) In speaking about Pururatirtha, the Brahmapurāṇa (124. 33-36) refers to the story of Namuci whom Indra killed with the foam of waters. Rgveda VI. 20. 6 and VIII. 14. 13 state that Indra shattered the head of Namuci with foam and the Tait. Br. I. 7. 1, 6-8 also narrates the legend at some length[3]

(r) In chap. 131 the Brahmapurāṇa narrates how Saramā, bitch of the gods, who was to guard the cows, was won over by the rākṣasas and, when the cows were carried away by the rākṣasas, she reported the event to Indra, who, suspecting her treachery, struck her with his foot with the result that she vomited the milk which she had shared with the Asuras. In Ṛgveda X. 108 we have the dialogue of Saramā and the Paṇis. In that hymn (verse 9) the Paṇis try to win her over offering to adopt her as their sister, but she spurns the offer (verse 10).

(s) In chap. 144 the Brahmapurāṇa derives the name 'Angiras', applied to an ancient sage, from 'angāra' (red-hot charcoal). The same derivation is given in the Ait. Br. (13. 10).[4]

[1] इन्द्रो दधीचो अस्थभिर्वृत्राण्यप्रतिष्कुतः ।
जघान नवतीर्नव ॥ ऋ. 1. 84 13.

[2] Compare ब्रह्म 120 6. ओषध्यः सोमराजन्याः सोमश्चाप्योषधीपतिः with Ṛgveda X. 97. 18 या ओषधीः सोमराज्ञीर्बह्वीः शतविचक्षणाः ।

ब्रह्म. 120-9.

ओषधयः संवदन्ते सोमेन सह राज्ञा ।
योऽस्मान् कृणोति विप्रेभ्यस्तं राजन् पारयामसि ॥

with Ṛgveda X. 97. 22.

ओषधयः सं वदन्ते सोमेन सह राज्ञा ।
यस्मै कृणोति ब्राह्मणस्तं राजन् पारयामसि ॥

[3] अपां फेनेन नमुचेः शिर इन्द्रोदवर्तयः ।
विश्वा यदजयः स्पृधः ॥ ऋ. VIII. 14. 13.

स वज्रपाणिस्तरसा फेनेनैवाहनद्रिपुम् ।
नमुचिर्नाशमगमत् तस्य भ्राता मयोऽम्बुजः ॥ ब्रह्म. 124-36.

[4] अग्नेरङ्गिरसो जातो ह्यङ्गारैरङ्गिरा यतः । ब्रह्म. 144-5.
येऽङ्गारा आसन् तेऽङ्गिरसोऽभवन् । ऐ. ब्रा. 13-10.

SOME LIGHT THAT EPIGRAPHY SHEDS UPON THE SOCIAL LIFE OF ANCIENT INDIA

By

Dr. D R Bhandarkar

I

There was a time when they thought lightly of Indian Epigraphy. They thought that it might be useful in the sphere of political history and that also in a disconnected manner. Things, however, have changed by now, and people, nay, even scholars, are dazzled by the flood of light that Epigraphy throws on the S'rauta-Sūtra and Smṛti-S'āstra. Inscriptions not only corroborate but also correct S'rauta-Sūtras. To take an instance of the latter type, the Baudhāyana S'rauta-Sūtra says *Kṣatriyāṇām tryārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati Mānav-Aiḍa—Paurūravas-eti hotā Purūravovad—Iḍāvad-Manuvad ity adhvaryuḥ.*" (*Pravarapraśna*, 52). It is plain from this that only one Ārṣa-gotra had been assigned to the Kṣatriyas—not to one section but to the whole group, *viz.* Manu.. Perhaps the Āpastamba S'rauta Sūtra knows better, when it says: *Atha yeṣām-(=Kṣatriyāṇām)-u ha mantra-kṛto na syuḥ sa-purohita-pravarās te pravṛṇīran* (XXIV. 10. 12-13). This clearly shows that the Kṣatriyas had more than one Ārṣa-gotra together with Pravaras connected with it. But this was doubted by many scholars, ancient and modern, As a matter of fact, however, even as late as the commencement of the 12th century A.D., we find one holy Kṣatriya mentioned with his Ārṣa-gotra and

Pravaras. We have no less than six copper-plate inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavāla prince Jayacandradeva of Kanauj, with dates ranging between V E. 1233 36 and recording grants to one and the same grantee, *viz.*, the *Rauta* Rājyadharavarman, son of *Maha-mahattaka*, the Ṭhakkura Vidyādhara, and son's son of the *Maha-mahattaka*, the Ṭhakkura Jagaddhara, a Kṣatriya.[1] As the words *Mahattaka*, *Rauta* and *Ṭhakkura* are mentioned side by side with *Kṣatriya*, it is quite clear that Rājyadharavarman is to be taken as a member of the Kṣatriya caste If any doubt still remains, it is set at rest by a passage from some of these plates which actually calls *Rāuta* Rājyadharavarman, a Kṣatriya. Further, it is worthy of note that he is described as belonging to Vatsa-gotra with the five Pravaras, *viz.* Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva and Jāmadagnya. What is still more surprising is that there is another grant of Jayacandra to a Brāhman grantee who pertained to the Sarkarākṣa gotra with precisely the five Pravaras[2] which have been associated with the Vatsa gotra of the Kṣatriya grantee, Rājyadharavarman. It is singular that the Brāhman grantee should have exactly the same Pravaras as the Kṣatriya one. It is worthy of note that the Kṣatriya donee has the Ārṣa-gotra, Vatsa, just as the Brāhmaṇ donee has the Sarkarākṣa gotra with precisely the same five Pravaras. It will thus be seen that, up till the 12th century A.D., some Kṣatriyas had preserved their Ārṣa-gotra and Pravaras and they were considered to be as holy as the Brāhmans themselves; otherwise there would have been no meaning in Jayacandra issuing grants for the augmentation of the spiritual merit, not only of himself but also of his parents. And what is further noteworthy is that this Kṣatriya grantee Rājyadharavarman seems to have been a particularly holy man as the Gāhaḍavāla

[1] *I.A.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 136, 11. 27-28; D. R. Bhandarkar's *List Inscr. North Ind.*, Nos. 374-75, 378, 387-89.

[2] *I.A.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 13, 1. 27.

king issued no less than six charters to him—a thing unprecedented in the field of Epigraphy.

II

What has been set forth above shows that Epigraphy helps us to correct even the tradition preserved in the S'rauta-sūtras We shall now try to show how it helps us to corroborate the S'rauta-sūtras as against the Smṛti-s'āstra. The question is sometimes asked. what was the position of women in the social and religious life of Ancient India? Even the Bhagavadgītā (IX. 32) says. *striyō vais'yās tathā s'ūdrās te' pi yānti parāṁ gatim.* Here, not only Vais'yas but also women have been placed in the same grade as the S'ūdras. And as the S'ūdras are not entitled to the study of the Vedas or to the performance of sacrifices, the Vais'yas and women of all castes are placed in the same category. And this is exactly in keeping with what Manu says about women. He does not allow the performance of even the initiation ceremony in the case of women. "The nuptial ceremony," says he, "is stated to be the Vedic sacrament for woman (and to be equal to the initiation), serving the husband (equivalent) to the residence in (the house of the) teacher; and the household duties (the same as the daily) worship of the sacred fire."[1] Elsewhere he says the same thing.[2] Nevertheless, the Manusmṛti represents that stage when the life depicted in the Smṛti-s'āstra was acquiring but had not fully acquired ascendency over that depicted in the S'rauta-Sūtra. It is, therefore, no wonder that some customs and practices of the earlier period were not unknown to Manu though they are condemned. Thus he lays down that a Brāhman must never eat at a sacrifice offered by a woman.[3] That means that, in the time of Manu, a woman could offer a

[1] *Manusmṛti*, II. 67.
[2] *Ibid.*, IX. 18.
[3] *Ibid.*, IV. 205.

sacrifice for her spiritual benefit. This agreed with the celebrated Nānāghāt Inscription, which credits a queen called Nāgaṇikā with having performed a number of Vedic sacrifices alone, and of her own accord. As a matter of fact, the *Mīmāṁsādarśana* (VI. 1. 3. 6-16) of Jaimini *alias* Bādarāyaṇa and commented upon by Śabarasvāmin clearly shows that a woman was perfectly entitled to the performance of any Śrauta sacrifice. In fact, if there is any Smṛti which lays down an ordinance to the contrary, says Śabarasvāmin, it has to be ignored, disregarded, and completely set at naught, It was, therefore, no wonder if Nāgaṇikā, wife of Śātakarṇi. could celebrate not one, but several, Śrauta sacrifices. But the position of woman deteriorated soon thereafter, and she was degraded to the rank of a Śūdra as is clear from many verses from the *Manusmṛti*. But that a woman was capable of performing Vedic sacrifices alone and by herself as maintained by the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā, is corroborated by the well-known Nānāghāṭ Inscription of Nāganikā, wife of Śātakarṇi.

III

We shall now turn to another question about the Hindu woman, that is, when she was actually married. The custom is now so spread that a girl is adopted into the *gotra* of her husband as soon as she is married. Was it prevalent among the Aryans formerly? Is it prevalent even now in all places or in all classes? Let us take up the second question first for consideration. It is worthy of note that, even to this day, amongst the Rājputs where polygamy is present, the married women preserve the name of the clan to which they originally belonged. Thus, years ago when I was in Jodhpur first, I found that the local Chief had two wives, one called Hāḍījī and the other Rāṇāvatjī. Hāḍī showed that she pertained to the Hāḍā sect of the Chohān clan of Bundi or Kotah, and Rāṇāvatjī to the Rāṇāvat sect

of the Guhilot clan of Udaipur. The preservation of such clan names is found everywhere among the Rājputs. Even in the old period this was not at all unknown. Thus we know that that the daughter of Chandragupta II, who was married in the Vākāṭaka family, called herself Prabhāvatī-Guptā and that her mother Kubera-Nāgā. As the latter is also described as *Nāgakulasambhūtā*,[1] 'born of the Nāga family,' there can be no doubt that the post-fix *Nāgā* is the feminine form of Nāga, the name of the clan to which she pertained. For the same reason we have to take *Guptā* of Prabhāvatī-Guptā as the name of the clan to which she belonged. This custom prevailed among the Brāhmans of the ancient times. Thus the Silaharā Cave Insciiptions speak of their being excavated by one Mūladeva, an Amātya, who has been styled Vātsa and Maudgalaputra.[2] The first is a patronymic showing that his father was a Brāhman of the Vātsa gotra. The second is a matronymic, showing that his mother's father also was a Brāhman belonging to the Mudgala gotra. It is thus clear that the gotra of his father was preserved by his son and was actually mentioned by him when he was an Amātya. Instances might be multiplied; but one more is enough. It is that furnished by a Malavalli pillar inscription which describes the donee Nāgadatta, not only as of the Kauṇḍinya gotra, but also as Kauśikīputra.[3] Nāgadatta was thus born not only of the Brāhman father but also was of Brāhman mother, whose father's gotra was preserved and mentioned by her son in later times. This evidence is clear enough to show that, whether in modern or in ancient times, the original gotra name of the mother was preserved and mentioned and that it was not therefore merged into that of her husband as it is at present, especially in the Brāhmaṇ community. The question arises: when did the custom of taking a married girl into her husband's family arise? It does

[1] E.I., Vol. XV. p. 41, ll. 7-8

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 36 ff.

[3] Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscr.*, No. 1196.

not seem to have arisen prior to the time of the compilation of the *Likhitasmṛti* and the *Hārītasmṛti* which are both very late works. According to one, a married girl becomes a member of her husband's gotra on the fourth day from her marriage,[1] and, according to the other, one year after her marriage.[2] It seems that this custom arose in the post-Gupta period. Were such foreign tribes as the Hūṇas, Gurjaras and so forth responsible for the introduction of this custom, or was it some pre-Aryan custom that re-asserted itself in the Brāhman community at a late period?

[1] *Likhitasmṛti*, (Ānandāśram Sk. Series), Vs. 25-26 (p. 183).
[2] *Laghuhārītasmṛti* (Ānandāśram Sk. Series), Vs. 62-63 (p. 139).

VEDIC CULTURE AND ITS DEMOCRATIC OUTLOOK

By

Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji

Though primarily a religious work, a book of hymns and prayers, the Ṛgveda, as is well known, throws light upon secular life, the political, social and economic systems of the times. It is bound up with its geographical and social background. But it presents a paradox which cannot be satisfactorily solved. As the earliest book of the Indians and of mankind, as is universally admitted, it marks at once the dawn of culture, as also its zenith. One sees in it not merely the earliest streaks of light, but also its full blaze and glory. The Ṛgveda is the repository of highest human thought. Its commonest and most popular prayer, the *Gāyatrī mantra*, for instance, registers the high water-mark of human speculation upon the Divine. Its Definition of God as the Thinking Principle (*dhī*), the Universal Mind, or Over-Soul, which vitalizes and awakens the individual mind and soul, confound the most confirmed atheist who cannot but own the mind working within him and perceive the reality of his own ideas. The working of the Mind in man is the working in him of the Divine which he cannot deny, for he lives in It as the all-pervading atmosphere. Therefore, the injunction of this great Ṛgvedic prayer is that we should meditate (*dhīmahi*) on Him who has given us the power to meditate. He has given us a Mind (*dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt*) so that we can apply our Mind to Him, and constantly think of Him. He has

given us our eyesight, so that the eye, cured of its blindness which is imposed upon it by the bandage of passions, can always see Him (*sadā paśyanti*) like the infinite expanse of the sky, with its vision not obstructed by clouds of *kāma* or desire (*divīva cakṣur ātatam*). He is Viṣṇu, expanded in the whole Universe or Cosmos. Thus Man's religion, is only to keep up constantly, without a moment's lapse (*sadā paśyanti*), the conjunction or *yoga* between the individual Mind and the Mind Infinite, between the *jīvātman* and *Paramātman*, by detaching the Mind from Matter (*yogaś cittavṛttinirodhaḥ*). One prayer of the Ṛgveda (X. 71. 1) is directly addressed to God designated as *Parabrahmajñāna*, Supreme Knowledge. The Ṛgveda is thus full of prayers embodying the highest knowledge of which the human mind is capable, and conveying the last word on religion.

The Ṛgveda shows an equal advance in Thought and Life. In social life it stands for monogamy, sanctity of marriage, domestic purity, patriarchal system with its appropriate laws of inheritance, honour of womanhood, highest education for women, some of whom rank as *ṛṣis* like Apālā and Paulomī, or as *brahmavādinīs* like Gārgī and Maitreyī of Upaniṣadic fame. Its economic system is based on barter in preference to money-economy, upon Agriculture, Pasture and Dairy-farming, Cottage-handicrafts, and Home Industries, in which India still believes, supported by much of modern post-war economic thought. The hermitage of the Ṛṣi Yājñavalkya of the Upaniṣads was large enough to accomodate in its agricultural and dairy-farms a herd of one thousand cattle. In education, ancient India believed in the training of the Mind as the instrument of knowledge, and not merely furnishing the Mind with the furniture of mere information on different subjects, so that the Mind, uncontaminated by contact with Matter, and freed from its clutches, with its potency magnified, can attain to the highest truth or knowledge, the knowledge of *Ātman*, as the only Reality in which are comprehended all intermediate and subordinate realities, by means of

concentration (*niruddha-samādhi*) on that supreme objective of education. The Mind thus practised in concentration, and disciplined by *tapas*, against its distractions (*cittavṛtti*), is rendered perfect as an instrument of knowledge and then engages in the pursuit of knowledge as a whole and up to its roots in Brahman, instead of taking knowledge piecemeal, in parts and sections, so that it attains omniscience in place of partial objective knowledge, a body of mere intermediate truths and half-truths. Such an education which thus aims at the highest and ultimate Truth and excludes from its purview sectional and isolated truths, depends upon the constant and close contact between the Master and his pupil in a common home, the small domestic school, *āśrama* or hermitage, located in the silence and solitude of the forests where India thought out her highest, and has given to mankind its richest cultural heritage. For such education, the methods of mass production pursued in the large classes of modern schools and colleges, are out of place. Mere organization, external machinery and apparatus, are not enough for education which is to *educe* the latent personality of the pupil committed to it. The education that is a process of inner growth, a process of living, cannot be mechanised.

Lastly, in politics and state-craft, the Veda stands for its highest ideals, those of democracy and popular government. Vedic kingship is an autocracy in name. It is in reality a limited constitutional kingship, subjected to necessary democratic checks and popular control. The Ṛgveda ascribes a strictly and severely secular origin to kingship. It does not believe in its divine origin. It arose from cooperation for secular ends, and rests on obligations and responsibilities to be strictly enforced. 'War begat the king' in India, as in other history. The king was primarily required to lead his people for defence and conquest in early times. Such a leadership was a social necessity. A passage in the Ṛgveda (X. 124. 8) describes the sad and sorry plight of a people omitting to choose a king to lead them against their enemy.

The contractual origin of kingship is thus explained in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (I. 40): " The *devas* and *asuras* were fighting . . the *asuras* defeated the *devas* . . . the *devas* said, ' It is on account of our going without a king (*arājatayā*) that the *asuras* conquer. Let us elect a king.' All consented (*rājānaṁ karavāmaha iti tatheti*) "

Thus Vedic kingship was practically elective. The Atharva-veda contains a complete song of election of the king (VI. 87. 88), and also prayers for the prosperity of royalty based on popular support and loyalty (VI. 73). It further refers to a king exiled and recalled, and to his re-election after he is deposed. It also mentions a king expelled from his kingdom (VII. 34; I. 29. 30; VIII. 94; III. 8. 2 etc.). The *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* (XIX. 7. 1-4) prescribes the *Rāḍ-yajña* which a deposed king should perform to win back his kingdom.

The autocracy of the Vedic king was further limited by several constitutional checks. He had to take the oath of loyalty to law and constitution at the time of his coronation the rituals for which are inspired by democratic ideals. They are described in the *S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa*. The first of these is the ritual of *anumati* or consent of the Mother-country to the installation of the new king. It was performed with the following prayer: " Mother Pṛthivī, Injure me not nor I thee." The commentator says that this prayer is necessary, " lest the country should shake him off (*meyaṁ nāvadhunvīta*). The commentator further explains that the king and country must enter into friendly relations with each other like son and mother.

The next ritual is for the king-elect to invoke select deities for acquiring their attributes, so as to qualify for kingship. The Vedic system did not believe in the divine right of kings but in their divine qualifications. For instance, the king is to have the righteous energy of Savitṛ, Bṛhaspati's wisdom and power of speech, Indra's skill in administration, and should be the upholder of *dharma* like Varuṇa. The Veda

regards *Dharma* or Law as the true sovereign and the king as *Daṇḍa* or Executive to uphold and enforce *Dharma*.

There is next the ceremony of the sprinkling on the king waters collected from different sources, each with its symbolic value, such as *river* as a symbol of vigour, *flood* of plenty, *sea* for dominion, or the *pond* to signify the fixed loyalty of the people to the king. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* makes the king swear his loyalty to Law and Constitution in the following words: "If I play thee false, may I lose all my merit, my place, my life, and even my progeny." The *S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa* sums up the position in the following declaration to be made to the king. "To thee the State is given for agriculture (*kṛṣi*), for the common weal (*kṣema*), for prosperity and for progress (*poṣa*)."

Another democratic check upon the Vedic king was exercised by his Ministry on whom he had to depend. This dependence is symbolised by the ceremony of the king offering a jewel (*ratna-havis*) to each of his Ministers. The Ministers are also called *rājakṛts*, 'king-makers,' in Atharvaveda (III. 5. 7) and *Aitareya* (VIII. 17. 5) and *S'atapatha* (III. 4. 1. 7; 2. 2. 18) *Brāhmaṇas*.

Then, there were the popular Assemblies called *Sabhā* and *Samiti* which were integral parts of Vedic Polity. The *Sabhā* was the Council of Elders, while the *Samiti* was the larger Assembly of the people.

The Ṛgveda refers to the king's duty of attending the *Samiti* and to his influencing it by speech and also to the necessity of concord between the two for the prosperity of the realm (IX. 92. 6; X. 166. 4; 191. 3).

The Atharvaveda contains copious democratic material. It describes the *Sabhā* and *Samiti* as the twin daughters of Prajāpati who send them down to earth to build up its civilization as its first aids. This is a striking declaration of the value of democracy as a civilizing agency (VII. 12. 1). It refers to the parliamentary virtues of eloquence, debating skill, agreeable speech, the power of holding the *Sabhā* by giving

utterance to the knowledge and wisdom of all its members so that their attention may be rivetted on the words of the speaker (VII. 12).

Decision by the Vote of the Majority was known, as indicated by the term (*nariṣṭhā*) applied to the *Sabhā* in the Atharvaveda (VII. 12 3), which Sāyaṇa explains as 'inviolable, not to be over-ridden' (*ahiṁsitā parair anabhibhavyā*), because in the *Sabhā*, "the many meet and speak with one voice which is binding on others" (*bahavas sambhuya yady ekaṁ vākyaṁ vadeyus taddhi na parair atilaṅghyam*).

The Ṛgveda applies the democratic method even in the field of education. It refers to learned Assemblies (*Brāhmaṇa-Saṅgha*) where Brāhmanas united in fellowship in Vedic learning (*sakhāyaḥ*) come together (*saṁyajante*) for the purpose of further developing the truths they had realized in their hearts (*hṛdā taṣṭeṣu*) or reached by their minds (*manaso javeṣu*) [X. 71. 8] Another passage (X. 71. 2) describes the work of these Assemblies in holding discussions of their learned members (*dhīrāḥ*) by which the spoken language is refined into the language of the Veda like groats through a sieve (*saktumiva titaunā punanto*). It thus indicates that Vedic Sanskrit was hammered into shape out of spoken Sanskrit of the times at these *Saṅghas* where it was the vehicle of philosophical discussions. Sāyaṇa explains this linguistic contribution of the *Saṅgha* by saying *vidvat saṅghe vācam akrata.*

Incidentally it is to be noted that the Ṛgveda has given to Buddhism its most important word, *viz.*, *Saṅgha.*

The *Saṅgha* of the Ṛgveda is known as *Pariṣad* in the Upaniṣads. The most famous *Pariṣad* known to the Upaniṣads is the *Pañcāla-Pariṣad.* The king of the Pañcālas, Rājarṣi Pravāhaṇa Jaivali used to attend daily the meeting of this Academy every morning and take part in its learned discussions as one of the greatest philosophers of the times (*Chāndogya*, V. 3 ; *Bṛhad*, VI. 2. 1-7).

Lastly, even Vedic scholars have not adequately noticed the remarkable fact that the very last hymn of the Ṛgveda is

a hymn addressed to what may be called the Deity of Democracy. The *Devatā* to whom the prayer is offered is named *Saṁjñāna* or *Samajñāna* who embodies the common, collective, political consciousness which is evenly spread among the whole people or the masses of the country. The words of the prayer are informed by the true spirit and ideals of democracy. It exhorts the people to make it a point to come together to their National Assembly (*saṁgacchadhvam*) and, assembling there, to contribute to the success of its deliberations by not giving vent to their differences in many voices but adopting a unanimous decision by one vote and voice (*saṁvadadhvam*). The prayer further proceeds in terms and tones of true democracy: "Know ye all your minds by interchange of views so as to have one mind on national issues (*vaḥ manāṁsi saṁ jānatām*). Act ye like the gods who, in the days of yore, cooperated with one mind (*yathā pūrve saṁjānānāḥ devāḥ*) in the performance of their prescribed duties (*bhāgaṁ upāsate*) (literally, sit together for doing their allotted share of work such as bhajana, prayer, *sevā*, service and the like)."

"May you have a common national *policy* (*mantraḥ samānaḥ*), a common *assembly* (*samitiḥ samānī*) (not divided by parties and schisms), a common *mind* (*samānaṁ manaḥ*), and a common *heart* (*sahacitta*)."

The meaning is that a common national policy is to be cultivated because it is for the equal (*samāna*) good of all on which there cannot be any difference of opinion. Similarly, in a national assembly all members will have *equal* rights and liberties. It is the common Assembly, of the whole people and not a sectional communal body. There should be a sense of equality and fraternity in the minds of all so as to produce unanimity of views and *one* mind out of many minds. All hearts (*citta*) should be united by a common desire for the good of all. Lastly, all should be animated by a common national policy which they must endeavour to achieve by equal sacrifice (*samānaṁ mantraḥ abhimantraye vaḥ*

samanena vo havisa juhomi), [' I call ye to a common purpose which ye serve with a common sacrifice '].

" May you be animated by common hopes and aspirations (*samanī ākutiḥ*), a union of minds and hearts so that all of you (*vaḥ*) live happily in harmony (*su-saha-asati*) ! "

Thus the Ṛgveda ends on this soul-stirring note and message of democracy, and gives to humanity its earliest conception and expression of that political ideal.

There are other Vedic texts which seek to lay broad and deep the foundations of democracy in a social system purified by domestic virtues and a fundamental spiritual outlook informed by a feeling of fraternity and universal brotherhood.

The Deity invoked in the Atharvaveda hymn (III 30 1-7) is the abstract Deity named *Sammanasyam*, ' Unity of thought or mind.' The prayer is a moving appeal for a union of hearts (*sahṛdayam*) and minds (*sammanasyam*) and freedom from malice (*avidveṣam*). ' Do ye rejoice one in the other (*abhiharṣayata*), just as the cow inviolable (*aghnyā*) finds pleasure in its new-born calf. Sāyaṇa takes the Deity as *Sāmmanuṣyam*, the universalised, generalised, individual who feels for all with whom he is identified in a spirit of universal brotherhood.

Another prayer of the Atharvaveda inculcates domestic virtues as the foundation of social order as follows : " The Son should follow in the foot-steps (*anuvrataḥ*) of his Father and be of one mind (*sammanāḥ*) with his Mother. The wife should speak to her husband honeyed (*madhumatī*) and non-violent (*śāntivām*) words."

" A brother should not be inimical (*dvikṣat*) (look with an evil eye upon) to a brother, nor a sister ! In unity of thought (*samyañca*) and action (*savrata*), all should speak well of one another (*bhadrayā vācam vadata*)."

" That supreme knowledge (*saṁjñānam*), the knowledge of Brahman by virtue of which the gods do not fall out (*viyanti*) with one another nor have malice (*vidviṣate*) among themselves (*mithaḥ*), that knowledge which produces the sense

of oneness should be imparted to men in every sphere, home, village, country, and the world at large."

" Follow your *Guru* (*jyāyasvantaḥ*); be thoughtful (*citti-naḥ*); do your work with a common plan and purpose (*saṁrā dhayantaḥ*); take your own share in the burden of common endeavour (*sadhurāḥ carantaḥ*) and move on; be ye not divided (*mā vi yauṣṭa*); speak to one another in pleasant words (*valgu vadantaḥ*); be of one intent (*sadhrīcīnān*) and one mind (*sammanasaḥ*)."

" Have your drink from a common source and your food from a common stock in equal shares (*samānī prapā saha annabhāgaḥ*); be ye yoked together for a common purpose (*samāne yoktre saha yunajmi*); unite in worship (*samyañca saparyata*) like spokes of a wheel round its nave (*nābhim iva abhitaḥ arāḥ*)."

" Bend ye all to one purpose (*sadhrīcīnāḥ*), with one purified mind (*saumanasaḥ*) under a common leadership and organization (*ekaśnuṣṭī*) with hearts united (*sahṛdaya*) in ties of affection and mutual service (*saṁvanena*)."

Thus Vedic Thought gives complete expression to the ideals of democracy, applies it in different spheres of national life, political, social, and cultural, and seeks to strengthen its very roots and foundations in ways of thinking and behaviour.

A VEDIC SLEEPING-CHARM AND ITS ECHO IN TAMIL LITERATURE

BY

PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

ATHARVAVEDA IV. 5 is a charm for inducing sleep. The sixth verse in the hymn reads:

Svaptu mātā svaptu pitā svaptu śvā svaptu viśpatiḥ |
Svapantvasyai jñātayaḥ svaptvayam abhito janaḥ ||

which means:

" May the mother sleep, may the eldest in the house sleep, may her relations sleep, may all the people round about sleep " (Bloomfield, *S.B.E.*, 42, p. 105). Here obviously is a charm used by 'a lover who steals to his sweet-heart' (Winternitz).

In the oldest commentary to the Tolkāppiyam, that of Iḷampūraṇar, we find under Poruḷ 109 the following: 'Speech when hindrances occur: when secret meetings are afoot, this consists in the rise of the moon, the coming of the town-guards, the mother being awake, the town being awake—all being hindrances to the arrival of the lover at the tryst: thus to show that secret assignations were no good and stop them for the future, and hasten the regular marriage.' And the annotator cites as example a poem from the *Ahanānūṟu* (122) which is very much to the point, and inevitably recalls the verse cited from the AV. above. That is a song by Paraṇar supposed to be addressed by an inamorata to her companion; it describes the hindrances to the course of her love-affair and is meant to be heard by the lover who is

supposed to be present just outside the room where the conversation takes place. The hindrances mentioned in this verse are in order. the townsmen indulge in drink and keep late hours at night though there is no festival on; the harsh-tongued mother does not go to sleep even after the people in the rich bazaar and other streets have slept; even if the mother, whose vigilance is inescapable like disease or death, goes to sleep, there come quickly the town-guards with sleepless eyes; if these youngsters with shining lances happen to fall asleep, the dog with sharp teeth and curved tail, starts barking, if the noisy dog sleeps without barking, the bright moon enters the broad sky and converts the night into day; when the moon is about to set and it becomes dark again, the rat-eating strong-mouthed owl begins to hoot in a manner that strikes terror into the heart; even if this denizen of the hole in the tree sleeps in silence, the cock grown in the house begins to raise its noble voice! When all these obstacles are not there, my lover whose heart would never let him stay away from me, may be unable to come. Friend, the course of our love is full of obstacles.

Both the Vedic charm and the Tamil song are steeped in conventions, and very far removed from the simple expression of natural feelings. But the parallel between them is quite striking; they both concern obstacles to the fulfilment of secret assignations between lovers; they both put the mother first among their troubles, and mention besides, the dog and the representatives of the police power of the state (*viśpati* and town-guards). The Tamil poem is more detailed and graphic—but that is only the result of an easy elaboration of points already established. The Tamil poem may be of the second century A.D. and the Atharvaveda verse must necessarily be taken to be earlier in date. And this becomes much more certain when we see that this particular verse occurs with only the change of one word (*sastu* being substituted for *svaptu*) in a hymn in the Ṛgveda itself (VII. 55-5), and that Aufrecht who considered both the hymns together

declared it difficult to decide which was the earlier form of the verse (*Ind. Studien*, IV. 337 ff.)

The value of the Atharvaveda as a mirror of popular practices and beliefs, some of them at least dating from before the advent of the Aryans into India, has long been recognised. It would be well, however, to remember the warning uttered by Winternitz that ' the songs of magic in the Atharvaveda, which, according to their main contents, are certainly popular and very ancient, have no longer even their original form in the Samhitā, but are *brahmanised* ' The popular origin of much of the Atharvaveda material is vouched by Āpastamba who declares that a man's studies are not complete until he masters the lore of which women and s'udras are the custodians, adding significantly that that lore is the supplement to the Atharvaveda (II. 29. 11-12). It seems clear that the Vedic verse and the Tamil poem cited above reflect different stages in the history of one and the same set of popular notions, though in a conventionalised form. Likewise AV. III. 25 seems to have something in common with the Tamil conventions about Maḍalūrdal. The aim of this short note has been just to invite the attention of scholars to the problems offered by such parallels rather than to offer any solution of them.

ĀTMAVĀDA AS IN THE YOGĀCĀRABHŪMI OF ĀCĀRYA ASANGA

By

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IT is well-known that Ācārya Asaṅga is one of the most prominent figures in the history of Buddhism and specially in that of the Yogācāra school. The *Yogacārabhūmi* is his masterpiece. In China it is still studied widely. But it is known there wrongly by the name *Yogācaryabhūmi-śāstra* (Ü-cie-sï-ti-luən). In Tibet it is called *Yogacaryābhūmi* (Rnal. ḥbyor. spyod. paḥi. sa). The Tibetan word *spyod* may be taken also for Sanskrit *ācāra*, yet in transliteration there is always *carya* and not *ācara*. Sometimes this work is called *Saptadaśa-bhūmi-śāstra* owing to the fact that seventeen *Bhūmis* 'stages' of mind are mainly dealt with herein. In China it is attributed to Maitreyanātha.

It has five divisions, *viz.* (1) *Bahubhūmikavastu*, (2) *Nirṇaya-* (or *Viniścaya-*) *saṁgraha*, (3) *Vastusaṁgraha*, (4) *Paryāyasaṁgraha*, and (5) *Vivāraṇasaṁgraha*. As found in Tibetan, these five divisions are contained in five separate volumes. We are concerned here only with the first division, *i.e.*, *Bahubhūmikavastu*. Its fifteenth chapter, *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* is already edited by Unrai Wogihara, Tokyo, 1930, from two MSS., one of Cambridge and the other of Kyoto. Neither of them is complete and both abound in clerical errors. J. Rahder has edited in the Appendix to his edition of the *Daśabhūmika-śāstra* only two sections (*paṭalas*) from it, *viz.*, *Vihāra-paṭala* and *Bhūmi-paṭala*, from the same Cambridge MS. One MS. more is recently discovered by Sri

Rahula Samkrityayana in Tibet, from which he himself has made a transcription. It is fairly correct and it is clear from it that there are 150 folios in that original MS. which appears to be of a big size, probably not less than 21" × 4.1". Each side of the folios has six or seven lines. The transcription referred to above is now with me being kindly lent to me by Sri Rahulji.

Two chapters of this work, *viz.*, XIII called *S'ravakabhumi*, and XV named *Bodhisattvabhumi*, are wanting in the original MS. used by Rahulji, as clearly noted in his transcription by him. It appears from the Tibetan sources that the above two were missing in some Sanskrit MSS. as in the Tibetan version these two chapters, *S'ravakabhumi* and *Bodhisattvabhumi*, form two separate volumes, their numbers being 4036 and 4037 respectively in the *Complete Catalogue of Tibetan Buddhist Canons* of Tôhuku Imperial University. See also Cordier: *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétan du la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Troisième Partie, 1915.

It is also to be noted that among the photo-prints of the Sanskrit Buddhist works, which are brought and kept in the office of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, there are these two books, *viz.*, *S'rāvakabhumi* and *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. From this fact one may think that, as these two chapters of the *Yogācarabhūmi* were separately available, the scribe of the original MS. under discussion deliberately left them out.

Now, as the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* is already published we do not lose much in this respect, and as regards the *S'rāvakabhūmi* if the photo-print in the Bihar and Orissa Research Society referred to above can in any way be utilized we may hope to have one day the *Yogācārabhūmi* in its complete form from the materials described above.

There are both the Chinese (Nanjio, No. 1170) and Tibetan (the Catalogue alluded to above, No. 4036) translations of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. The author of the Chinese translation is the celebrated Chinese teacher and traveller

Huen-Tsaṅg who is rightly known in his country as *Tripiṭaka-dharmācārya* (San-tsaṅ-fa-si). The Tibetan translation is made by different persons, most of the divisions and sections being translated by Prajñāvarman either independently or jointly with Surendrabodhi. The *Śrāvakabhūmi* and *Bodhisattvabhūmi* of the *Bahubhūmikavastu* are translated by Jinamitra and Prajñāvarman respectively.

In the section *Ayoniśomanaskāraprajñapti* of chapters III-V (III. *Savitarkā Savicārā bhūmi*, IV. *Avitarkā vicāra-mātrā bhūmi*, and V. *Avitarkā avicārā bhūmi*) which are taken together Asaṅga discusses or refutes the following sixteen views of others (*paravādas*), *i.e.*, non-Buddhist teachers, *viz.*, (*i*) *Hetuphalavāda*, (*ii*) *Abhivyaktivāda*, (*iii*) *Atītānāgata-dravya-sadvāda*, (*iv*) *Ātmavāda*, (*v*) *Śāśvatavāda*, (*vi*) *Pūrvakṛtahetu-vāda*, (*vii*) *Īśvarādikartṛkavāda*, (*viii*) *Hiṃsādharmavāda*, (*ix*) *Antānantikavāda*, (*x*) *Amarāvikṣepavāda*, (*xi*) *Ahetuvāda*, (*xii*) *Ucchedavāda*, (*xiii*) *Nāstikavāda*, (*xiv*) *Agravāda*, (*xv*) *Śuddhivāda*, and (*xvi*) *Kautukamaṅgalavāda*.

The section dealing with the (*iv*) *Ātmavāda* is edited below for the first time comparing it thoroughly with the Tibetan version of the Narthang edition (Tanjur, Mdo, Dzi). The references herein are from this edition. In the course of discussion of the subject readers will find here some very interesting arguments which may appear to them to be unknown hitherto.

[आत्मवादः]

[MS. 36*a*. 4] [Tib. 57*a*. 7] आत्मवादः कतमः । यथापीहैकत्यः श्रमणो वा ब्राह्मण एवंदृष्टिर्भवत्येवंवादी । तद्यथा । [Tib. 57*b*. 1] इतो बाह्यस्तीर्थ्यः सत्यतः स्थितित आत्मा वा सत्त्वो वा जीवो वा पोषो वा पुद्गलो वेत्यादि[1] । स एवं दृष्टिर्भवत्येवंवादी[2] । आगमतो [2] युक्तितश्च ॥

तत्रागमः पूर्ववत् ॥

[1] Tib. de. la. sogs. pa ; MS. *ityevamādikena kāraṇena.*

[2] Tib. here adds : *kasmād evaṁdṛṣṭir bhavaty evaṁvādī* ciḥi. phyir. de. ltar. lta. shiṅ. de. skad. smra. bar. byed. ci. na (?).

युक्तिः कतमा । यथापीहैकत्यस्तार्किको [5] भवति मीमांसक इति पूर्ववत्। द्वाभ्यां कारणाभ्यां[1] । अबुद्धिपूर्वं च सति सत्त्वबुद्धिप्रवृत्त्युप[3]लब्धितः । बुद्धिपूर्वं च [2]चेष्टोपलब्धितः । तस्यैवं भवति । सचेदात्मा न स्यात् पञ्चभिराकारैः पञ्चविधवस्तुदर्शने सत्यात्मबुद्धि[र्न][3] प्रवर्तेत । रूपा[4]कृतिं दृष्ट्वा रूपबुद्धिरेव प्रवर्तेत न सत्त्वबुद्धिः । सुखदुःखावतीर्णं[4] संस्कारं दृष्ट्वा संज्ञाबुद्धिरेव प्रवर्तेत [न] सत्त्वपतितो च्छ्रित[5]बुद्धिः । [5] नामिनं नामसम्बद्धं संस्कारं दृष्ट्वा [6] संज्ञाबुद्धिरेव प्रवर्तेत [न] क्षत्रियो वा ब्राह्मणो वा वैश्यो वा शूद्रो वा ब्रह्मदत्तो वा गुण[6]मित्रो वेति सत्त्वबुद्धिः । शुभाशुभचेष्टासम्बद्धं संस्कारं दृष्ट्वा संस्कारबुद्धिरेव प्रवर्तेत न बालपण्डितसत्त्वबुद्धिः । विषये [7] विज्ञानानुवृत्तिं[6] दृष्ट्वा चित्तबुद्धिरेव प्रवर्तेत नाहं पश्यामीत्येवमादिसत्त्वबुद्धिः । यतश्चैवमबुद्धिपूर्वमेषु [Tib. 58*a*. 1] पञ्चसु वस्तुषु पञ्चाकारा सत्त्वबुद्धिरेव प्रवर्तते न संस्कारबुद्धिः तस्मादबुद्धिपूर्वं तावदस्य दृष्ट्वा सत्त्वबुद्धिप्रत्युपलब्धित एवं भवत्यस्त्यात्मेति ॥

तस्यैवं [2] भवति । **[MS. 37*a*. 1]** सचेदात्मा न स्यान्न संस्कारेषु बुद्धिपूर्वा चेष्टोपलभ्येत[8] अहं चक्षुषा[9] रूपाणि द्रक्ष्यामि पश्यामि दृष्टवान् न वा द्रक्ष्यामीत्येवमभिसंस्कारपूर्वंगमं कृत्वा । [3] यथा दर्शन एवं श्रोत्रघ्राणजिह्वाकायमनस्सु वेदितव्यं । एवं कुशलकर्माभिसंस्कारे कुशलकर्मनिर्वृत्तौ[10] अकुशलकर्माभिसंस्कारेऽकुशलकर्मनिर्वृत्ता[11]वित्येवमादिका [2] बुद्धिपूर्वा चेष्टा नोपलभ्येत । [तस्माद्][12] एवं भवत्यस्त्यात्मेति[13] ॥

[1] Tib. wrongly *ākārābhyāṁ* (rnam. par. gñis. kyis) for *kāraṇābhyāṁ*.

[2] For *ceṣṭa* Tib. lit. *vicāra* (dpyod).

[3] Tib. ḥjug pai. ḥgyur. baḥi. mi. rigs; MS. omits *na*.

[4] For *avadīrṇaṁ* Tib. lit. *kṣubdhaṁ* (gyo ba).

[5] For *ucchrita* 'high', Tib. mthos, but in Tib. text we have wrongly thos. pa. *śruta*.

[6] In Tib. *ḥjug. pa* is for both *anuvṛtti* and *pravṛtti* (*Mahāvyutpatti*, ed. Sakaki, 2000 and 2124).

[7] In Tib. read sems for sems. can.

[8] MS. °*labhyate*.

[9] In the xylograph read gis for gi.

[10] Tib. ḥgrub. pa: MS. °*nivṛttau*. See note 13.

[11] See note 12.

[12] Tib. des. na.

[13] For evam° ti Tib. has des. na. de. ḥdi sñam-du. sems. te bdag. yod. do. sñam. mo MS. nāsty evaṁ bhavaty ātmeti.

स इदं स्याद् [5] वचनीयः । कच्चिदिच्छसि यदेव पश्यति तत्रैव सत्त्वबुद्धिरुत्पद्यते । आहोस्विदन्यत्पश्यत्यन्यत्र सत्त्वबुद्धिरुत्पद्यते । सचेत्तत्रैव । तेन रूपादिषु सत्त्व इति विपर्यासान्न [6] युज्यतेऽस्त्यात्मेति ॥ सचेदन्यत्र । **[3]** तेनाकृतिमानात्मेति न युज्यते । पतितोच्छ्रितः क्षत्रियादिबालपण्डितो रूपादिषु [7] विषयग्राहक आत्मेति न युज्यते ॥

कच्चिदिच्छसि स्वभावादेव धर्मस्य [1]तद्बुद्ध्युत्पत्तिराहोस्वित्परस्वभावादपीति[2] । सचेत्स्वभावादेव । तेन यदेव पश्यति तत्रैव विपर्यस्ता बुद्धि- [Tib. 58*b*. 1] रित्यात्मबुद्धिर्न युज्यते । सचेदन्यस्मादपि[3] । तेन सर्वविषयाः[4] सर्वविषयबुद्धेः **[4]** कारणीभवन्तीति न युज्यते ॥

कच्चिदिच्छसि असत्त्वसंख्याते[5] सत्त्वसंख्यातबुद्धिं सत्त्वसंख्याते वासत्त्व[2]संख्यातबुद्धिं । तदन्यसत्त्वसंख्याने पुनस्तदन्यसत्त्वसंख्यातबुद्धिमुत्पद्यमानां वा नो वा । सचेदुत्पद्यते[6] । तेनासत्त्वोऽपि सत्त्वः [3] सत्त्वोऽपि तदन्यसत्त्वो[7] भविष्यतीति न युज्यते ॥ सचेन्नोत्पद्यते । तेन प्रत्यक्ष **[5]** प्रमाणमपवदितं[8] भवतीति न युज्यते ॥

कच्चिदिच्छसि यासौ सत्त्वबुद्धिः सा प्रत्यक्षार्थग्राहिकानुमानिकार्थग्राहिका वेति । सचेत्प्रत्यक्षार्थ[9]ग्राहिका । तेन[10] रूपादयः स्कन्धा एव[11] न सत्त्वः प्रत्यक्ष इति न युज्यते ॥ सचेदानुमानिकार्थग्राहिका । [5] तेन बालदारकाणामप्यनभ्यूह्य सहसा प्रवर्तेत इति न युज्यते ॥

[1] For *tad*- Tib. expressly *sattva*- (sems. can. gyi).

[2] Here *api* is not supported by Tib. reading for it *eva* (ñid) which is better.

[3] In Tib. *api* is omitted.

[4] Omitted in Tib.

[5] MS. adds here *sattvasaṁkhyāte* not in Tib.

[6] Tib. adds *buddhiḥ* (blo) after *saced.*

[7] Here is a difference between the MS. and Tib.; and both of them appear to be defective. For *sattvo'pi* MS. has *tadanyasattvo'pi*. Tib. would lit. suggest: *sattvo'pi tadanyasattvaḥ sattvo'pi tadanyasattvo* reading sems. can. yaṅ. sems. can. de. las. gshan. paḥi. sems. can. yaṅ. de. las. gshan. paḥi. sems. can. du. ḥgyur.

[8] So the MS.

[9] Tib. don; MS. omits *artha*.

[10] Tib. des. na; MS. *tatra*.

[11] This is according to Tib., but the MS. reads *eva*- before *skandhāḥ*.

स इदं [1]स्याद्वचनीयः । **[6]** कच्चिदिच्छसि बुद्धिहेतुका वा चेष्टा [6] सत्त्वहेतुका वेति । सचेद्बुद्धिहेतुका । आत्मा चेष्ट[त] इति न युज्यते ॥ सचेदात्महेतुका बुद्धिपूर्वा चेष्टेति न युज्यते ॥

कच्चिदिच्छसि अनित्यश्चेष्टाहेतुर्नित्यो वेति । **[7]** सचेदनित्यः । [7] सविकार आत्मा[2] चेष्ट[त][3] इति न युज्यते ॥ सचेन्नित्यो निर्विकारः । तेन निर्विकारश्चेष्टत इति न युज्यते ॥

कच्चिदिच्छसि व्यवसायात्मकः सत्त्वश्चेष्टते [Tib. 59*a*. 1] ऽव्यवसायात्मको वेति । सचेद्व्यवसायात्मकः । तदा सदाचेष्टः पुनश्चेष्टत इति न युज्यते ॥ सचेद्व्यवसायात्मकः । तेनाव्यवसायात्मकश्चेष्टत इति न युज्यते ॥

[2] कच्चिदिच्छसि सहेतुकं सत्त्वश्चेष्टते निर्हेतुकं **[MS. 37*a*. 1]** चेष्टते वेति । सचेत्सहेतुकं । सत्त्वस्याप्यन्य[4]श्चेष्टायां प्रेरक इति न युज्यते ॥ सचेन्निर्हेतुकं । सदा सर्वकालं सर्वं [3] चेष्टत इति[5] न युज्यते[6] ॥

कच्चिदिच्छसि सत्त्वः स्वतन्त्रश्चेष्टते परतन्त्रो वेति । सचेत्स्वतन्त्रः । आत्मनो व्याधिं जरां मरणं दुःखं संक्लेशं [प्रति ?] चेष्टत इति न [4] युज्यते ॥ सचेत्परतन्त्रः । आत्मा चेष्टत इति न युज्यते ॥

स इदं[7] स्याद्वचनीयः । कच्चित्स्कन्धमात्रे सत्त्वप्रज्ञप्तिमिच्छसि स्कन्धेषु वान्यत्र वा स्कन्धे **[2]**भ्यः । [5] सचेत्स्कन्धमात्रे। तेन निर्विशिष्टः स्कन्धेभ्यः सत्यतः स्थितितोऽस्त्यात्मेति न युज्यते ॥ सचेत्स्कन्धेषु । स नित्यो वा स्यादनित्यो वा । [6] सचेन्नित्यः । नित्यस्य सुखदुःखाभ्यामनुग्रहोपघातो[8] न युज्यते । अनुग्रहोपघाते वा पुनः सति धर्माधर्मयोः प्रवृत्तिर्न युज्यते । प्रवृत्तावसत्या [7] मत्यन्तं[9] देहा **[3]**

[1] Tib. lit. *tatra evam api* (de. la. hdi. skad. kyaṃ).

[2] Tib. lit. *ātmanaś ceṣṭeti* (bad. gi. spyod. pa. shes. byar). See below where it is repeated. But the actual word *ceṣṭate* is found just after a few words. See note 3.

[3] See note 2.

[4] MS. *anyaceṣṭāyāṃ* for *anyaś ce°* (Tib. gshan. zig).

[5] MS. *ceṣṭati* for *ce° iti*.

[6] Tib. omits *na yujyate*.

[7] Tib. lit. *evaṃ* (hdi. skad). So in the above cases.

[8] So the MS.

[9] Tib. gtan for gtan. du.

नुत्पत्तिः । अप्रयत्ने च[1] सदा मुक्त आत्मेति न युज्यते ॥ सचेदनित्यः । पृथक् संस्कारेभ्यो भङ्गोत्पत्तिप्रबन्धप्रवृत्तितो नोपलभ्यत [Tib. 59b. 1] इति न युज्यते । इह च विनष्टस्यान्यत्राकृताभ्यागमदोष इति न युज्यते ॥ सचेदन्यत्र स्कन्धेभ्यः । तेनासंकृतः सत्त्व इति न युज्यते ॥ सचेदस्कन्धकः[2] । तेन [2] सदा-[3] ऽसंक्लिष्टोऽसम्बन्धा[4]दात्मेति न युज्यते ॥

कच्चिदिच्छसि द्रष्ट्रादिलक्षणो वा तदन्यलक्षणो वा । सचेद्द्रष्ट्रा[3] दि-लक्षणः । तेन किं दर्शनादिषु द्रष्टृत्वाद्युपचारं कृत्वा द्रष्टृत्वलक्षण आहोस्वित्पृथक्तेभ्यः । सचेद्दर्शनादिषु [उपचारे][5] तेन [6]दर्शना [4] दीन्येव द्रष्टृणीत्यात्मा द्रष्टेति न युज्यते । निर्विशिष्ट [आत्मा][7] दर्शनादिभिः[8] ॥ सचेदन्यस्तेभ्यः । तेन तद्दर्शनादिक-मात्मनः[9] **[6]** कर्म वा स्यात्करणं वा । सचेत्कर्म । तच्च [5] बीजवत्[10] । तेना-नित्यत्वान्न युज्यते ॥ सचेत्कुम्भकारादिसंव्यवहारपुरुषवत् । [6] तेनानित्यश्च सांवृतश्चेति न युज्यते । स कामकारी च सर्वार्थेष्विति[11] न युज्यते ॥ सचेत्पृथिवीवत् । तेनानित्यश्च । न च पृथिवीवत्स्पष्ट [7] कर्मेति न युज्यते । [7] तथाहि । पृथिव्याः कर्म स्पष्टमुपलभ्यते यदधस्ताच्चद्वशान्न पतति । सचेदाकाशवत् । तेन रूपभावमात्र आकाशप्रज्ञप्तिरिति न युज्यते । सत्यपि च प्रज्ञप्तिसत्त्वे [Tib. 60a. 1] स्पष्टं तत्-कर्मोपलभ्यते । न त्वात्मन इति न युज्यते । तथाह्याकाशस्य स्पष्टं कर्मोपलभ्यते यत्तद्वशादागमनगमनसङ्कोचनप्रसारणादिकर्म [2] प्रवर्तते । तस्मात् **[MS. 37b. 1]** कर्मेति न युज्यते ॥ सचेत्करणं दात्रादिवत् । तेन यथा दात्रादन्या छेदनादि-क्रिया एवं दर्शनादन्यद्दर्शनाद्यन्तरं नोपलभ्यत इति न युज्यते ॥ सचेदग्निवत् ।

[1] MS *ya*. Tib. ḫbad. mi. dgos. par.

[2] The Xylograph is here illegible.

[3] Tib. rtag. MS. *tadā*.

[4] Tib. hbrel. ba. med. paḫi. phyir, MS. *asambaddha-deha*°.

[5] Tib. gdags. na; but it seems to be read as btags. na.

[6] Tib. lta. ba. la. sogs. rnams. ñid. lta. ba. por. gyur. gyi. MS *darśanād ity eva*.

[7] Tib. bdag. mi.

[8] Tib. adds here *iti nirviśeṣād draṣṭā na yujyate* (bye. brag. med. pas. lta. ba. por. mi. ruṅ. ṅo.

[9] In the Xylograph read gi for gis. after bdag.

[10] Tib. sa. bon. daṅ. ḫdra. bas; MS *jīvat*.

[11] Both the Skt. and Tib. texts here are not clear.

तेन व्यर्थाग्निकल्पनेति न युज्यते । तथाह्यग्निरन्तरेणापि दाहकं स्वयमेव दहति ॥ सचेद्द्रष्टा[4]दिलक्षणादन्यः । तेन सर्वप्रमाणहीन आत्मेति न युज्यते ॥

स इदं स्याद्वचनीयः । **[2]** कच्चिदिच्छसि यत्संक्लेशव्यवदानलक्षण[5]युक्तं तत्संक्लिश्यते व्यवदायते वा । यद्वा तदलक्षणयुक्तम् । स चेद्यत्संक्लेशव्यवदानलक्षणयुक्तं तत्संक्लिश्यते वा [6] व्यवदायते वा । तेन येषु संस्कारेष्वीतय उपसर्गास्तद्व्युपशमानुग्रहा वोपलभ्यन्ते ते संस्काराः संक्लेश[7]व्यवदानलक्षणयुक्ताः । अतोऽसत्यात्मनि ते संक्लिश्यन्ते **[3]** व्यवदायन्ते चेति न युज्यते । तद्यथा बाह्यभावा आध्यात्मिकाश्च देहाः ॥ सचेत् [Tib. 60*b*. 1] तदलक्षणयुक्तम् । तेन संक्लेशव्यवदानलक्षणविरहितः संक्लिश्यते व्यवदायते वात्मेति न युज्यते ॥

स इदं स्याद्वचनीयः । कच्चिदिच्छसि यत्प्र[2]वर्तकलक्षणयुक्तं तत्प्रवर्तते च निवर्तते च । तदलक्षणयुक्तं वेति[2] । सचेद्यल्लक्षणयुक्तम्[3] । तेन संस्कारेषु पञ्चाकारं प्रवर्तक[4][3]लक्षण **[4]** मुपलभ्यते । तथाहि । यद्धेतुमदुत्पादशीलं व्ययशीलमन्योन्यपरम्पराप्रवृत्तं विकारि च तत्प्रवर्तकलक्षणम् । तच्च संस्कारेषूपलभ्यते । तद्यथा । [4] देहाङ्कुरनदीदीपयानस्रोतस्सु । तेनान्तरेणात्मानं संस्कारा एव प्रवर्तन्ते निवर्तन्ते चेति न युज्यते ॥ सचेदलक्षणयुक्तम् । तेन प्रवर्तकलक्षणहीन आत्मा प्रवर्तते [निवर्तते][5] चेति न युज्यते ॥

स इदं **[5]** स्याद्वचनीयः । कच्चिदिच्छसि यो विषयनिर्जाताभ्यां[6] सुखदुःखाभ्यां विकारमापद्यते । यश्च चेतनया विकारमापद्यते । [6] यश्च क्लेशोपक्लेशैर्विकारमापद्यते । स भोक्ता वा कर्ता वा मोक्ता वेति[7] । यो वा न विकारमापद्यते । सचेद्विकारमापद्यते । तेन संस्कारा [7] एव भोक्तारः कर्तारो मोक्तार इत्यनित्य आत्मा [इति][8] न युज्यते ॥ सचेन्[9] न विकारमापद्यते । तेन **[6]** भोक्ता कर्ता मोक्तात्मेति निर्विकारो [Tib. 61*a*. 1.] न युज्यते ॥

[1] Tib. lit. *ca* (dañ) for *vā*.

[2] Tib. ḥam; MS. *ca* for *vā*.

[3] Tib. gal. te. gañ. mtshan. ñid. dañ. ldan. pa; MS. *sācetyattalakṣaṇā*,

[4] In the Xylograph read hjug. pa for ḥdug. pa.

[5] Tib. ldog. par. ḥgyur.

[6] Tib. has. lit. *viṣayajanitābhyāṁ* (yul. gyis. bskyed. paḥi),

[7] Here *vā* is suggested by Tib. (ḥam), but the MS. reads *ca*. And *iti* is not in Tib.

[8] Tib. ḥgyur. bas. bdag. mi. rtag. par. ḥgyur. byaḥi. phyir. mi. ruñ, ño.

[9] MS. adds here *yaḥ* not in Tib. Cf. above: *sa ced vikāram āpadyate*.

स इदं स्याद्वचनीयः । कच्चिदिच्छस्यात्मन्येव [1]कर्त्रुपचार आहोस्विदन्यत्राप्यात्मनः । सचेदात्मन्येव । अग्निर्दहति आ[2]मालोकं करोतीति न युज्यते ॥ सचेदन्यत्रापि । तेन दर्शनादिष्विन्द्रियेषु कर्त्रुपचार इति व्यर्थात्मकल्पनेति न युज्यते ॥

स इदं [MS. 38a. 1] स्याद्वचनीयः । कच्चिदिच्छस्यात्मन्येवात्मोपचार आहोस्विदन्यत्रापीति । सचेदात्मन्येव । तेन संव्यवहारः पुरुषदेहे[3] गुणमित्रो बुद्धदत्त इत्येवमादि[:] [4] न युज्यते ॥ सचेदन्यत्रापि[4] । तेन संस्कारमात्र आत्मोपचार इति व्यर्थात्मकल्पनेति न युज्यते । तथाहि संव्यवहारः पुरुष एवात्र[5] सत्त्व इति संज्ञायते स्वयम्[6] । परेषामपि व्यपदिश्यते ॥

[5] स इदं स्याद्वचनीयः । कच्चिदिच्छसि येयमात्मदृष्टिरियं कुशला वाकुशला वेति । सचेत्कुशला । तेन मूढतराणां[7] [6] भृशतरोत्पद्यते । अन्तरेणापि प्रयोगमुत्पद्यते । मोक्षोत्त्रासकरी[8] दोषपोषिका चेति न युज्यते ॥ सचेदकुशला । तेन [एवं][9] सत्ये[10]पर्यस्तेति न युज्यते । सति च तद्विपर्यासे [7] अस्त्यात्मेति न युज्यते ॥

कच्चिदिच्छसि नैरात्म्यदृष्टिः [2] कुशला वाकुशला वेति । स चेत्कुशला । तेन सत्यतः स्थितितः सत्यात्मनि नैरात्म्यदृष्टिः कुशलाविपरीतेति न युज्यते ॥ [61b. 1] सचेदकुशला । तेन सर्वज्ञदेशिता प्रयोगजनिता मोक्षानु[11]त्त्रासकरी[12] शुक्लफला[13] दोषाणां प्रतिपक्षभूतेति न युज्यते ॥

[1] MS. adds before it *kartuṁ*.

[2] In the Xylograph read ḥod for yid.

[3] Tib. mi. lus. na; MS. *puruṣe dehe*.

[4] MS. omits *api*.

[5] Here *atra* is not supported by Tib. which suggests *api* (yaṅ).

[6] Not in Tib.

[7] Tib. simply *mūḍhānāṁ*.

[8] MS. *kārī*.

[9] Tib. de. lta.

[10] After *sati* MS. adds *samyag* not in Tib.

[11] MS. *mokṣo'nuttrāsa*.°

[12] MS. adds here *satyaḥ* (?)

[13] Here the Xylograph is illegible. One may read here ḥbras. bu '*phala*.' After this Tib. adds ḥbrel. du. thob. par. byed. pa suggesting *sambandha-prāptikarī*.

कश्चिदिच्छसि आत्मैवास्त्यात्मेति मन्यते आत्मदृष्टिर्वा । सचेदात्मैव । तेन न कदा[3]चिन्नास्त्यात्मेति बुद्धिः स्यादिति न युज्यते ॥ सचेदात्मदृष्टिः । तेनासत्यप्यात्मनि संस्कारमात्र आत्मदर्शनवशादस्त्यात्मेति मन्यत इति न युज्यते । [तस्मादात्मास्तीति न युज्यते ॥][1]

अपि तु [2]पारमार्थिकमात्मलक्षणं वक्ष्यामि । धर्मेष्वात्मप्रज्ञप्तिः[3] । [6] स तेभ्योऽन्यानन्यत्वेनावक्तव्यः । माभूदस्य द्रव्यसत्वमिति[4] । [5] तेषां वा धर्माणामात्मलक्षणत्वम् । स पुन[5]रनित्यलक्षणः । अध्रुवलक्षणः । अनाश्वासिक[7]-लक्षणः[6] । विपरिणामलक्षणः । जातिधर्मलक्षणः । जराव्याधिमरणाधर्मलक्षणः । धर्ममात्रलक्षणः । दुःखलक्षणः । तथाप्युक्तं भगवता [Tib. 62*a*. 1]

इतीमे भिक्षो धर्मा आत्मा[8] अध्रुवो[9]ऽनाश्वासिको विपरिणामधर्मको भिक्षो आत्मेत्येवमादि[10] ॥

[1] Tib. deḥi. phyir. bdag. yod. do. shes. byar. mi. ruṅ. ṅo. It adds here further: de. ltar. na. blo. sṅon. du. ma. btaṅ. ba. deḥi. blo. ḥjug. pa. daṅ | blo. [4] sṅon. du. btaṅ. . . . daṅ | phuṅ. po. rnams. la. ḥdogs. pa. daṅ | mtshan. ñid. rnam. par. bshag. pa. daṅ | kun. nas. ñon. moṅs. pa. daṅ | rnam. par. byaṅ. ba. rnam. par. bshag. pa. daṅ | ḥjug. pa. daṅ | ldog. pa. rnam. par. bshog. pa. daṅ | za. ba. po. daṅ | byed. pa. [5] daṅ | grol. ba. po. rnam. par. bshog. pa. daṅ | byed. pa. po. ḥdogs. brjod. pa. ḥdogs. pa. daṅ | lta. ba. ḥdogs. pas. kyaṅ. bdag. yod. par. mi. ruṅ. ṅo | It may thus be translated there being something not clear just after the beginning: evaṁ hi° [4] lakṣaṇavyavasthayā saṁkleśavyavasthayā pravṛttinivṛttivyavasthayā bhoktṛkartṛmoktṛvyavasthayā kartṛprajñaptyā vaktṛprajñaptyā draṣṭṛprajñaptyā ātmāstiti na yujyate ||

[2] Tib. yaṅ. dag. paḥi. Here yaṅ may be taken for *api tu*. In that case dag. paḥi would mean *suddhaṁ*. yaṅ. dag together may mean *paramārtha* for which we have generally don. dam.

[3] Tib. chos. rnams. la. bdag. ḥdogs; MS. *dharmeṣu prajñaptis tadātmā*.

[4] Tib. rdzas. su. hgyur. du. h°ṇ. baḥi phyir (?).

[5] These two words are not in Tib.

[6] Tib. yid. brtan. du. mi. ruṅ. baḥi. mtshan. ñid. daṅ.

[7] MS. adds here. *mātra* not in Tib.

[8] Tib. lit. *dharmās te'yam ātmā* reading khyod. kyi. (not kyis as in the Xylograph)° ḥdi. yin. te.

[9] Tib. reads fully. *adhruvas te. bhikṣo ātmā* (dge. loṅ. dag. khyod. kyi. bdag. mi. ni. brtan. pa. daṅ).

[10] The quotation is not traced,

[2] अपि चतुर्भिः[1] कारणैः संस्कारेषु [6] सत्त्वप्रज्ञप्तिर्वेदितव्या[2] । सुखसंव्यवहारार्थम् । लोकानुवृत्त्यर्थम् । सर्वथा सत्त्ववस्तु [3] नास्तीत्युत्त्रासप्रहाणार्थम् । आत्मनि परत्र च व्यपदेशतो गुणसत्त्वदोषसत्त्वसंप्रत्ययोत्पादनार्थं च । तस्मादात्मवादोऽप्ययोगैविहितः ॥ [7]

[1] Tib. *caturvidhaiḥ* (rnam. pa. bshis).
[2] Before this word Tib. wrongly puts *na* (ma).
[3] Tib. °*yukti*-(rigs) for °*yoga*. See below, Tib. 64*b*. 5.

KING TRASADASYU AS A DIVINE INCARNATION

A NOTE ON ṚGVEDA 4. 42

By

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THE frequently discussed and controversial hymn RV. 4. 42,[1] if viewed in the light of such information as is available from Hindu sources, seems capable of an interpretation which is consistent and reasonable, namely, that it records a belief of the Vedic king Trasadasyu that he was an incarnation of Indrāvaruṇā.

This interpretation is based upon the following principles:

1. Rejection, with Bloomfield, of the widely accepted theory that the hymn deals with a rivalry between Indra and Varuṇa for leadership of the gods.[2] This theory is nowhere explicit in the hymn.

2. Agreement with Bloomfield[3] that the hymn is one of self-praise[4] (*ātmastuti*), but disagreement with his view that the object of self-praise is the dual divinity Indrāvaruṇā mentioned at the end of the hymn. This deity is actually mentioned there not as its own object of praise but as the poet's.

[1] For the literature on this hymn see Oldenberg, *Rigveda Noten*, p. 301 ff.; Bloomfield, *Rig-Veda Repetitions*, p. 233.

[2] For the theory see Roth, ZDMG., 6. 73; PW s. v. *indra*; Whitney, JAOS., 3. 327; Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 90.

[3] Loc. cit.

3. Assumption, Grassmann notwithstanding, that the hymn is not two hymns, but a unit, as the text presents it.

4. Acceptance, for lack of any better authority to the contrary, of the tradition concerning authorship and deity addressed which is embodied in the Anukramaṇī, and use for commentary and interpretation of the legend recorded by Sāyaṇa.

The salient points in the Hindu tradition are as follows:

1. The authorship of the entire hymn is ascribed by the Anukramaṇī to Trasadasyu Paurukutsya. This is obviously the King Trasadasyu mentioned in stanzas 8 and 9.

2. This same Trasadasyu is named in the Anukramaṇī as the deity of stanzas 1-6, while Indra and Varuṇa receive stanzas 7-10.

3. In stanzas 8 and 9 it is stated that King Trasadasyu was born to Purukutsānī while Daurgaha, her husband and Trasadasyu's putative father, was in captivity. The seven ṛṣis, "our fathers," won him for her when she worshipped Indrāvaruṇā. Sāyaṇa repeats these details in a legend, to the effect that Purukutsa, son of Durgaha, was in captivity, but his wife Purukutsānī, though separated from him, through the help of the seven ṛṣis got the dual divinity Indrāvaruṇā to provide her with a son. Possibly we should think that the dual divinity was considered to function somewhat like a dead husband's brother in providing the deceased with lineage (cf. 10. 18. 8; 10. 40. 2).

If we put together the various items mentioned above and supply further details from the phraseology of the hymn itself, we can reconstruct the legend of the celebrated Vedic king Trasadasyu and the context of RV. 4. 42 in the following terms.

Purukutsa Daurgaha, husband of Trasadasyu's mother, was captured, possibly by dasyus, upon whom later Trasadasyu is to wreak vengeance. While Purukutsa was in captivity and his wife therefore incapable of conceiving by him, she nevertheless had a son who was named Trasadasyu.

The official story of the prince's parentage which was circulated was that the Queen got him from Indrāvaruṇā through the aid of the seven ṛṣis. Trasadasyu himself believed the story, considered himself divine, or at least half so, called himself *ardhadeva*, "demigod," and identified himself, again at least in part, with his assumed divine progenitor(s). In accordance with his belief he composed—or caused to be composed—this hymn of self-praise, in which he calls himself Indra and Varuṇa, ascribes to himself the deeds and attributes of the two deities whom he claims to incarnate, and supports his claim by recounting the story of his origin.

A king's pretence to divine descent is good mythic material in India as in Greece, and Trasadasyu is no stranger in his time and place than was Alexander. The Indian epics record divine parentage for Rāma and the Pāṇḍavas in stories of the widest circulation, and Vedic literature has at least one other instance besides the case of Trasadasyu. In the *Bṛhaddevatā* 7. 50-60 we read of the incarnation of Indra (Indra Vaikuṇṭha), who was a son of Vikuṇṭha, and Bṛhaddiva, at the end of RV. 10. 120, considers himself an incarnation of Indra.

Viewed in the light of this suggested interpretation the hymn falls into three parts: (1) Trasadasyu's self-praise as an incarnation of Indrāvaruṇā (stanzas 1-7); (2) the story of Trasadasyu's origin (stanzas 8-9); (3) final benedictory, formulaic stanza. Many difficulties can be resolved, and the hymn acquires unity.

TRANSLATION

मम द्विता राष्ट्रं क्षत्रियस्य विश्वायोर्विश्वे अमृता यथा नः ।
क्रतुं सचन्ते वरुणस्य देवा राजामि कृष्टेरुपमस्य वव्रेः ॥ १ ॥

Of me the king, incontestably and doubly is the rulership, just as of me, who give life to all, are all the gods. The

gods follow the will of Varuṇa; I rule the loftiest covering of the folk.

dvitā "incontestably, firmly," because Trasadasyu rules under the two great gods' authority, "doubly," because he in his own person combines the qualities of both divine kings, Indra and Varuna. *viśvāyu* a common epithet of Indra, though also used of other deities. *naḥ* plur. of majesty. In the second half of the stanza the first part specifies a Varuna element in Trasadasyu's character, the second might refer to either an Indra element (cf. *yáḥ* (*indraḥ*) . . . *íśe kṛṣṭīnā́ṃ nṛtúḥ* in 8. 68. 7) or a Varuṇa element (cf. *kṛṣṭír anyó* (*varuṇo*) *dhārá-yati právіktāḥ* in 7. 85. 3). The stanza weaves together qualities of Indra and Varuna to the greater glory of Trasadasyu.

अहं राजा वरुणो मह्यं तान्यसुर्याणि प्रथमा धारयन्त ।
क्रतुं सचन्ते वरुणस्य देवा राजामि कृष्टेरुपमस्य वव्रेः ॥ २ ॥

I am King Varuṇa. To me were assigned these divine powers at the beginning. The gods follow the will of Varuṇa; I rule the loftiest covering of the folk.

asuryāṇi: it is not clear what these "divine powers" are; they may be Varuṇa's powers as chief of the Asuras, or they may be the four irresistible powers of Indra mentioned in 10. 54. 4 *catvāri te asuryāṇi nāmādābhyāni mahiṣásya santi.*

अहमिन्द्रो वरुणस्ते महित्वोर्वी गभीरे रजसी सुमेके ।
त्वष्टेव विश्वा भुवनानि विद्वान्त्समैरयं रोदसी धारयं च ॥ ३ ॥

Indra am I, and Varuṇa. These two wide, deep, well-constructed spaces I fitted together by my might as the two world halves, like Tvaṣṭṛ knowing all creations, and I support them.

indro váruṇas: the text is easily intelligible if these two nominatives are understood to be applied by Trasadasyu to himself; there is no need to emend one of them to a vocative, as is commonly done (for example, von Schroeder, ***Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda***, p. 224), or to regard them as jointly equivalent to a dual (Bloomfield, loc. cit.).

अहमपो अपिन्वमुक्षमाणा धारयं दिवं सदन ऋतस्य ।
ऋतेन पुत्रो अदितेरृतावोत त्रिधातु प्रथयद्वि भूम ॥ ४ ॥

I made the swelling Waters flow; I established the sky in the seat of cosmic order. By cosmic order the son of Aditi, true to the cosmic order, spread out the threefold world.

The first half of this stanza refers to an achievement of Indra's, the second to one of Varuṇa's.

मां नरः स्वश्वा वाजयन्तो मां वृताः समरणे हवन्ते ।
कृणोम्याजिं मघवाहमिन्द्र इयर्मि रेणुमभिभूत्योजाः ॥ ५ ॥

On me the well-horsed heroes, out for booty, call; on me call those hard pressed in battle. I speed the battle, I the generous, Indra; I raise the dust, I who have overwhelming power.

Since *nárah* is a frequent epithet of the Maruts, this stanza may refer to the part they took in Indra's battle with Vṛtra, when hard pressed they called upon Indra. In that case the raising of dust would refer to Indra's dance after the battle was over; cf. Brown, JAOS., 62. 96.

अहं ता विश्वा चकरं नकिर्मा दैव्यं सहो वरते अप्रतीतम् ।
यन्मा सोमासो ममदन्यदुक्थोभे भयेते रजसी अपारे ॥ ६ ॥

I made all these [creations]; never did the devas' power hinder me, the peerless. When the soma draughts excited me, when the hymns, then both the boundless world regions were afraid.

Reference to the fear which heaven and earth felt of Indra when he drank the soma, in consequence of which they flew apart; cf. Brown, JAOS., 62. 95.

विदुष्टे विश्वा भुवनानि तस्य ता प्र ब्रवीषि वरुणाय वेधः ।
त्वं वृत्राणि शृण्विषे जघन्वान् त्वं वृताँ अरिणा इन्द्र सिन्धून् ॥ ७ ॥

All creations are aware of this concerning you; you proclaim them for Varuṇa, pious god. You are renowned for having slain the Vṛtras; you set free the streams, Indra, when they were in restraint.

An unclear stanza: for pāda *a* cf. *vidúṣ ṭe tásya hā́ravaḥ . . . v. ṭ. t. médhirāḥ* in 1. 11. 6, 7. For pāda *b* cf. *cā́ru jáneṣu prabruvāṇá indriyám* in 1. 55. 4.

अस्माकमत्र पितरस्त आसन्त्सप्त ऋषयो दौर्गहे बध्यमाने ।
त आयजन्त त्रसदस्युमस्या इन्द्रं न वृत्रतुरमर्धदेवम् ॥ ८ ॥

These were our fathers here, the seven ṛṣis, when Daurgaha was in captivity. They won for her (Daurgaha's wife) by sacrifice a terror of the Dasyus (Trasadasyu), enemy slaying like Indra, a demigod (or, punningly, like Indra the slayer of Vṛtra, the Lord of the Two World-halves).

पुरुकुत्सानी हि वामदाशद्धव्येभिरिन्द्रावरुणा नमोभिः ।
अथा राजानं त्रसदस्युमस्या वृत्रहणं ददथुरर्धदेवम् ॥ ९ ॥

For Purukutsānī worshipped you, Indrāvaruṇā, with oblations and honor. Then you gave her King Trasadasyu, slayer of enemies, a demigod (or, punningly, the slayer of Vṛtra, Lord of the Two World-halves).

राया वयं ससवांसो मदेम हव्येन देवा यवसेन गावः ।
तां धेनुमिन्द्रावरुणा युवं नो विश्वाहा धत्तमनपस्फुरन्तीम् ॥ १० ॥

May we win wealth and rejoice in it; [may] the gods [rejoice] in the oblation, the cows in the pasture. Give us, you two Indrāvaruṇā, always the cow that does not push away the milker.

A formulaic benedictory stanza. The cow is possibly the *sudughā dhenus* (see s. v. in Grassmann's *Wörterbuch zum Ṛgveda*).

THE *PRETA* CONCEPT IN HINDU THOUGHT AND RITUAL

By

HORACE I. POLEMAN

THE Ṛgvedic concept of the *pitṛ* (spirit of an ancestor) has persisted through Brahmanism and all periods of Hinduism. Its unique importance in the ritual prevailed in and survived the revolt of the Upaniṣads against the emphasis in the Brāhmaṇas on the power of ritual.

In the sūtras *preta*, which first meant the dead person, comes to mean the ghost. Around this keystone idea the vast ritual connected with death developed.

The words *preta* and *śava* do not occur in the Ṛgveda. When the meanings of *śava*, *preta*, and *pitṛ* are well established, the vagueness encountered in Ṛgveda X. 14. 18 with regard to the burning of the body and the journey of the soul to heaven disappears.

In the Ṛgveda it seems clear that the soul of one who has died goes to the ancient fathers immediately after cremation (RV. X. 14. 7-8). The dead man's *iṣṭāpūrta* takes him there, and there he stays presumably.

The Fathers were an important object of veneration in the Ṛgveda. They shared in the sacrifice, especially the drinking of soma with the gods, the new and full-moon sacrifices, and the *sautrāmaṇī*. Their benevolence is shown in RV. X. 15, where they are invoked to turn the merit acquired by their good deeds to the overthrow of the foe of the living, death. It is death which is feared, but not the dead. However, in one verse of this hymn (X. 15. 6) the

possibility of their bringing harm to their descendants who fail to produce due offerings seems clearly indicated.

The Upaniṣads, although not entirely opposed to ritual and sacrifice, relegate them to an inferior place. The one idea about the sacrifice which strongly persists in the principal, early Upaniṣads is that the faithful performance of offerings takes a man to the world of the Fathers, whence he will return to earth again in due course. But not thus can final liberation be won. As A. B. Keith points out on pages 574-575 in his *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads* the doctrine of transmigration developed in the Upaniṣads was disadvantageous to the sacrificial priest. The priestly mind, elaborating the idea of transmigration, made it as mysterious as possible. The necessity of the sacrifice which guaranteed the state of *pitṛ*hood, return to earth again, and final liberation preserved a basis for elaboration of the sacrifice.

In the *Kauśikasūtra* (lxxxviii. 28 and lxxxix. 6) and the *Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra* (iv. 7. 15) we first find the concept that the energy of the Fathers has one special end—the production of offspring. This is a significant and logical development, for it is only through continuing the family that the rites in honor of the Fathers can be perpetuated.

The next development, although the idea may have existed previously, is the concept that the newly departed dead do not immediately join the congregation of the Fathers. This idea may first appear in the *Śāṅkhāyanagṛhyasūtra* (iv. 2. 7) where in the *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha* it is prescribed that for one year after death certain rites are to be performed. Also in the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* (*ib.* iv. 3. 5-6) there are three water pots for the Fathers and one for the newly dead person, the contents of the pot for the newly dead being poured into the pots of the Fathers.

The concept of *preta* as dead person practically equivalent to *śava* (corpse) first appears in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* the *Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra*, and the *Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra*. In none of these places is there any suggestion

of soul-animation in the *preta*. The later concept of *preta* as soul or ghost is given only lexical standing in the *Amarakośa*, the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, and in Hemacandra. However, according to the Petersburg Lexicon it has such a significance in some contexts in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Lalitavistara*. The first certain use of *preta* as soul or ghost clearly distinguished from *pitṛ* and *śava* comes in the late *Baudhāyanagṛyasūtra* (iii. 12. 14). Here it is definitely stated for the first time that a *preta* becomes a *pitṛ* within one year.

As the ritual became more elaborate the differentiation of *śava* (corpse), *preta* (intermediate soul), and *pitṛ* became precise, especially in the late texts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As soon as fire is applied *śava* becomes *preta*, and at the expiration of the year's sacrifice *preta* becomes *pitṛ*. And only thus can final liberation be won. This can all be inferred from the instructions in late texts. For example in the *Antyeṣṭipaddhatis* of Keśava and of Viśvanātha, previous to the bringing of the fire to the corpse there is the first *piṇḍa* offering, and in this ceremony the word *preta* is properly used in referring to the dead person. But as soon as this preliminary *piṇḍa* ceremony is over the dead person whenever mentioned again is *śava* until the moment fire touches him. In Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's *Antyeṣṭi-paddhati* when a widow ascends the funeral pyre of her husband she is instructed to go up upon the *preta* not the *śava*, since the fires have already been brought. The same texts prescribe that lepers and people who die at inauspicious times are not cremated. They cannot become either *pretas* or *pitṛs*. Their souls do not go to heaven, and no happiness will come to their offspring.

In the final edifice of the ritual concerning death as established in the late, medieval texts no idea of significance has been discarded, and all ideas have been brought into a logical whole. Descendants are bound to maintaining the sustenance of the *preta*, lest it become a harmful ghost, never become a *pitṛ*, and lest its and their final liberation be

doomed. The *iṣṭāpūrta* concept is preserved in that the soul remains a *pitṛ* as long as the good deeds performed on earth warrant. The *pitṛ* remains auspicious, but the *preta* which never becomes a *pitṛ* is most harmful. Only through the medium of the rites can the individual be liberated, for without them there is no transmigration, and no offspring to carry on the torch.

ABHIJÑĀNAŚĀKUNTALA AND THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

By

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar

The first English translation of the *Bhagavadgītā* was published in 1785, being the work of Charles Wilkins and dedicated to Warren Hastings, the First Governor-General of India. The first English Translation of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśākuntala* was published in 1789, being the work of Sir William Jones, the founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. I have often wondered whether Kālidāsa knew the *Bhagavadgītā* and was influenced by its teaching. I wanted to investigate. The very great interest which Dr. C. Kunhan Raja shows in his writings for Kālidāsa and his works made me decide to select this as the subject for the following essay designed for the " Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume." I offer it here with my best wishes and cordial greetings.

In Kālidāsa's youthful and exuberantly sensuous works, the *Ṛitusaṁhāra* and the *Meghadūta* there is no indication that Kālidāsa had studied the *Bhagavadgītā*; and even in his first drama, the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, the only possible allusion to the *Bhagavadgītā* is the following:

MĀLAVIKĀGNIMITRA	BHAGAVADGĪTĀ
(1) त्रयी विग्रहवत्येव सममध्यात्मविद्यया ॥ १. १४	अध्यात्मविद्या विद्यानाम् ॥ १०. ३२

This is not, however, quite certain. In the *Vikramorvaśīya*, the only passage I was able to notice was:

VIKRAMORVAŚĪYA	BHAGAVADGĪTĀ
(2) त्वत्कार्यं वासवः कुर्यात्	इष्टान् भोगान् हि वो देवा
त्वं च तस्येष्टमाचरेः ॥ ५. २०	दास्यन्ते यज्ञभाविताः ॥ ३. १२

Even here, the doctrine is quite common, and Kālidāsa need not have gone to the *Bhagavadgītā* for it.

Things, however, become much more promising and certain when we come to the great *Kāvyas*. In the *Kumārasambhava* (I did not think it safe to consider the part lacking in Mallināṭha's commentary) I was able to find the following parallel passages.

KUMĀRASAMBHAVA	BHAGAVADGĪTĀ
(3) अथ सर्वस्य धातारं ॥ २. ३	सर्वस्य धातारमचिन्त्यरूपम् ॥ ८. ९
(4) प्रलयस्थितिसर्गाणा-	सर्गाणामादिरन्तश्च
मेकः कारणतां गतम् ॥ २. ६	मध्यं चैवाहमर्जुन ॥ १०. ३२
(5) आत्मानमात्मना वेत्सि ॥ २. १०	स्वयमेवात्मनात्मानं वेत्थ त्वं पुरुषोत्तम ॥ १०. १५
(6) वेद्यं च वेदिता चासि ॥ २. १५	वेत्तासि वेद्यं च परं च धाम ॥ ११. १८
(7) अन्तश्चराणां मरुतां निरोधा-	यथा दीपो निवातस्थो
न्निवातनिष्कम्पमिव प्रदीपम् ॥ ३. ४८	नेङ्गते सोपमा स्मृता ॥ ६. १९
(8) मनो नवद्वारनिषिद्धवृत्ति	*Cf. Gītā* 5. 13, 6. 20
हृदि व्यवस्थाप्य समाधिवश्यम् ॥ ३.५०	
(9) यमक्षरं वेद(v. l. क्षेत्र)विदो विदुस्त-	यदक्षरं वेदविदो वदन्ति ॥ ८. ११
मात्मानमात्मन्यवलोकयन्तम् ॥ ३. ५०	यत्र चैवात्मनात्मानं
	पश्यन्नात्मनि तुष्यति ॥ ६. २१
(10) योगिनो यं विचिन्वन्ति	क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञयोर्ज्ञानं यत्तज्ज्ञानं मतं मम ॥ १३. २
क्षेत्राभ्यन्तरवर्तिनम् ॥ ६. ७७	
(11) अनावृत्तिभयं यस्य	यद्गत्वा न निवर्तन्ते तद्धाम परमं मम ॥ १५. ६
पदमाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ ६. ७७	

Turning to the best known of Kālidāsa's *Kāvyas* the *Raghuvaṁśa*, the following parallelisms could be detected without much search:

RAGHUVAṀŚA	BHAGAVADGĪTĀ
(12) अगृध्नुराददे सोऽर्थ-	बाह्यस्पर्शेष्वसक्तात्मा
मसक्तः सुखमन्वभूत् ॥ १. २१	विन्दत्यात्मनि यत् सुखम् ॥ ५. २१
(13) अप्यर्थकामौ तस्यास्तां	धर्माविरुद्धो भूतेषु कामोऽस्मि भरतर्षभ ॥ ७. ११
धर्म एव मनीषिणः ॥ १. २५	

RAGHUVAṀŚA	BHAGAVADGĪTĀ
(14) त्वय्यावेशितचित्ताना	ये तु सर्वाणि कर्माणि
त्वत्समर्पितकर्मणाम् ॥ १०, २७	मयि संन्यस्य मत्पराः ॥ १२, ६
गतिस्त्वं वीतरागाणा- *	भवामि नचिरात् पार्थ
मभूयःसंनिवृत्तये ॥ १०, २७	मय्यावेशितचेतसाम् ॥ १२ ७
(15) लोकसंग्रह एवैको	कुर्याद्विद्वांस्तथासक्त-
हेतुस्ते जन्मकर्मणोः | ॥ १०, ३१	श्चिकीर्षुर्लोकसंग्रहम् ॥ ३. ३५
(16) नानवाप्तमवाप्तव्यं	न मे पार्थास्ति कर्तव्यं
न ते किंचन वर्तते ॥ १०. ३१	त्रिषु लोकेषु किंचन ।
* cf. *Gītā* 4. 10.	नानवाप्तमवाप्तव्यं
| cf. *Gītā* 4. 9.	वर्त एव च कर्मणि ॥ ११३. २२

Finally, in the *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, I was able to find out only the following verbal and material similarities:

ABHIJÑĀNAŚĀKUNTALA	BHAGAVADGĪTĀ
(17) अथ भगवान् लोकानुग्रहाय कुशली	कुर्याद्विद्वांस्तथासक्त-
काश्यपः । ५. १४१	श्चिकीर्षुर्लोकसंग्रहम् ॥ ३. १५
(18) सहजं किल जंपि णिन्दिअं	सहजं कर्म कौन्तेय
ण हु तं कम्म विवज्जणीअअं ॥ ६. १	सदोषमपि न त्यजेत् ॥ १८. ४८
(19) दिष्ट्या शकुन्तला साध्वी	विधिहीनमसृष्टान्नं
सदपत्यमिदं भवान् ।	मन्त्रहीनमदक्षिणम् ।
श्रद्धा वित्तं विधिश्चैव	श्रद्धाविरहितं यज्ञं
त्रितयं तत् समागतम् ॥ ७. २९	तामसं परिचक्षते ॥ १७. १३
(20) तव भवतु बिडौजाः प्राज्यवृष्टिः प्रजासु	देवान् भावयतानेन
त्वमपि विततयज्ञः स्वर्गिणः प्रीणयालम्	ते देवा भावयन्तु वः ॥ ३. ११

The above is not a very formidable list by any means, even after one has added a couple of other passages possibly omitted by me through inadvertence. True that some of the passages cited show an unmistakable identity of expressions and sentiments, particularly, some of the *Kumāra* and the *Raghu* citations. But have we any further telling evidence to prove that Kālidāsa had fully understood and appreciated the core of the *Bhagavadgītā* teaching? Such evidence, I think, can be forthcoming if we try to understand the central

ethical lesson of the *S'ākuntala*. This I shall try to expound briefly.

Kaṇva's hermitage on the banks of the Mālinī constitutes the scenic background for the first four Acts of the Play. The first glimpse that we get of the hermitage is as a place of innocent and idyllic joy and peace and contentment. *Aho madhuram āsāṁ dars'anam.* The last that we see it is as a place overwhelmed with weeping (*Osariyapaṇḍupattā muanti assū via ladāo* · iv. 12), separation (*Vaccha, kiṁ sahavāsapariccaīṇiṁ mam aṇusarasi*: iv. 141), anxiety (*Imiṇā saṁdeheṇa vo ākampidahmi*: iv 196), and absence of peace, which even the great Kaṇva himself feels (cf. the stanza, *S'amam eṣyati me s'okaḥ*, iv. 21), although the Sage knows how to get over the feeling and regain his peace. Not so, however, the other inmates of the hermitage, who discharged the appointed duties of their routine life more for the pleasure that they brought to them, than from any higher call of duty for its own sake. At any rate, Kālidāsa goes out of his way to tell us that S'akuntalā's ideal in life at that stage was nothing higher than "Upabhoga": *Ramaṇīe kkhu kāle imassa ladāpādavamihuṇassa vaiaro saṁvutto. Ṇavakusumajovvaṇā Vaṇajosiṇī, baddhapallavadāe* UABHOAKKHAMO *Sahaāro*

Into this hermitage enters King Duṣyanta and his entourage, whose ideal in life was pitched to a far lower key than that of the dwellers of the Hermitage. Kālidāsa symbolically compares the visit to an invasion of it by an infuriated elephant (*Mūrto vighnas' tapasa iva no*: i. 32). There accordingly ensues a conflict of ideals. S'akuntalā and her companions might bid the King welcome; but Dīrghāpāṅga the deer distrusted the hunter-King from the very first (*Savvo sagandhesu vissasadi*: v. 201). So likewise did the Vidūṣaka and the Senāpati hate their enforced residence away from the pleasures of the Town (*Sampadaṁ Naaragamaṇassa kahaṁ vi ṇa karedi*; also, *Sakhe, sthirapratibandho bhava. Ahaṁ tāvat Svāminas' cittavṛttim anuvartiṣye*). Ready-wittedness (*pratyutpannamatitvam*), 'as

Duṣyanta avers in Act v, may or may not be the Nature's dowery (*yautakam*) to womankind; but in the course of Duṣyanta's short stay at the hermitage the girls had become past masters in the art of innocent dissimulation and deceit, as witnessed by the ruse that Priyaṁvadā proposed for handing over S'akuntalā's love-letter to the King. An end has to be gained; why be over-particular about the means? But thus to seek pleasure at all costs is the surest way of driving it away from us; not of getting it within measurable time

The scenic background of Acts v and vi is the Royal Court at Hastināpura. Life there is one of sordid self-seeking and self-complaisant worldliness, which all but engulfs Duṣyanta's conception of Royal duty and decorum (cf. *Aho dhammāvekkhitā Bhaṭṭiṇo! Īdisaṁ ṇāma suhovaṇadaṁ ṇuvaṁ dekkhia ko aṇṇo viāredi*). Those whose lot it is to live this life of sensuousness and small scandal--knowing nothing higher—are not normally discontented with their lot by any means. The Scene in fact opens with music! Why, even the Purohita, as representing the conscience of the Court and its denizens, is foolishly attempting to give first lessons in court etiquette to S'ārṅgarava by pointing out the great condescension of the King, who is waiting ***standing all the time*** to receive the holy sages; and the poor priest gets for his pains a merited rebuff: ***Bho mahābrāhmaṇa, kāmam etad abhinandanīyam. Tathāpi vayam atra madhyasthāḥ*** (v. 11[a]). When S'akuntalā and her escorting party (as representing the higher of the two ideals) visit the Court, contrary to her own expectations and to what she herself did earlier as the hostess of the hermitage, she is there treated with discourtesy and is even insulted. As befits the daughter of the fiery Vis'vāmitra, S'akuntalā at first bandies words, but finally sheds passionate tears. Eventually however, she is compelled to learn the great lesson of patience, forbearance and trust. This happens, of course, much later.

The visit of S'akuntalā to the Court and the ensuing conflict of ideals has, however, changed the Court's own normal

life and outlook. It no longer finds pleasure, as before, in music and frivolity. These are now sternly tabooed : *Tasmāt prabhavato vaimanasyād utsavaḥ pratyākhyātaḥ*. But neither giving oneself up wholly to pleasures, nor an enforced renunciation of them, can ever be a means to true happiness. Happiness, like sleep, is apt to fly further and further away from you the more zealously you try to woo and win it. It is best come unbidden. A poet tells us :

कविता वनिता चैव स्वयमेवागता वरम् ।
बलादानीयमाना तु सरसा विरसा भवेत् ॥

That is exactly true of happiness also. Deserving happiness is far more important than winning it.

Suffering has the great merit of chastening one's character. This suffering has come to S'akuntalā, passing her days *niyamakṣāmamukhī* in devout and holy service in Mārīca's heavenly hermitage. "Upabhoga" is no longer the key word in that hermitage; and this Kālidāsa has gone out of his way to emphasise : *Yat kāṅkṣanti tapobhir anyamunayas tasmiṁs tapasyanty amī* (viii. 12). Hence it is that when her penitent husband offers to take her back, S'akuntalā does not demand explanation nor insists upon full satisfaction. Poetic justice requires that this be given to her. It does in fact come when Mārīca tells of the Curse ; but S'akuntalā, not wishing to tempt Fate further, had already accepted Duṣyanta before that. Similarly, suffering has also chastened Duṣyanta. For this we have only to contrast his self-confidence in the earlier Acts as illustrated by :

Athavā bhavitavyānāṁ dvārāṇi bhavanti sarvatra (i. 16) ;
Yad āryam asyām abhilāṣi me manaḥ (i. 22) ;
Dṛṣṭvā te viditadharmā tatrabhavān na doṣaṁ grahīṣyati Kulapatiḥ (iii. 215) ;
Bhadre, prathitaṁ Duṣyantasya caritam. Tathāpi idaṁ na lakṣyate (v. 231) ;

with the utter lack of that same self-confidence in the concluding Acts of the Play as evidenced by, amongst others :

Mamāpy ante puruśriya eṣa eva vṛttāntaḥ (vi. 235);
Ahany ahany ātmanā eva tāvaj jñātum pramāda-skhalitam na śakyam (vi. 26);
Manorathāya nāśaṃse kiṃ bāho spandase vṛthā (vii. 13);

and, finally, by the evident reluctance with which he persuades himself to believe in his great good luck in getting his wife and son restored to him.

As Kālidāsa's knowledge of the *Bhagavadgītā* is placed beyond cavil by some of the parallelisms already cited in the earlier parts of the paper, I think it is safe to assert that it would not have been possible for the Poet to plan and to carry out in detail the dénouement of the *Ābhijñānaśakuntala* the way Kālidāsa has actually done it, unless he had studied the *Bhagavadgītā* very attentively and understood the heart of its teaching. The First Act of the Play opens in late Spring, the characteristic note of which, in the Sutradhāra's own words, is its being UPABHOGAKṢAMAM, or ministering to sheer unrestrained enjoyment. Such an ideal, deliberately pursued with the careless *abandon* of the bee (*madhukara*), is sure to end in grief and sorrow. As the *Gītā* (v. 22) teaches:

Ye hi saṃsparśajā bhogā duḥkhayonaya eva te.

Similarly, the Sixth Act of the Play opens in early Spring, but this time there is imposed upon all and sundry a forceful abnegation of all pleasures. On this point also the teaching of the *Bhagavadgītā* (iii. 6) is as explicit as can be wished:

Karmendriyāṇi saṁyamya ya āste manasā smaran |
Indriyārthān vimūḍhātmā mithyācāras sa ucyate ||

For true blessedness what is needed is the Karmayoga of the *Bhagavadgītā* with its emphasis upon the doing of the rightful acts by abandoning egotism and fruit-hankering: cp. BG. ii. 71—

Vihāya kāmān yas sarvān pumāṁś carati niḥspṛhaḥ |
Siddhyasiddhyos samo bhūtvā samatvaṁ Yoga ucyate ||

The *Abhijñānaśākuntala* can thus be fittingly described as the dramatisation of the central teaching of the *Bhagavadgītā*.

"CONNEXION" EN VÉDIQUE, "CAUSE" EN BOUDDHIQUE

PAR LE

PROFESSEUR LOUIS RENOU

LA pensée védique, telle qu'on l'entrevoit sous sa forme rituelle dans les Brāhmaṇa, sous sa forme spéculative dans les Upaniṣad, se définit comme un système d'équations,—équations entre le microcosme et le macrocosme, entre le monde rituel et le monde mythique, entre l'ordre humain et l'ordre divin, le point culminant de ces associations étant la fameuse formule *tat tvam asi.* Ce n'est là, d'ailleurs, que l'aboutissement du réseau d'interrelations et d'identifications primitives dont était tissée la substance des Hymnes. Le Vedānta demeurera fidèle à ce type de pensée, comme toute la spéculation brāhmanique, dans la mesure où elle n'est pas commandée par la "génétique" du Sāṁkhya.

Le bouddhisme, au contraire, met en évidence des rapports de cause à effet. Il ne reconnaît les phénomènes objectifs et subjectifs, le Nirvāṇa excepté, qu'en tant qu'ils sont engagés dans des "combinaisons causales" (tel paraît bien être le sens du mot *saṁskāra*). Sans doute est-ce la conséquence directe de la théorie du *karman*, que le bouddhisme a accréditée, sinon inventée, et qui n'avait de sens que dans les limites d'une stricte causalité.

On peut se demander si le vocabulaire respectif du védisme et du bouddhisme ne porte pas la marque d'une sorte de translation qui aurait fait passer des valeurs de "connexion" à des valeurs de "cause". Quelques termes importants sont à examiner sous cet angle.

Upanisa en pāli signifie " cause ", comme on sait. On a sité longtemps à mettre le mot en parallèle avec *upanisad*, raison de la différence de sens On a été jusqu'à supposer ie le mot pāli remontait à *upanissaya*. Mais *upanisa* est *upaniṣad* ce qu'est *parisa* à *pariṣad*, et le sanskrit boudhique connaît parfaitement la forme *upaniṣad* (à côté d'*upaṣā*, mal sanskritisé) au sens de " cause " (Mahāyānasutrāṁkāra trad S. Lévi p. 103, Bodhisattvabhumi étude de 'ogihara p. 21, Prajñāpāramitā éd. Tucci index, Madhyāntabhāgaṭikā index, Daśabhumikā index de Rahder, Abhidharakośa trad. La Vallée Poussin I p. 106 note, ubi alia). 'énumération *mokṣasyopaniṣat . . .vairāgyam, jñānasyopaniṣat . . . samādhiḥ* etc. Saundaran. XIII, 22 sqq., qui produit celle d'Aṅguttaranik. V. p. 311, confirme bien qu'il agit d'un doublet pur et simple.

En apparence, on est loin du sens védique d'*upaniṣad* du moins on traduit ce mot par " formule secrète " ou chose secrète " (Deussen et autres), par " croyance, conaissance " (Senart) ou par " hommage " (Oldenberg). Pour ndre compte de l'évolution, il faut partir, non pas comme l'a fait jusqu'ici, de passages extraits des Upaniṣad ellesêmes, mais des Brāhmaṇa, où le terme se crée pour ainsi re sous nos yeux. On sait les rapports étroits de fond et forme qui existent entre les derniers livres du Śatapatha (-XIV) et les plus anciennes Upaniṣad. Or St. Schayer le remier (Rocznik Orj. III, 1926, p. 57), faisant appel aux rāhmaṇa, a démontré qu'*upaniṣad* signifiait " équivalence agique ". Nous dirons plutôt : " connexion ", car l'équialence n'est que la traduction linéaire, très fréquente à vrai ire, mais non nécessaire, d'un type de " connexion " qui nprunte divers aspects. Le sens premier du terme est approcher " (*upa-ni-SAD*), c'est-à-dire " être ou mettre en gard, confronter ". Ainsi ŚB. X. 4, 5, 1 formule un enseignement d'*upaniṣad* " : cet enseignement se résume ans les équations " Agni est le Vent, Agni est le Soleil, Agni t l'Année ". De même XII, 2, 2, 23 il est mentionné une

upaniṣad de l'Année : c'est à savoir le jour ; AĀr. III. 1. 1 il est instauré une correspondance entre des phonèmes du langage et des objets extérieurs, et c'est une *upaniṣad.* Dans un passage du Vādhūlasūtra (Acta Or. VI, p. 153) une série de connexions entre des objets et des schèmes rituels est notée par l'expression *upaniṣadādīnām anvākhyānam* "une explication ayant forme d'*upaniṣad*". Schayer a montré comment ce sens persiste dans l'emploi que la Ch. Up et la B. Ār. Up. font du mot, si on l'interprète correctement : ainsi BĀU. V. 5, 3 *tasyopaniṣad ahar iti* ne signifie rien de plus que " la connexion (sur le plan objectif du personnage situé dans le soleil) est le jour", ibid., II. 1, 20 *tasyopaniṣat satyasya satyam iti* " la connexion vraie de l' (*ātman* réside dans la formule) : le réel du réel". La différence entre le mot védique et le mot bouddhique se ramène donc aux conditions dans lesquelles s'effectue la démarche même des deux pensées.[1]

Le mot *nidāna* a suivi une évolution similaire. Il apparaît lui aussi dans le S'atapatha, mais dans des livres plus anciens (I à V) et figure, plus faiblement représenté, dans quelques autres Brāhmaṇa : c'est le terme auquel se substituera en quelque sorte *upaniṣad.* Méconnu par Eggeling et par la plupart des traducteurs, *nidāna* désigne une connexion à base d'identité entre deux choses situées sur des plans différents. Ainsi l'officiant *āgnīdhra* fait tel geste que le dieu Agni a fait lui-même jadis, c'est parce qu'il est " Agni, en vertu de la connexion, *nidānena* " SB. I. 2, 4, 13. " En vertu de la connexion la parole est la vache (au prix de laquelle on achète le soma) " III. 2, 4, 10 (cf. les identifications bien connues établies dans le Veda entre la parole et la vache). " En vertu de la connexion " le sacrifiant est identifié à la victime animale AB. II. 11, 5. Le Baudhāyanas'rauta use un peu plus librement du terme—en ce sens que l'emploi adverbial *nidānena,* qui rappelle le fréquent *tatonidānaṃ* du pāli, n'y est plus seul en usage), mais il ne

[1] See Notes at the end of this Article.

nble pas que, là encore, le sens soit différent. Un dernier fiet de cet emploi est dans une Upanisad tardive, Nṛsiṃha-rva IV. 2. Chez Durgācārya, commentateur du Nirukta, *dāna* est la "connexion" spéciale d'un *itihāsa* avec son entuelle source historique, les *naidāna* sont les exégètes storicisants du Veda (Sieg, Sagenstoffe p. 29). Il y a un uité védique qui porte le nom de Nidānasutra : il traite des connexions" entre les rites d'une part, les *sāman* ou leur rme métrique de l'autre.

Dans le Ṛgveda ancien, le mot est déjà attesté une fois, ais avec sa valeur concrète primitive, pour décrire les vaches liées" qu'Indra doit libérer (VI. 32, 3). Mais, dès le gveda récent, comme l'a remarqué Oldenberg, Weltan-hauung der Brāhmaṇa-texte p. 117 (auquel est due la dé-ouverte du sens précis du mot), *nidāna* s'appliquait à une sociation à tendance ésotérique, ainsi à une sorte de re-ésentation substituée des trois Nirṛti (X. 114, 2), ou bien à ensemble des "connexions" qui définissent le sacrifice ζ. 130, 3).

En bouddhique, l'acception de "cause" est générale. i *nidāna* s'est adapté plus spécialement à dénommer la imeuse chaîne duodénale, le *pratītyasamutpāda*, c'est bien u'il y survit la notion de "connexion", et qu'il s'agissait de iractériser un ensemble de phénomènes qui consistent en un ichaînement rigoureux de causes et d'effets. Ici comme ouvent, le vocabulaire médical est plus voisin de l'usage ouddhique que du brāhmanique, et *nidāna* dans les traités lassiques signifie "étiologie" d'où "pathologie" en général.[1]

Le bouddhisme, qui a multiplié les mots signifiant cause" (les nuances de sens, flottantes d'ailleurs et nputables souvent à la scolastique, n'ont pas d'importance our notre propos), use aussi du terme *pratyaya*. Ici encore, : sens premier doit être le même que celui d'*upaniṣad* et e *nidāna* (de là l'emploi plus précis de "connexion causale" ui se montre en bouddhique dans l'expression déjà citée ratītyasamutpāda, proprement "production en fonction

des causes "). Ce sens, à vrai dire, n'est pas directement donné [1]. Mais on en peut suivre l'image à travers l'emploi technique qu'attestent les premiers ouvrages où figure le terme, les Prātiśākhya (" phonème subséquent ") et Pāṇini (" suffixe "). Il s'agit d'une chose " connectée " à un élément antérieur, désignée en fonction d'un *pūrvarūpa* ou d'une *prakṛti*. De ce sens postulé de " connexion " dérivent les acceptions qui prévaudront en sanskrit classique : " idée, croyance, conviction ". Le verbe prati-I conserve dans le Veda la notation toute concrète : " aller en contact avec " [4].

Il est probable enfin que le mot *nimitta*, qui veut dire " cause " [5] et " signe "— le premier sens vers la fin de la période védique et chez les grammairiens, le second après le védisme —, note d'abord la " connexion " entre une chose signifiante et une chose signifiée. Si telle est bien la valeur, on sera tenté de rallier le mot à la racine *i.e.* **MEI*-(élargie par *-t* en l'occurrence), que Walde-Pokorny pose, sans vastes justifications il est vrai, avec le sens de " lier ". L'usage du préverbe *ni* est un argument en faveur de cette thèse, cf. *nibandhana*, *nidāna*, *niyut*, *niyam-* etc [6].

NOTES

1. Une autre valeur du mot, en bouddhique, est " comparaison " : dans un passage des Jātaka cité chez Rhys Davids-Stede, et en sanskrit, dans une formule qu'on trouve S'ikṣāsamuccaya p. 187, 1 ; 315, 9 ; Saddharmap. p. 299, 13, 333, 7 ; 349, 3 (et autres passages cités La Vallée Poussin loc. laud.) : soit *saṁkhyām api kalām api gaṇanam apy upamām apy upaniṣām api na kṣamate* (et variantes) " il surpasse tout nombre, toute division, tout calcul, toute comparaison, toute similitude ". On est tout près ici de la connotation vedique. En revanche il faut écarter l'expression *upaniṣatkṛtya* (Pāṇini I 4, 79) qui signifie non pas " ayant comparé ", mais " ayant traité en forme d'Upaniṣad ", cf. les commentaires, et notamment le Nyāsa qui signale à ce propos que *upaniṣad* a aussi le sens de *hetu*.

2. La langue jaina a conféré à *nidāna* (*niyāna*) une acception aberrante : le désir de posséder certains avantages dans une existence future. Jacobi (cité chez Schubring, Lehre der Jainas p. 197 n. 5) a rassemblé diverses explications du mot dans son édition de Samarāiccakahā p. XIX et XXX. Il semble bien qu'on doive partir de l'idée de " connexion ". Le terme est défini par *mithyātvayuktam ajñānam* " ignorance connectée à une erreur " Samarādityasaṁkṣepa IV. 469 et la définition du Tattvarthādhigama VII. 32 use aussi du terme *anubandha* " connexion ".

3 Toutefois il semble que ce sens soit attesté dans l'expression *atyayamantra* "versets relatifs à (tel rite)" Baudh ŚS. XXIII. 10 165, 8.

4. Dans les inscriptions sanskrites, *pratyaya* désigne souvent une tenure" (cf. Epigr. Indica XI p. 81 note 4, où l'on verra d'autres référ-nces). Il n'est pas malaisé de voir comment "tenure" a pu sortir de connexion".

5. A vrai dire cette acception est plus brāhmanique que bouddhique; ldenberg GGA. 1917 p. 161, n. 5 doutait même de son authenticité pour bouddhisme ancien

6. Ailleurs, le sens de "cause" émane d'une notion de "lieu". e lieu où se passe une action, où se présente un objet, forme par rapport cette action, à cet objet une "connexion spatiale". Le "lieu" dans expression indienne est rarement une notion de "séjour" à l'état pur, 'est un plan de références, un champ de connexions. On le voit clairement ans *adhikarana* (terme qui chez les commentateurs bouddhiques a revêtu sens de "cause") qui note chez les grammairiens l'ensemble des valeurs ssumées par le locatif et qui parallèlement désigne le point de contact des ctions, le domaine des interférences. On peut citer plusieurs autres noms ouddhiques de la "cause" (en partie attestés seulement chez les commen-ateurs): *āyatana*, proprement "siège", *pratiṣṭhā*, "point fixe, support", *ālambana*, "point d'appui"; peut-être *vastu*, "site", si c'est bien ce terme et non *vastu*, "chose") qui est à la base du p. *vatthu* (en tant qu'ici oncerné).

A QUAINT GĀTHĀ STANZA

BY

DR. IRACH J. S. TARAPOREWALA

Text

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

tat Thwā pərəsā, ərəš -mōi vaocā, Ahurā,

8 9 10 11 12

kathā Ašā tat mīzdəm hanānī —

13 14 15 16 17

dasā aspāo aršnavaitīš uštrəm -cā?

18 19 20 21 22

hyat mōi apavaitī Haurvātā Amərətātā,

23 24 25 26 27

yathā hī, Mazdā, taēibyō dāoṅhā.

Translation

1 3 2 6 5 4 7

This I ask Thee, tell me truly, O Ahura:

8 12 9 10 11

How shall-I-earn through Aša that reward —

13 14 15 17 16

ten Senses led-by-the-Mighty-One and Illumination?

18 21 22

That Perfection (and) Immortality

20 19

might-be-understood by me,

25 27 24 23 26

that I-may-bring them-both, O Mazda, to mankind,

(Notes on the trans.: 13-17, Usually translated literally, 'ten mares with a stallion, and a camel'. 19. Originally, gen. sg. 26. Literally, 'to them', 'to these'. 27. Literally, 'I may place'.)

It does seem strange that none of the modern scholars and commentators have tried to explain the glaring incongruity in the words of Z. in this verse, the very heterogeneous mixture of Aša, mares, stallion, camel, Haurvatāt (Perfection) and Amərətāt (Immortality) in this verse. Western scholars have insisted that the words should be taken *literally* and our Parsi scholars have mostly echoed their views. Mills insists (SBE. 31, p. 120, n. 1) that *uštra* means 'camel' and has always meant this, and adds that "horses were material for sacrifice among the Persians according to Herodotus." But he does admit that "the reasons for the prayer are not fully expressed." Kanga merely says that the ten mares etc. give the details of the reward, and leaves it at that. It certainly seems that Mills saw and appreciated the incongruity of the grouping. Moulton (*Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 369, n. 3) sees in this "a touch of reality" which "should disprove any theory that makes the Gāthās move in the sphere of the mystical and mythical alone." In spite of this, however, he calls this 'a quaint stanza' (*op. cit.*, p. 155). But being entirely shut out from all mystic and occult tradition he has failed to see the inner meaning of this 'quaint stanza.'

Ever since I first read the translation of this verse I have believed that there was some occult or mystic symbolism behind the animals named here. I have always wondered why the Pahlavi translators have not made the point clear. Pahlavi literature abounds in such mystic animal symbolism. For instance there is the 'three-legged ass' of *Bundahišn*, XIX.1-12, which seems to refer to the *cakras* in man. A likely explanation why this particular symbolism has not been clearly explained might be that it was well understood in those days.

I believe that this verse embodies a very ancient occult symbology which has been explained at length in the Kathopaniṣad (I. 3. 3-6). Here the Ātman is called the 'Lord of the Chariot,' the Body is 'the Chariot,' and the human senses

are 'the Horses.' These 'horses' are rushing outwards at various material objects that attract them unless curbed by the 'reins' of the Mind (*Manas*). I make the suggestion (for whatever it is worth) that the 'mares' of the Gāthā verse are the same as the 'horses' of the Upaniṣad. They are *ten* because from very ancient times Aryan people have recognised them as made up of five 'senses of knowing' (*jñānendriyāṇi*) and five 'senses of action' (*karmendriyāṇi*) In the Gāthā verse we have these ten symbolised as 'mares', and they are *aršnavaitīš* (accompanied or led by a stallion). Bartholomae gives the Skt. *vṛṣaṇvatī* as the equivalent of the Av. adjective. This word occurs in RV. VIII 68. 18. In that Vedic verse this mare "accompanied by the stallion" is further described as *svabhīśūḥ kaśāvatī* (obedient to rein and whip). This implies that the stallion being 'the mighty one' (*vṛṣan*) controls her. Hence I wish to suggest further that in the Gāthā the stallion guides and controls the mares just as the 'reins' do in the Upaniṣad. As to the identity of the stallion we have a verse of the Bhagavadgītā (XIII. 5) which speaks of *indriyāṇi daśaikaṁ ca* (the ten senses and the one), a clear combination of eleven—the ten mares and the stallion. S'aṅkara in his commentary explains this very clearly: "*The ten senses* are made up of the five 'buddhi-indriyas', senses of knowledge—such as hearing—so called because they produce knowledge, and of the five 'karma-indriyas', senses of action—such as speech and hand—so called because they perform action. *And the one*: the Manas, which is composed of thoughts, is the eleventh sense."

It is interesting here to note that "the simile of the chariot has some points of similarity with the well-known passage in Plato's Phaedros, but Plato did not borrow this simile from the Brahman." (Max Müller, *Upanishads* II, SBE. 15, p. 12, n. 3.) Plato was certainly one of the greatest occultists of Ancient Greece, and the same idea found in his works points to an ancient occult tradition inherited by Iran, India and Greece.

As regards *uśtra*, as I have pointed out, while discussing the significance of the name Zarathushtra (Yasna 29-8), that the word originally means 'Light' or Illumination.'

So now we can clearly see what the verse really means. Z. hopes that 'through Aśa.' He may get His reward, *viz.*, His ten Senses, under complete control of the 'Mighty One' (the Mind), and the resulting Illumination. Then He would comprehend what Perfection and Immortality really are, and would help mankind to understand them also.

MAṆIPRAVĀLA IN JAVA

By

SIRDAR MAJOR K. M. PANIKKAR

THE development of literature in the vernacular on the models of Sanskrit *kāvya* and under the influence of scholarship in Sanskrit has been a feature in many Indian languages. But the style in which Sanskrit words are not merely freely used with their grammatical formations, but the vernacular words are themselves subjected to Sanskrit construction, known in Malayālam as Maṇipravāla, has so far been considered peculiar to the West Coast. The study of Kavi literature in Java, however, shows that a parallel development took place in that country more or less at the same time as the Maṇipravāla literature developed in Kerala. That the extensive literature which came into existence in both the countries were based on the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, is a further point of similarity which may be noted in this connection.

About the origin of this literature in Java, it is difficult to speak with any certainty. The earliest real *kāvya* we come across is the *Sumanasantaka* which deals with the love story of Aja and Indumatī. This is said to have been composed in the early twelfth century. It is a long work of many cantos and it is noteworthy that the poet freely uses different Sanskrit metres with facility and skill. The description of Indumatī's *Svayamvara* shows clear similarities with the 6th Sarga of *Raghuvaṁśa* which treats of the same event.

The *Harisrya Kāvya* deals with the story of Mālyavān, Māli and Sumāli, Rākṣasa kings, who were defeated and

driven out of Laṅkā by Viṣṇu. The story follows the normal development of similar themes, with the sorrows of the *devas*, the counsel of Bṛhaspati, visit to Kailāsa, and on S'iva's advice, the seeking of Viṣṇu's protection and the fight between Viṣṇu and the *Asuras*. Another *kāvya* dealing with the characters in the Rāmāyana is *Arjunavijaya* which deals with the victory of Kārtavīryārjuna, the Haihaya King, over Rāvaṇa. This work can be definitely placed in the second half of the 14th century as its author Mpu Tantular was a *protégé* of Ranamangala, the half brother of king Hyam Wyaruk.

The *kāvyas* based on the Mahābhārata story are more numerous, and in many ways more interesting. The Mahābhārata is the epic *par excellence* of Java, and its popularity even in the present Muslim period is something remarkable. It inspired a very extensive literature, the most famous of which is the *Bhāratayuddha*, an independent work of epic propoitions. The author Pu Seda was tutor to S'rī Paduka Bharata Jayabhaga. The story begins with the embassy of Kṛṣṇa to the court of Duryodhana and ends with the massacre of the Pāṇḍava followers by As'vatthāma. The *Bhāratayuddha* has continued to be so popular with the people of Java that it has been rendered into modern Javanese and has also been critically edited by modern scholars.

Of the great *kāvyas* based on the Mahābhārata, the most important are the *Harivijaya*, *Ghaṭotkacās'raya*, *Arjunavivāha*, *Pārthayajña* and *Koravās'rama*. *Harivijaya* deals with *Samudramathana* or the churning of the ocean. *Ghaṭotkacās'raya* deals with a story which is also widely prevalent in South India, and is the theme of one or two notable poems, though I have not come across it in North India. The story is that both Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna, and Lakṣmaṇakumara, the son of Duryodhana, desired to marry Sundarī. In the fight, Abhimanyu secures the support of Ghaṭotkaca, Bhīma's Rākṣasa son, through whose intervention Abhimanyu wins the lady. *Arjunavivāha* is a fine *kāvya* in 36 cantos

dealing with Arjuna's *tapas*, his visit to Svarga, fight with *Nivātakavaca* and his amours with the celestial nymphs. Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya* seems to have been the model. The poem was so popular that its descriptions have been portrayed in the sculptures of Chandi Tumpang. The same story of Arjuna's *tapas* is dealt with in even greater detail in another poem entitled *Pārthayajña*. The story is in many ways different from the Indian original, though the central theme is the obtaining of *Pāśupatāstra* *Indravijaya* is the story of Nahuṣa's attempt on the chastity of S'acī. The story of Indra's sin for the death of Vṛtra, and his consequent fall from the divine empire, is described as a fine prelude to the main story.

Another notable *kāvya* which deserves special mention is *Smaradahana* which deals with the story of the first four cantos of the *Kumārasambhava*, with this difference that it is not Kumāra but Gaṇes'a who is to kill the Rākṣasa, and the later portion of the story consequently deals with the birth of Gaṇes'a. Rati's refusal to permit Kāma to go to disturb the peace of S'iva is described in detail. The seventh canto which describes Kāma's efforts to awaken the seeds of love in S'iva, elaborates Kālidāsa's theme. The sorrows of Rati are also described in great detail.

The last work which may be mentioned here is *Kṛṣṇāyana* which is also probably a thirteenth century work. It deals with the story of Kṛṣṇa's abduction of Rukmiṇī, a favourite theme of both Sanskrit and vernacular poets. Scenes from the poem have been sculptured on the Panataran temple.

There are many other poems of high literary quality like *Kālayavanāntaka* dealing with the death of Kālayavana, *Koravāśrama*, dealing with the retirement of Dhṛtarāṣṭra to the forest, *Rāmavijaya* which deals with Paraśurāma's war against the Haihayas. Perhaps the most important of such works is the *Bhomakāvya* which deals with Narakāsura, and Kṛṣṇa's victory over him.

Certain characteristics of this class of Javanese literature may be indicated here. In the first place, they are mostly elaborations of well known themes in the classical *kāvyas* of Sanskrit. For example, Kālidāsa provides the theme of *Sumanasantaka*, and *Smaradahana*. Indumatī's marriage and story are woven into *Raghuvaṁśa*. The romance of Aja and Indumatī is perhaps the most popular portion of that *kāvya*. The Javanese poet elaborates it into an independent epic. In the same way the inspiration of the earlier portion of *Smaradahana* is *Kumārasambhava*. The way the story is treated is itself evidence of this fact. Significant of the Javanese technique is also the way that Rati's attitude towards Kāma's departure is described. Kālidāsa with his sure touch merely indicates her opposition. The Javanese poet takes it as the theme for an elaborate display of poetical ability. Bhāravi is the other poet on whom Javanese literature seems to have drawn heavily. Not only did *Kirātārjunīya* inspire many poems but it seems to have influenced Javanese poets very greatly in their treatment of different themes. On the slightest provocation the poets begin to describe the sports of celestial nymphs following the manner of Bhāravi.

A second feature of this Literature which also shows the influence of the later Sanskrit Mahākāvyas is their love of description of amorous dalliances. The later Mahākāvyas of Sanskrit following the 8th Sarga of *Kumārasambhava* made a speciality of such descriptions. The Javanese poets also excelled in this, and poems like *Arjunavivāha* gave ample opportunities for their talent.

The love of nature of the Javanese poets is greater than that of any Hindu poet excepting Kālidāsa. The wild luxuriance of Java's vegetation, and the unrivalled magnificence of the island's natural scenery provided the inspiration which the later Sanskrit poets with their stylish description clearly lacked.

Another interesting point of this class of Javanese literature, which clearly establishes their close connection

with Indian *kāvyas*, is their use of *alaṅkāras* and their close relationship with Indian theories of rhetoric. All the more common *alaṅkāras* are freely used. In fact, these poets seem to have kept before them the rules of Indian poetics, and followed them closely.

I give below a *śloka* which shows both the *Maṇipravāla* quality of the language and its relation to *alaṅkāra* theories—

"*Samar divārātri nekāng surālaya*
Dening prakāśātmaka sarva bhāsvara
Anging sekarning Kumudājaring kulam
Muang Cakravākin papasah lavān priyā"

The meaning of the śloka is that the night and the day could not be distinguished in the abode of gods owing to the inherent light of objects, and only the *Kumudas* and the Cakravākas, separated from their beloved, proclaimed the night.

Sufficient, I trust, has been said to indicate the variety and richness of the Kāvya literature in Java. Even from the titles of the works mentioned, one can see how closely it is connected with Sanskrit literature and culture. The comparative study of these great works of Hindus overseas will open up a new field of Indianist research, which cannot fail to have very far reaching influence on India itself. I can see no better centre for the initiation of such studies than the great University of Madras, especially when we remember the close connection that always existed between the South of India and Java.

CHINA AND INDIA

BY

SRĪMATI SOPHIA WADIA

TODAY, when the values and achievements of Western civilisation seem to be tottering, it is appropriate to ask of India and China what elixir has sustained their continuity of culture through the centuries while empires all around them, and even on their very soil, rose and fell. The answer is not difficult to find. Both countries built upon the rock of *Dharma* (Duty) or of *Jen* (the inner moral law). Both put responsibilities ahead of privileges, the permanent before the temporary values, in their foundational philosophy, and so they weathered tempests before which their neighbours' houses, built on sand, went down.

The fruit of their philosophy of life is seen in the lives of the Indian and Chinese masses, whose patient fortitude and sterling character will bear comparison with those of any people in the world. Man is thought-formed. With such philosophies on which to base their conduct, it is no accident that neither India nor China has attempted a conquering rôle, though both have suffered depredation from more war-like peoples.

The wise laws and the kindly rule of some of the old emperors of Chinese tradition are paralleled in India, and the ancient Indian conception of the *Dharma* of the King is recalled by Lao Tzu's statement:

> "He who respects the state as his own person is fit to govern it. He who loves the state as his own body is fit to be entrusted with it."

The ancient teachings in both countries have, in the course of time, been overgrown with superstitions, but these have not been able altogether to obscure the light by which the people live.

It would be instructive to compare in some detail the teachings which have underlain the social, economic and political forms which the unfolding life had taken in the two great countries of the East even before Buddhism, India's gift to China, had forged another link between their thought and practice.

Confucius, on his own statement, was no innovator, but a codifier of the ancient lore which, but for his efforts, would most probably have been lost. "I only hand on," he said; "I cannot create new things I believe in the Ancients and therefore I love them." Lao Tzu, his older and even greater contemporary, was not the originator but the reviver of Taoism. From where did these draw their wisdom? The Emperor Yu (2207 B.C.), a pious mystic who seems to have had a just claim to his designation "the Great," with whom the chronological accounts of the Chinese dynasties begin, is said to have obtained his wisdom from the "great teachers of the Snowy Range" in Si-dzang. Lao Tzu himself is reported to have disappeared at an advanced age into the West. He was last heard of at the North West gate of China. Even as late as the sixth century of the Christian era there occurs, in the records of the celebrated and holy Chinese school and sect founded by Chin-che-K'hae, called Che-Chay (the wise one), a reference "to the Great Teachers of the Snowy Mountains, the School of the Haimavatas." Si-dzang or Tibet was reckoned in very ancient days as part of India, and who does not know that the Aryans brought down their wisdom into India from the north?

But, whether or not a common source in antiquity for the spiritual lore of India and China can be established to the satisfaction of the modern scholars, the fundamental agreement of their philosophic teachings can easily be seen.

Lao Tzu never taught a personal and extra-cosmic God and the Chinese have never accepted such a deity. "Tao is a metaphysical grandeur; it also is the still small voice in the heart of the sage." We find in the *Tao Teh Ching* a cosmogony paralleling that of ancient Hinduism. Tao is the *Anima mundi* of Indian philosophy, the uncreate, eternal energy of nature, the manifesting One Life. It, like *Svabhavat*, is also the plastic essence of matter. The essential unity of spirit and matter, the law of periodicity, the path of soul evolution, the practice of human brotherhood, all are there in this great Chinese classic, of which the Sinologist Panthier remarked—"Human wisdom can never use language more holy and profound."

"Who can make the muddy water clear? Let it be still and it will gradually become clear. Who can secure the condition of rest? Let movement go on and the condition of rest will gradually arise.

"To act without acting, this is the Way of Tao."

Compare this with the words of the *Gita*:

"That man who sees inaction in action and action in inaction is wise among men; he is a true devotee and a perfect performer of all action."

And what is Lao Tzu's "to conduct affairs without trouble of them" but the *Gita's* action without regard to its fruits?

The Doctrine of the Mean, which runs through all the teaching of Confucius, is none other than the Buddha's Middle Way and Kṛṣṇa's Divine Discipline, "not to be attained by the man who eateth more than enough or too little, nor by him who hath a habit of sleeping much, nor by him who is given to overwatching."

The life of the moral man is described in the *Chung Yung* as an exemplification of the universal moral order.

"To find the central clue to our moral being which unites us to the universal order, that indeed is the highest human attainment."

For all his stress on filial duty, it was a sturdy individualism that Confucius preached when he demanded—" How can he be called filial who obeys his father when he is commanded to do wrong ? "

The goal of human perfection in the two countries is the same. The Confucian " man of divine virtue " is the same as the *Gita's* " wise and devoted man who is fixed in contemplation and confirmed in spiritual knowledge."

" All-embracing and vast is the nature of such a man. Profound it is and inexhaustible, like a living spring of water, ever running out with life and vitality. All-embracing and vast, it is like Heaven. Profound and inexhaustible, it is like the Abyss.

" It is only he in this world who is possessed of absolute truth that can order and adjust the great relations of human society."

Is it not because of the lack of such men at the helm in the public world that the ordering and adjusting of human relations has gone so badly ? From every point of view the sharing with the West of the vast spiritual stores of India and China is of importance.

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, in whose honour this volume is compiled, is one who has assumed the task as far as some of India's ancient treasures are concerned. Such efforts help to forge a living link between Asia, with its material poverty and its rich spiritual heritage, and the outwardly more prosperous West. The hope of human brotherhood today lies largely in the drawing closer together of Orient and Occident, not on the grounds of economic and political expediency alone, but in a living unity of mind and heart.

THE ĀGAMIC ADVANCE ON VEDIC THOUGHT

By

DEWAN BAHADUR K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

MODERN research and the modern outlook have enabled the the modern mind to look at the old expositions and the old controversies in a new way by adopting the historical and comparative methods and by declining to resort to mere debating points for achieving success in theological controversy. There is of course a danger in the modern method that faith may be undermined without wisdom taking its place. But it is certainly possible to keep faith without its usual concomitant of blindness and to achieve toleration and breadth of vision without defeating faith.

It is thus possible now to look at the Vedas in a critical spirit without losing reverence for scripture and to visualise aright the significance of the Āgamas in relation to the Vedas. There was a time when it was sought to be said and shown that there was conflict between them and it was sought to belittle the one or the other. But early enough it was realised that there was, and would be no essential conflict between them. Kullūka Bhaṭṭa, the well known commentator on Manu, says that S'ruti is twofold, *viz. Vaidika* and *Tāntrika.*

वैदिकी तान्त्रिकी चैव द्विविधा श्रुतिः कीर्तिता ।

The Tantras themselves cite the Mahāvākyas and Mahāmantras which occur in the Vedas. The Niruttara Tantra calls the Tantra as the fifth Veda. The Meru Tantra says that the Tantras are a part of the Vedas. The Kulārṇava Tantra says that there is no *Vidyā* (knowledge) higher than

that of the *Veda* and no *Darśana* equal to the *Kaula Darśana.* Mahārudra Yāmala says that a person who is devoid of Vedic rites (*vedakriyāvivarjitaḥ*) is disqualified for the study and practice of the *Tāntrikasādhana.* Śrīkaṇṭha says in his *Bhāṣya* on the Brahmasūtras that he finds no difference between the Vedas and the Śaivāgamas.

वयं तु वेदशिवागमयोर्भेदं न पश्यामः । वेदोऽपि शिवागमः ।

Appaya Dīkṣita also says that the Āgamas are as authoritative as the Vedas. The word Āgama implies what has come from God and the word Tantra, what amplifies and says तन्यते विस्तार्यते अनेनेति तन्त्रम् ।

तनोति विपुलानर्थान् तत्वमन्त्रसमन्वितान् ।
त्राणं च कुरुते यस्मात् तन्त्रमित्यभिधीयते ॥

When it is said that Śāṇḍilya was not satisfied with the Veda but sought more enlightenment from God, what was meant was that he prayed for more light and more elaboration in regard to the Vedic teaching. When Śaṅkara criticises the abovesaid attitude, he did not object to more light and more elaboration but he objected to any view that directly or indirectly sought to say or suggest that the Veda was of inferior value and efficacy. The Āgamas and the Tantras amplifiy the teaching of the Vedas by giving us new Mantras and rituals and by clarifying and amplifying and systematising the philosophic thought contained in the Vedas.

It seems to me that the uniqueness of the Vedas among the world scriptures consists in its grand vision of the unity of things and in its realisation of the spirit guiding and controlling and ensouling matter, and in its reconciliations of the concepts of Immanence and Transcendence in regard to Godhead. Every world-religion propounds its own interpretation of reality, its own view of the origin and destiny of the universe, its own view about the immortality of the soul, and its concept of Godhead. There are elements of similarity and dissimilarity in regard to these matters. The great truth of the

harmony of religions emphasises the vital points of similarity, leaving the follower of each religion to accept the dissimilar truths without attacking or reviling the views of other religions on those matters. The Vedic faith has taken its special stand on the three essential truths stated above. The Vedic seers realised and proclaimed that the One has become the many and that hence everything in the universe partakes of the life of the One and is essentially one with the One. मृत्तिकेत्येव सत्यम् is a statement which embodies a basic truth. That Spirit ensouls matter and that the same universal Spirit vivifies everything is a statement which occurs in a most beautiful and immortal form at the end of the Īśāvāsya Upaniṣad. That Godhead is immanent in and yet transcends the universe is a statement that occurs in many places in the Vedas and in a most beautiful and immortal form in the Puruṣa Sūkta

पादोऽस्य विश्वा भूतानि त्रिपादस्यामृतं दिवि ।

But in spite of such supremely clear and clearly supreme pronouncements on such basic and ultimate problems of human life and destiny, the Vedic thought suffers from some limitations. Owing to certain historical causes and probably out of a desire to keep the *ipsissima verba* of the Scripture untarnished by inexpert handling, the Vedas were inaccessible to the bulk of the people. Further, the cosmogony of the Veda was never worked out as an effort of reasoning. There were many inspired intuitions here and there about the emergence of the Universe from the source divine. But there were apparently contradictory statements about the process of evolution. The inference from such statements is not the inference drawn by Śrī Śaṅkarācārya in one place in his writings that as the universe itself is not absolutely real, it does not matter much whether the order of evolution is of one pattern or another. The more acceptable inference is that the Vedic intuition was not applied in a sustained and systematic way to the subject of the evolution of the universe.

Further, even in regard to the concept of Godhead, there was no clear attempt to keep apart the divine cosmic functionaries from the supreme universal Godhead and to reconcile well the Absolute aspect and the Godhead aspect of the Supreme. In the same way there was no clear demaication and definition of the *sādhanas* leading to the realisation of God

The Āgamas carry forward and liberalise and amplify and refine the Vedic thought in all these directions. A most important aspect of Āgamic doctrine and *Sādhanas* is their accessibility to all including women. The Āgamic *Vidyās* and *Sādhanas* have superseded the Vedic *Vidyās* and *Sādhanas* to a large extent not by negating or denying their validity but by absorbing and transcending them. Out of the thirty two Brahma Vidyās which are said to be described in the Upaniṣads, very few are live *Sādhanas* today. Very few of the Vedic sacrifices have survived, though abundant lip homage is paid to them. They have been sublimated and transcended by Āgamic rituals and sacrifices and other *Sādhanas*. The number of Āgamic Mantras is very great and these have included and transcended the Mantras stated in the Vedas. More than everything also the highest and most practical aspect of Yoga have been elaborated and made a practical superscience in the Yogas. It is the Mantra S'āstra and the Yoga S'āstra that are the special glories of Hinduism. The ways of work and knowledge and faith and devotion are common to all religions. But nowhere else in the world do we see the special differentia and glories of Hinduism at its best.

A specially noteworthy feature is the way in which the Āgamas have worked out fully the truths about the origin and evolution of the vast and wonderful universe. An objection which has been frequently urged against the Advaita system of thought is that it propounds the doctrine of the unreality of the world. But there has been a great deal of Māyā about the Māyāvāda of S'rī S'aṅkrācārya. According to him it is

Bhāvarūpa (being and not non-being). Yet it is called *anirvacanīya* (indescribable). It is also said that *bādha* (stultification) can be affirmed of it. S'ri S'aṅkara takes this attitude because the universe in relation to the Absolute is of a different order of reality from the universe in relation to souls ensheathed in finite bodies and functioning through finite senses and minds. But such an attitude specially as interpreted by the post-S'aṅkarite interpreters of Advaita, lent itself easily to misconception and misrepresentation. The postulating of different grades and orders of reality is inevitable in every system of philosophy, except in the Cārvāka system. The Vis'iṣṭādvaita and the Dvaita systems do dot attribute the same grade and order of reality to Vaikuṇṭha and to the seen Universe. But the peculiarity of the Advaita lies in its unique concept of the Absolute beyond name and form. It enables the Advaita system to go beyond anthropomorphism whose shadow certainly lies over the system of Vis'iṣṭādvaita and Dvaita, however much we may refuse to see the shadow or may try to explain it away. But the Advaita finds itself in a difficult position when asked to state why and how the One has become or can become or need become the many. The *Anirvacanīya* itself is obviously tantamount to a confession of incomprehensibility and indescribability.

It is in discussing the truth of the nature of reality that the superiority of the Āgamic concept is most incontrovertibly brought home to the thinking and investigating mind. The Āgamas also use the term Māyā but with a different connotation and significance. In them Māyā is the limiting and finitising principle, and stands between S'akti or the liberating and infinitising subtle principle and Prakṛti or the seed of dense and gross creation which consists of the three Guṇas proceeding on their career of producing the evolutes. This clear-cut threefold view of the dynamic principle of *Sac-cid-ānanda* (S'akti) which energises the static principle of *Sac-cid-ānanda* (S'iva) into creative activity has an advantage

over the Vedāntic principle of *Īkṣaṇa* or *Kāmanā* ascribed to Brahman

(स ऐक्षत, सोऽकामयत ।)

and the Advaitic postulate of Māyā and Avidyā Īksana is after all the first vibration of creative desire By attributing it to Brahman, room is given for all sorts of criticisms as to how any desire could arise at all in Perfection or why the One should desire to become the many. The Advaitic equation of Māyā and Avidyā has led to the view that Māyā is the seed-bed of ignorance and misery and has given rise to such questions as to how ignorance and misery could emerge out of *Cit* and *Ānanda*. The equation of Māyā and Avidyā with Mithyā and Adhyāsa resulted in the view of the relative unreality of the world, and, in the case of some thinkers, in the doctrine of the total fictitiousness of the universe as if it were a mere dream-creation, a mere fictitious and misleading appearance like the mirage. The positing of S'akti as dynamic *Sac-cid-ānanda* enabled the Brahman or S'iva or Viṣṇu concept to remain as the concept of the Pure Absolute, transforming the potency of manifestation elsewhere. The S'akti concept placed the burden of the creative urge on other shoulders and not on the Absolute and was a bold stroke of the philosophic mind. By making Māyā the principle of finitisation by means of its five *Kañcukas*, the Āgamic thinkers reconciled the principle of finitisation and the principle of infinitisation and paved the way for the concept of the emanation of Prakṛti from Puruṣa. Māyā is thus placed in the S'uddhās'uddha categories while S'akti is placed in the S'uddha categories and Prakṛti is placed in the As'uddha categories. This again is a philosophic merit because the fall from the One to the many is not precipitate as in the Vedāntic thought but has an element of graduation and inevitability. My own feeling is that the Sāṅkhya concept of the illusions of Prakṛti deluding the poor Jīvas or Ātmans till they realise their total separateness from Prakṛti has coloured and even distorted

ON THE LONGER VERSES IN THE RĀMĀYAṆA

BY

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ONE of the arguments adduced against the acceptance of the longer verses occurring, usually at the end of the sargas, and often enough in the middle, as part of Vālmīki's original composition is that they are irrelevant or unnecessary and may safely be omitted without breach of continuity or injury to the context.

Let us examine the *raison d'être* of some of these verses selected from different Kāṇḍas.[1]

IV. liii. 40-42. Sarga liv of the Kiṣkindhā opens thus:

तथा ब्रुवति तारे तु ताराधिपतिवर्चसि ।
अथ मेने हृतं राज्यं हनुमानङ्गदेन तत् ॥ *Kiṣkindhā, liv. 1.*

What precisely the Poet meant to convey in the second half of this s'loka is a matter of some doubt. Whatever its purport be, it turns on the speech of Tāra mentioned in the first half. For a report of that speech we look in vain in the anuṣṭubh verses of the preceding sarga. Tāra's words, we are told, carried great weight with the young Crown Prince:

शुश्रूषमाणं तारस्य शुक्रस्येव पुरन्दरम् ॥
IV. liv.

Farther down we read:

यां चेमां मन्यसे धात्रीमेतद्बिलमिति श्रुतम् ।
एतल्लक्ष्मणबाणानामीषत्कार्यं विदारणे ॥

[1] The references are to the Kumbakonam Edition.

स्वल्पं हि कृतमिन्द्रेण क्षिपता ह्यशनिं पुरा ।
लक्ष्मणो निशितैर्बाणैर्भिन्द्यात्पत्रपुटं यथा ॥

IV. liv. 13, 14

Now these thoughts in the mind of Hanumān and the arguments put into his mouth by the Poet are unintelligible without reference to the three verses in long metre which close sarga *liii*

प्लवङ्गमानां तु भयार्दितानां श्रुत्वा वचस्तार इदं बभाषे ।
अलं विषादेन बिलं प्रविश्य वसाम सर्वे यदि रोचते वः ॥
इदं हि मायाविहितं सुदुर्गमं प्रभूतवृक्षोदकभोज्यपेयकम् ।
इहास्ति नो नैव भयं पुरन्दरान्न राघवाद्वानरराजतोऽपि वा ॥
श्रुत्वाङ्गदस्यापि वचोऽनुकूलमूचुश्च सर्वे हरयः प्रतीताः ।
यथा न हिंस्येम तथा विधानमसक्तमद्यैव विधीयतां नः ॥

IV liii. 40-42.

Far from being irrelevant or unnecessary these stanzas are essential to the Poet's narrative and have a direct bearing on the event. The Vānaras when they emerged from Svayamprabhā's Cave discovered to their dismay that they were far behind the time that had been fixed by Sugrīva for their return. Aṅgada upon whose young shoulders lay the responsibility for a decision, turned to the elders for guidance: किमतः कार्यमुत्तरम्, *liii*, 25, giving them his own views in a moving speech. As there was nothing to hope for from their dread-king but summary execution if they returned to Kiṣkindhā without any news of Sītā, it seemed to him that the only course was *for them all* to renounce their kith and kin and their earthly possessions in Kiṣkindhā, and to starve themselves to death on the spot. *As for himself*, he had made up his mind to follow that course in preference to undergoing the slow and certain torture that awaited *him*, in particular, at the hands of his inexorable uncle. The great leaders who were alive to the consequences of Sugrīva's wrath were yet by no means convinced that they should

there and then put an end to their own life. They were however bankrupt of counsel and feebly suggested that one more search should be made for Sītā and Rāvaṇa in that same region which they had searched before twice. It was clear that they were not prepared to follow their commander in his प्रायोपवेशन. And yet in the event they *did* lie down with Aṅgada to die on the holy shore of the sea -पुण्ये सागररोधसि, *Kiṣ*, 35. How came this about? By reason, as the Poet shows cogently, of Tāra's intervention, of the effect it had upon Aṅgada and upon the elders, and of the closely-reasoned speech delivered by Hanumān in answer to Tāra. Tāra saw that if the instant प्रायोपवेशन was a counsel of despair, the suggestion of a further search was futile. It occurred to him, and he put it to the Prince and to his colleagues with much deference, that they had better re-enter Svayamprabhā's Cave, which even Indra would find impregnable, which was well provided with means for their sustenance, and in which they could live for ever free of fear from Rāma and Sugrīva. The folly of this proposal was apparent; Svayamprabhā had just warned the Vānaras that the Cave was forbidden ground. But Aṅgada seemed to favour the proposal, and the great leaders welcomed it as a means of escape from the death that stared them in the face. It required all Hanumān's skill to turn them aside from the perilous course of action they contemplated. Let not the Prince cherish the belief that the Cave was a safe asylum. Indra indeed might do no more damage than make a hole in it with his thunderbolt, but Lakṣmaṇa, he might be sure, would tear the Cave open like a leaf-cup with his arrows. As for his monkey-followers who seemed eager to enter it with him, let him not delude himself with the hope that they would stick to him. The moment he decided to *stay* in the Cave, they would recollect their wives and children whom he had fondly supposed they would renounce, and incontinently turn their backs upon him. These arguments could not be gainsaid. If Aṅgada had ever had any thought of re-entering the Cave

upon Tāra's advice he gave it up. He however refused to go back to Kiṣkindhā, and as there was no other course for him to adopt he straightway entered upon the प्रायोपवेशन. When the Vānara leaders who had discountenanced the fast to begin with, saw that the Prince rejected Tāra's plan, they loyally abode by his decision and lay down to die with him, the entire host following suit. It was thus that the Poet meant to set the scene for the momentous meeting of Aṅgada and the leaders with *Sampāti*. The three longer verses at the end of *IV. liii.* which speak of Tāra's intervention in the debate and of its effect on his hearers, form a natural and indispensable part of the Poet's narrative.

VI. cxxxi. 91, 92. In the body of the last sarga of Yuddhakāṇḍa occur the two following stanzas:

आतिष्ठ धर्मज्ञ मया सहेमां गां पूर्वराजाध्युषितां बलेन ।
तुल्यं मया त्वं पितृभिर्धृता या तां यौवराज्ये धुरमुद्वहस्व ॥
सर्वात्मना पर्यनुनीयमानो यदा न सौमित्रिरुपैति योगम् ।
नियुज्यमानोऽपि च यौवराज्ये ततोऽभ्यषिञ्चद्भरतं महात्मा ॥

VI. cxxxi. 91, 92.

If we omit these verses as spurious we must also omit the anuṣṭubh half-verse which introduces the passage:

उवाच लक्ष्मणं रामो धर्मज्ञं धर्मवत्सल: ॥

VI. cxxxi. 90.

as otherwise there will be a distinct hiatus in the narrative. We have no indication in the whole sarga other than what is contained in this passage whether Rāma ever installed an heir-apparent and whom. The Poet's account of the coronation and of the glories of Rāma's reign could hardly be complete without a mention of the यौवराज्य and how it was bestowed by Rāma. Nay, the Mahākāvya would be incomplete, and for this reason. Early in it the Poet had led us to expect that Rāma, when he ascended the throne, would call Lakṣmaṇa to this high office in preference to Bharata.

When Bharata was still in Rājagṛha, Rāma solemnly declared to Lakṣmana in the presence of Kausalyā, Sumitrā, and Sītā:

लक्ष्मणेमां मया सार्धं प्रशाधि त्वं वसुन्धराम् ।
द्वितीयं मेऽन्तरात्मानं त्वामियं श्रीरुपस्थिता ॥
सौमित्रे भुंक्ष्व भोगांस्त्वमिष्टाञ्राज्यफलानि च ।
जीवितं च हि राज्यं च त्वदर्थमभिकामये ॥

Ayodhya, iv. 43, 44.

Later, however, at Citrakuṭa when Rāma gave a sacred pledge to Bharata that he would return at the end of the fourteen years and ascend the throne of the Ikṣvākus, he publicly announced—again of his own motion—that he would associate Bharata with himself in the sovereignty of the earth:

अनेन धर्मशीलेन वनात्प्रत्यागतः पुनः ।
भ्रात्रा सह भविष्यामि पृथिव्याः पतिरुत्तमः ॥

Ayodhya, cxi. 31.

Which of these declarations had validity? Had not Rāma by these contradictory pronouncements placed himself in the same dilemma as his father? It seemed as if history, like an old woman, might repeat itself. The Poet was bound to tell us how the difficulty was overcome. And in the passage under reference he says that Rāma solved it in his own characteristic way. रामो द्विर्नाभिभाषते *Ayodhya, xviii. 30.* Knowing Lakṣmaṇa as he did, and as Dasaratha when *he* was in a quandary might have known Bharata, Rāma gave Lakṣmaṇa the refusal of the यौवराज्य and, on his declining it, Rāma crowned Bharata Yuvarāja, to the satisfaction, not least, of Lakṣmana. The account in slokas 91 and 92 appears probable, and there seems little reason to doubt its authenticity.

III. xxx. 41. If ever a verse seems unnecessary it is that which closes sarga xxx of Āraṇyakāṇḍa:

ततस्तु तं राक्षससङ्घमर्दनं सभाज्यमानं मुदितैर्महर्षिभिः ।
पुनः परिष्वज्य शशिप्रभानना बभूव हृष्टा जनकात्मजा तदा ॥

Araṇya, xxx. 41.

The Poet had told us in vv. 38 and 39.

ततो रामस्तु विजयी पूज्यमानो महर्षिभिः ।
प्रविवेशाश्रमं वीरो लक्ष्मणेनाभिपूजितः ॥
तं दृष्ट्वा शत्रुहन्तारं महर्षीणां सुखावहम् ।
बभूव हृष्टा वैदेही भर्तारं परिषस्वजे ॥

What was the necessity for recapitulating this in a different metre? On closer examination, it will be seen that the verse in question is not a mere repetition of what had gone before. The Poet tells us that Sītā in her overflowing joy *again* embraced her lord; and it seems as if he had a purpose in drawing attention to it. When S'ūrpanakhā reported the events that had taken place in Janasthāna to Rāvaṇa, she made a special point of mentioning the incident of Sītā's embrace to him in order to inflame his passion—

यस्य सीता भवेद्भार्या यं च हृष्टा परिष्वजेत् ।
अतिजीवेत्स सर्वेषु लोकेष्वपि पुरन्दरात् ॥

Āranya, xxxiv. 18.

The Poet's use of the same expression, हृष्टा, that he had used in xxx. 39 and 41 shows that we are to understand that S'ūrpaṇakhā was a witness of the incident. Khara with all his host had met with swift destruction in his attempt to avenge the insult done to her. There seemed to be nothing that she could do. As she was gazing stupidly thinking how she had been balked of her revenge she saw Sītā running up from the cave and meeting the victor with a rapt embrace. Here was the woman who had been the cause of her disfigurement, the woman a draught of whose warm blood she was longing for, actually embracing the god-like hero who had spurned her own advances. A sharp pang of jealousy seized her. She had probably no idea till then of appealing to Rāvaṇa. स्वच्छन्दबलगामिनी (III. xvii. 26), अमीतचारिणी (III. xxxii. 24), she had lived an independent life in Daṇḍaka forest. But now as 'the green-eyed monster' devoured the scene, the thought

came to her that she would seek the aid of her brother in Laṅkā to *kill* her hated rival. That was her first reaction when she saw how बभूव हृष्टा वैदेही भर्तारं परिषस्वजे ॥ *Āraṇya*, xxx. *39.* She, S'ūrpaṇakhā, would quaff Vaidehī's foaming blood yet. Had she not vowed to Khara:

तस्याश्चानृजुवृत्तायास्तयोश्च हतयोरहम् ।
सफेनं पातुमिच्छामि रुधिरं रणमूर्धनि ॥

Āraṇya, xix. *19*

Rāvaṇa would present the cup to her. She could not however tear herself away from the scene. But "inquisitiveness as seldom cures jealousy as drinking in a fever quenches the thirst" (Valentine in Wycherley's "*Love in a Wood*", IV. v). Even while the thought of draining the cup of blood was passing through her mind, something occurred which suddenly transformed her resolve. *Sītā embraced her husband a second time.* There was no provocation for it. Had not the hero's[1] wounds healed at the first touch of her body? And yet here she was bestowing a second embrace, in sheer joy—and as it seemed to S'ūrpaṇakhā, in sheer wantonness. This was too much for her. It was sweet to drink her rival's blood, but sweeter far to humiliate her, to wrench her away from her lord and lover, and to give her over to Rāvaṇa's caresses. S'ūrpaṇakhā's mind was made up; she would tarry no longer; she had no desire to witness a third embrace; she would fly straight to her brother and goad him on as she knew how to carry Sītā off to Laṅkā. Suggestion is the soul of poetry. The Poet's

पुनः परिष्वज्य शशिप्रभानना बभूव हृष्टा जनकात्मजा तदा ॥

Āraṇya, xxx. *41.*

[1] चित्ते कुर्यास्त्वपि भवती यज्जनस्थानयुद्धात्
संप्राप्तं मां दशमुखसमान् मा(पा)रयित्वा खरादीन् ।
शस्त्राघातं स्तनकलशयोरूष्मणा रोपयद्भिः
गाढाश्लेषैरपिहितवती गद्गदाहर्षबाष्पैः ॥

Hamsasandeśa, ii. 45.

is purposive; he means subtly to suggest that it was the *second* embrace that determined the particular form of revenge in S'ūrpaṇakhā's mind. Hence it is that, when we meet her in Rāvaṇa's Court in sargas xxxiii and xxxiv, we hear not the loud outcries we heard in Khara's Court of a bloodthirsty woman so much as

" The venom clamours of a jealous woman "

SHAKESPEARE, *Comedy of Errors*, V. i. 69.

IV. xxxix, 45 Sarga xxxix of *Kiṣkindhā* which gives a catalogue of the Vānara forces that had gathered in the manner of Homer—

" What crowded armies, from what climes they bring,
Their names, their numbers, and their chiefs, I sing."

POPE'S *Iliad*, ii. 584-5.

very fittingly closes with this verse in long metre:

यथासुखं पर्वतनिर्झरेषु वनेषु सर्वेषु च वानरेन्द्राः ।
निवेशयित्वा विधिवद्बलानि बलं बलज्ञः प्रतिपत्तुमीष्टे ॥

Kiṣkindhā, xxxix. 45.

This is a distinct statement by itself, that the chiefs were ordered by Sugrīva to divide the gathered bands, have them stationed in convenient places, and get the captains duly to muster them. The royal command had a two-fold purpose. The entire fighting strength of the Vānara world having been called up, it was necessary to divide the motley array by natural tribes and classes, and re-group them into the great divisions that were to be sent out to the four quarters as described in the four succeeding sargas, xl-xliii. The muster was for the purpose of finding out if there were any defaulters who were punishable under the commands issued to Nīla in IV. xxix. 33 and to Hanumān in IV. xxxvii. 9-11. The stanza in question is an integral part of the Poet's account and occurs in its natural place, as is clear from:

आगता विनिविष्टाश्च बलिनः कामरूपिणः ॥

Kiṣkindhā, xl. 2.

III. xviii. 25-26. Sarga xviii of *Āraṇyakāṇḍa* which relates how S'ūrpaṇakhā was disfigured, ends with two verses in long metre, describing how she went to Khara and fell at his feet for protection, and told him all that had befallen her at the hands of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa :

ततस्तु सा राक्षससंघसंवृतं खरं जनस्थानगतं विरूपिता ।
उपेत्य तं भ्रातरमुग्रदर्शनं पपात भूमौ गगनाद्यथाशनिः ॥
ततः सभार्यं भयमोहमूर्च्छिता सलक्ष्मणं राघवमागतं वनम् ।
विरूपणं चात्मनि शोणितोक्षिता शशंस सर्वं भगिनी खरस्य सा ॥

Araṇya, xviii. 25-26.

That these two stanzas must have formed part of the original composition is distinctly inferable from the opening s'lokas in anuṣṭubh of the next succeeding sarga :

तां तथा पतितां दृष्ट्वा विरूपां शोणितोक्षिताम् ।
भगिनीं क्रोधसंतप्तः खरः पप्रच्छ राक्षसः ॥
उत्तिष्ठ तावदाख्याहि प्रमोहं जहि संभ्रमम् ।
व्यक्तमाख्याहि केन त्वमेवंरूपा विरूपिता ॥

Āraṇya, xix. 1-2.

Khara may be pardoned for asking S'ūrpaṇakhā to repeat her lugubrious tale more distinctly. It is a touch of Vālmīki's subtle humour that represents Khara as being able to make nothing of the torrent of words that came struggling through a cataract[1] of blood from his noseless sister. All that he could make out was that somebody had deprived her of " the rudder of her face, the index of her will ". The initial s'lokas of sarga xix can have no meaning for us without reference to the two last stanzas of sarga xviii.

III. xlv. 39-40. Sarga xlv of Āraṇyakāṇḍa ends with these two stanzas :

तामार्तरूपां विमना रुदन्तीं सौमित्रिरालोक्य विशालनेत्राम् ।
आश्वासयामास न चैव भर्तुस्तं भ्रातरं किंचिदुवाच सीता ॥

[1] विक्षरन्ती रुधिरं बहुधा.

ततस्तु सीतामभिवाद्य लक्ष्मणः कृताञ्जलिः किञ्चिदभिप्रणम्य च ।
अन्वीक्षमाणो बहुशश्च मैथिलीं जगाम रामस्य समीपमात्मवान् ॥

Āraṇya, xlv. 39-40

What reader of the Rāmāyaṇa would wish to dispense with this moving account of the *actual* parting of Lakṣmaṇa from Sītā at Pañcavaṭī? The passage naturally and in realistic detail portrays, on the one hand, censorious Sītā refusing the slightest acknowledgment of Lakṣmaṇa's attempt to assuage her wild grief—

न चैव भर्तुस्तं भ्रातरं किञ्चिदुवाच सीता ।

—from a notion, as the commentator points out, that under the cover of offering consolation he was making wilful delay, and, on the other, proud Lakṣmaṇa who was too angry with her to make aught but a slight obeisance—किञ्चिदभिप्रणम्य—, yet repeatedly turning to look at her as he went from her with dire misgivings in his heart. With the exception of the bare fact of his going to Rāma, which is re-stated in the first s'loka of sarga xlvi, no detail of the pathetic scene described in the passage in question is redundant or unnecessary. Not on such ground can the two stanzas in long metre be treated as spurious.

III. xlvi. A good instance of how the stanzas in longer metre occurring at the end of a sarga expand and explain its main purport is to be found in this XLVIth Sarga which deals with Sītā's reception of Rāvaṇa. In S'lokas 32 and 33 the Poet had told us

सर्वैरतिथिसत्कारैः पूजयामास मैथिली ॥
उपनीयासनं पूर्वं पाद्येनाभिनिमन्त्र्य च ।
अब्रवीत्सिद्धमित्येव तदा तं सौम्यदर्शनम् ॥

Who but a critic with a pre-conceived theory to bolster up can say that the stanzas that follow are an idle repetition?

इयं बृसी ब्राह्मण काममास्यतामिदं च पाद्यं प्रतिगृह्यतामिति ।
इदं च सिद्धं वनजातमुत्तमं त्वदर्थमव्यग्रमिहोपभुज्यताम् ॥

35.

The Ādikavi is showing us how the great exemplar of Hindu wifehood received a holy visitor to the hermitage. Rāma had told her that it would be one of her most exacting daily duties—

प्राप्तानामतिथीनां च नित्यशः प्रतिपूजनम् ॥

Ayodhya, xxviii, 163.

Just before the exiles came to Pañcavaṭī Agastya had enforced this duty of hospitality by precept and by example. *Araṇya*, xii. 26, 28. We look in a great epic poem for such a description as we have here of the actual rites of hospitality. Vālmīki did not compose for an age of sick hurry. He lived in more spacious days. He wrote for all time. In the verses under discussion, he not only gives an exact description of the rites, but contrasts the pious zeal of the hostess with the base hollowness of her guest:

द्विजातिवेषेण समीक्ष्य मैथिली समागतं पात्रकुसुम्भधारिणम् ।
अशक्यमुद्द्रेष्टुमपायदर्शनं न्यमन्त्रयद्ब्राह्मणवत्तदाङ्गना ॥
निमन्त्र्यमाणः प्रतिपूर्णभाषिणीं नरेन्द्रपत्नीं प्रसमीक्ष्य मैथिलीम् ।
प्रसह्य तस्या हरणे धृतं मनः समार्पयत्स्वात्मवधाय रावणः ॥

34, 36.

The Poet here lets us into the secret of Rāvaṇa's inmost thoughts and then in the closing stanza he finely suggests the trepidation in Sītā's own bosom at the thought that the guest of honour whom she was entertaining was not a man of honour:

ततः सुवेषं मृगयागतं पतिं प्रतीक्षमाणा सहलक्ष्मणं तदा ।
विवीक्षमाणा हरितं ददर्श तन्महद्वनं नैव तु रामलक्ष्मणौ ॥

37.

II. lxiv. 80. We know that the old King died at night when Kausalyā and Sumitrā had fallen fast asleep. But in what part of the night? It is from the stanza, in long metre, of *Ayodhyā lxiv* that we learn that his soul departed in the small hours of the morning:

यदा तु दीनं कथयन्नराधिपः प्रियस्य पुत्रस्य विवासनातुरः ।
गतेऽर्धरात्रे भृशदुःखपीडितस्तदा जहौ प्राणमुदारदर्शनः ॥

Ayodhyā, lxiv. 80.

Perhaps the Poet omitted this in his anuṣṭubh s'lokas as an unimportant detail, but what of this next instance from Yuddhakāṇḍa?

VI. lxxiv. Jāmbavān told Hanumān to go to the Himālayas and fetch the four potent herbs which were to revive and heal Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa and the seven and sixty crores of monkeys who had been struck down by Indrajit with his Brahmāstra. The anuṣṭubh s'lokas in *Yuddha, lxxiv*, give us an elaborate—and if we reckon the anuṣṭubh s'lokas only in the sarga, an absurdly and disproportionately elaborate—account of how Hanumān ascended the peak in Laṅkā in preparation for his leap (s'lokas 36-49), and of how he flew up to the path of the sun and reached his destination (55-58). He had covered a distance of a thousand yojanas from Laṅkā and had hit the exact spot which Jāmbavān had described to him, though how he was able to mark it down the anuṣṭubh verses omit to say. The cunning herbs, however, when he began to hunt for them, hid their luminousness from him (65-66). So much we learn, and then the anuṣṭubh s'lokas end abruptly. When they take up the tale again, it is only to acquaint us with something the relevancy of which is to seek, *viz.*, Rāvaṇa's Field Order No. I touching the disposal of the dead and the dying in the Rākṣasa army (77-78). The immortal Poet who could compose only in anuṣṭubh leaves his readers in the lurch even as the Oṣadhis left that great monkey. When we next meet Hanumān he is in Laṅkā

right enough (*Yuddha*, *lxxv. 1*), but we are left guessing what he did when he could not find the herbs. If ever a great epic narrative was truncated by wholesale and indiscriminate deletion of passages as interpolations it would surely be this story of the crowning exploit of the monkey-hero.

II. xc. 90. Bharadvāja acquainted Bharata with Rāma's whereabouts but desired that he and his ministers should stay the night with him and depart for Citrakuṭa in the morning.

श्वस्तु गन्तासि तं देशं वसाद्य सह मन्त्रिभिः ।
एतं मे कुरु सुप्राज्ञ कामं कामार्थकोविद ॥

Ayodhyā, *xc. 23.*

From the first s'loka of the succeeding sarga we learn that Bharata made up his mind accordingly.

कृतबुद्धिं निवासाय तत्रैव स मुनिस्तदा ।
भरतं कैकयीपुत्रमातिथ्येन न्यमन्त्रयत ॥

Ayodhyā, *xci. 1.*

But it behoved the Prince to *acknowledge* the sage's graciousness in asking him. The anuṣṭubh s'lokas are silent on the point, and it is from the stanza in long metre which closes the xcth sarga that we know how cordially Bharata *accepted* the holy ṛṣi's invitation—

ततस्तथेत्येवमुदारदर्शनः प्रतीतरूपो भरतोऽब्रवीद्वचः ।
चकार बुद्धिं च तदा तदाश्रमे निशानिवासाय नराधिपात्मजः ॥

Ayodhyā, *xc. 90.*

चकार बुद्धिं च—hence कृतबुद्धिं in the initial s'loka of xci. As the commentator points out, चकार बुद्धिं चेति न उक्तिरन्या बुद्धिरन्येति भावः. It is improbable that the Poet who referred to the Prince's बुद्धि omitted his उक्ति. We have only to compare what he says when Vasiṣṭha on a similar occasion invited Vis'vāmitra:

बाढमित्येव गाधेयो वसिष्ठं प्रत्युवाच ह ।
यथा प्रियं भगवतस्तथाऽस्तु मुनिसत्तम ॥

Bālakāṇḍa, *lii. 19.*

I. xvi. 33-34. Upon completion of the हयमेध and पुत्रेष्टि D'as'aratha gave leave to Ṛs'yas'ṛṅga and to the royal visitors to depart and returned to the city where, says the Poet, he·

उवास सुखितस्तत्र पुत्रोत्पत्तिं विचिन्तयन् ॥

Bālakāṇḍa, xviii. 7

Turning to sarga xvi, we find that the story as far as the anuṣṭubh s'lokas carry it ends with this summary·

एवं तासां ददौ राजा भार्याणां पायसं पृथक् ॥
तास्त्वेतत्पायसं प्राप्य नरेन्द्रस्योत्तमाः स्त्रियः ।
संमानं मेनिरे सर्वाः प्रहर्षोदितचेतसः ॥

Bālakāṇḍa, xvi. 31-32

There is no mention of any *Conception* such as would warrant the use of the phrase पुत्रोत्पत्तिं विचिन्तयन्. It is unreasonable to suppose that the Poet left a hiatus to be filled up by a later hand with the stanzas in long metre given below, to which, as the commentator points out, the phrase is meant to refer back:

ततस्तु ताः प्राश्य तदुत्तमस्त्रियो महीपतेरुत्तमपायसं पृथक् ।
हुताशनादित्यसमानतेजसोऽचिरेण गर्भान्प्रतिपेदिरे तदा ॥
ततस्तु राजा प्रतिवीक्ष्य ताः स्त्रियः प्ररूढगर्भाः प्रतिलब्धमानसः ।
बभूव हृष्टस्त्रिदिवे यथा हरिस्सुरेन्द्रसिद्धर्षिगणाभिपूजितः ॥

Bālakāṇḍa, xvi. 33-34.

There is a helpful comment by Govindarāja why these verses occur here.

"वक्तव्येऽपि यज्ञवृत्तान्तशेषे प्रसङ्गात्सौकर्याय नगरप्रवेशानन्तरभावि-कथाशेषं संग्रहेण दर्शयति—तत इति ।"

VI. xl. *Yuddha xl.* contains an account of the single combat that took place between Sugrīva and Rāvaṇa at the outset of the war. The omission of the stanzas in longer metres in this sarga, not only robs the story of incidents like the tumbling of the two wrestlers into the space between the fort

wall and the moat (16), but reduces it to a mere catalogue of 'maṇḍalas' and 'sthānas' S'loka 13 tells us how the combatants threw each other in the initial bout. The next anuṣṭubh s'loka is :

तौ परस्परमासाद्य यत्तावन्योन्यसूदने ।
मार्जाराविव भक्षार्थे वितस्थाते मुहुर्मुहुः ॥

Yuddha, *xl*. 22.

There must have been some more rounds before the antagonists took up such a position for a spring against each other. Not to be dogmatic about it, we cannot yet help thinking that the suppression of verses 14-21 will leave an inartistic gap. But what are we to think of the Poet leaving Sugrīva suspended in mid-air?

उत्पपात तदाकाशं जितकाशी जितक्रमः ।
रावणः स्थित एवात्र हरिराजेन वञ्चितः ॥

Yuddha, *xl*. 28.

Readers familiar with the exquisite *Īḍu* commentary on *Tiruvoimozhi* 10. 6. 8, *வெய்க்கின்று*, will appreciate the beauty of the Poet's description of Sugrīva's return to Rāma— रामपार्श्वं जगाम ("स्वतूर्णी पुनरागमत्", VI. cxi. 20; "स्वतूर्णी प्रविवेश" IV. xii. 4. इतिवत्)—in the two stanzas in long metre which follow.

VI. lix. *Sarga lviii* of Yuddha ends with the slaying of Prahasta by Nīla and the carrying of the news to Rāvaṇa :

हते तस्मिंश्चमूमुख्ये राक्षसास्ते निरुद्यमाः ।
रक्षःपतिगृहं गत्वा ध्यानमूकत्वमास्थिताः ॥

Yuddha, *lviii*. 58.

Sarga *lix*, if we omit the first three stanzas which are in long metre, opens abruptly thus .

नावज्ञा रिपवे कार्या यैरिन्द्रबलसूदनः ।
सूदितः सैन्यपालो मे सानुयात्रः सकुञ्जरः ॥

Yuddha, *lix*. 4.

As the Rāmayaṇa does not employ prose formulas like अर्जुन उवाच in the Mahābhārata to introduce speakers, stanzas 2 & 3 which contain the expression "रक्षोधिपः . . . . उवाच" are necessary. Rāvaṇa says that he will himself take the field and burn up Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa and the monkey host (5, 6). After a score of verses in long metre we have this 's'loka' (*i.e.*, in the ordinary epic metre).

प्रत्युवाच ततो रामो विभीषणमरिन्दमम् ।
अहो दीप्तो महातेजा रावणो राक्षसेश्वरः ॥

Yuddha, lix. 27.

This seems to require the admission of stanza 14 ·

ततस्तु रामस्य निशम्य वाक्यं विभीषणः शक्रसमानवीर्यः ।
शशंस रामस्य बलप्रवेकं महात्मनां राक्षसपुङ्गवानाम् ॥

Yuddha, lix. 14.

—which again requires this, *viz.*,

तद्राक्षसानीकमतिप्रचण्डमालोक्य रामो भुजगेन्द्रबाहुः ।
विभीषणं शस्त्रभृतां वरिष्ठमुवाच सेनानुगतः पृथुश्रीः ॥

Yuddha, lix 12.

and in this way practically all the stanzas from 8 to 26. Rāma stands ready to meet Rāvaṇa (33), but Lakṣmaṇa asks and obtains his permission to oppose the enemy himself (48-52). We read on till we come to how Rāvana after putting Nīla *hors de combat* faced Lakṣmaṇa with his bow drawn (92). The thread of the anuṣṭubh narrative is broken here, for when we take it up again this is what we find:

हिमवान्मन्दरो मेरुस्त्रैलोक्यं वा सहामरैः ।
शक्यं भुजाभ्यामुद्धर्तुं न संख्ये भरतानुजः ॥

Yuddha, lix. 110.

We are left to gather from 's'lokas' 111 & 119 that Rāvaṇa had struck Lakṣmaṇa with the S'akti weapon which he had had from Brahmā. Rāma mounted on the shoulders of Hanumān and challenged Rāvaṇa (124-128). The latter

aimed his first shafts at Hanumān, which, says the Poet, threw Rāma into a mighty rage (134). Then the anuṣṭubh verses break off altogether just when we are looking for a description of the first shock between the कथानायक and the प्रतिनायक. From the succeeding sarga, lx, we learn that Rāvana was worsted in this first encounter. And not worsted only, but made to suffer some deep disgrace. What was the form and nature of that disgrace? And why did the dreaded रामबाण spare his life and take away his honour alone? In vain do we ask the Poet. Either he did not care to describe this incident of capital importance any more than Lakṣmaṇa's bravery (92), or, as we are asked to suppose, his lazy pupils omitted to commit to memory, and succeeding generations neglected to hand down to us, the anuṣṭubh s'lokas in which he had celebrated the event. An unbroken tradition however has always credited Rāma with having "discrowned" (literally—"मुकुटभङ्ग"—) Rāvaṇa in this first battle, so much so that it has passed into a proverb with us that "that which would have gone with the head has gone with the turban":

தலையோடு போகிறது தலைப்பாகையோடு போயிற்று.

Following the stanza in long metre which recounts this (138) is the famous stanza in which Rāma dismisses Rāvaṇa from the battlefield to take rest:

गच्छानुजानामि रणार्दितस्त्वं प्रविश्य रात्रिंचरराज लङ्काम् ।
आश्वास्य निर्याहि रथी च धन्वी तदा बलं द्रक्ष्यसि मे रथस्थः ॥

Yuddha, lix. 141.

கை புகுந்த சத்துருவைக் கடுக முடித்து விடு—Spare not the foe that hath fallen into thy hands. Such was the caution Rāma in after years gave to S'atrughna when the latter was despatched against Lavaṇāsura (VII. lxiii. 27ff.). But here he was, himself giving a respite to his mortal enemy. A signal proof this of the infinite compassion for which he was hailed रिपूणामपि वत्सल! (*Yuddha, l. 56*). And not of infinite compassion

only but of infinite strength the consciousness of which it was that prompted the magnanimity. Rāvaṇa himself realised this:

यस्य विक्रममासाद्य राक्षसा निधनं गताः ।
तं मन्ये राघवं वीरं नारायणमनामयम् ॥

Yuddha, lxii, 10 11

The words and deeds of Rāma commemorated in stanzas *137-141 of Yuddha, lix* have always captured the imagination of poets.

"कटुरटदटनि टङ्कृति चटुल कठोर कार्मुक विनिर्गत विशङ्कट विशिख विताडन विघटित मकुट विह्वल विश्रवस्तनय विश्रमसमय विश्राणन विख्यात विक्रम !"

Vedānta Deśika, *Raghuvīragadya*

यत्तादृशागसमरिं रघुवीर ! वीक्ष्य
विश्रम्यतामिति मुमोचिथ मुग्धमाजौ ।
कोऽयं गुणः कतरकोटिगतः कियान्वा
कस्य स्तुतेः पदमहो बत कस्य भूमिः ॥

Śrīvatsāṅkamiśra, *Atimānuṣastava, 27*

There are cogent reasons then for holding that the stanzas in long metre which describe the finale of Rāvaṇa's first meeting with Rāma are indispensable to the narrative and must have formed part of the Poet's original work. Is there any compelling reason for their exclusion?

VI. lxvii. We know from *Yuddhakāṇḍa, lxviii. 1* that Kumbhakarṇa was slain by Rāma himself—

कुम्भकर्णं हतं दृष्ट्वा राघवेण महात्मना ।

though the Mahābhārata credits Lakṣmaṇa with this achievement.

स बभूवातिकायश्च बहुपादशिरोभुजः ।
तं ब्रह्मास्त्रेण सौमित्रिर्ददाराद्रिचयोपमम् ॥

Vanaparvan, 288, 19.

Kumbhakarṇa and Rāma did not meet face to face for a long time though the Rākṣasa hero was making for Rāma through the intervening Vānara ranks. When the latter were overthrown Rāma advanced twanging his bow—

तं दृष्ट्वा राक्षसश्रेष्ठं प्रदीप्तानलवर्चसम् ।
विस्फारयामास तदा कार्मुकं पुरुषर्षभः ॥

Yuddha, lxvii, 144.

This raises our expectations and we look for a lively account of the encounter. What do the Poet's 'ślokas' tell us? Kumbhakarṇa gave out a terrific laugh on finding that it was Rāma himself that faced him, apologised for his own appearance—sans nose and ears—and challenged Rāma (148-153). Thereafter there are only these two "ślokas":

कुम्भकर्णशिरो भाति कुण्डलालङ्कृतं महत् ।
आदित्येऽभ्युदिते रात्रौ मध्यस्थ इव चन्द्रमाः ॥
न्यपतत्कुम्भकर्णोऽथ स्वकायेन निपातयन् ।
प्लवङ्गमानां कोट्यश्च परितः संप्रधावताम् ॥

Yuddha, lxvii. 172, 174.

—a ludicrous account to appear in a great epic poem of a thrilling fight between the hero and a world-shaking giant. Rāma as he listened to the recital of his history by Kuśa and Lava must have wondered that the Poet who reeled off anuṣṭubh verses by the score in describing the overthrow by monkeys of Dhūmrākṣa and Vajradaṁṣṭra and Prahasta should have done such scant justice to his own victory over Kumbhakarṇa. Was it not an epic poet's rôle to "sing of arms and the man"?—"Arma virumque cano"—VIRGIL, *Aeneid*, i.l. Why does not the bard sing of his renowned weapons which slew Vālin and Mārīca but were absorbed in the body of Kumbhakarṇa, of the Vāyavya and Aindrāstras which severed his arms, of the half-moon weapons which severed his legs, and of the Aindrāstra which gave the *coup de grace* to the giant?

VI. lxix. Following Kumbhakarṇa's death we have Rāvaṇa sending six redoubtable warriors into the field.

त्रिशिराश्चातिकायश्च देवान्तकनरान्तकौ ।
महोदरमहापार्श्वौ निर्जग्मुः कालचोदिताः ॥

Yuddha, lxix. 19.

The *mêlée* that ensued is described at great length, and then the Poet narrates each of the separate encounters between individual heroes on either side. Anuṣṭubh verses 71 & 72 which deal with the first of these are:

ददृशुश्च महात्मानं हयपृष्ठे प्रतिष्ठितम् ।
चरन्तं हरिसैन्येषु विद्याधरमहर्षयः ॥
स तस्य ददृशे मार्गो मांसशोणितकर्दमः ।
पतितैः पर्वताकारैर्वानरैरभिसंवृतः ॥

Yuddha, lxix. 71, 72.

Who this cavalier was who drew in his wake a river of gore is not inferable from the anuṣṭubh verses that precede them (60-66), though we know from s'loka 30 that Narāntaka was the only one of the half-dozen warriors mounted on a horse and s'loka 73 which follows mentions his name. But महात्मानं हयपृष्ठे प्रतिष्ठितं (71) & तस्य (72) for their proper construction require a reference to:

ततो हयं मारुततुल्यवेगमारुह्य शक्तिं निशितां प्रगृह्य ।
नरान्तको वानरराजसैन्यं महार्णवं मीन इवाविवेश ॥

Yuddha, lxix. 69.

However we read on. The Poet tells us that at sight of the havoc wrought by Narāntaka in the Vānara ranks Sugrīva despatched Aṅgada to engage him, and that they joined battle. But the anuṣṭubh s'lokas break off lamely:

अभिगम्याङ्गदं क्रुद्धो वालिपुत्रं नरान्तकः ।

Yuddha, lxxix. 91.

and we have to turn to the following sarga to learn how the fight ended:

नरान्तकं हतं दृष्ट्वा चुक्रुशुर्नैर्ऋतर्षभाः ।

Yuddha, lxx. 1.

Aṅgada's signal exploit in accounting for Narāntaka is narrated in verses 92-100 of sarga lxix, but as they are in long metre we are to rest content with the bare information vouchsafed by the Poet in the anuṣṭubh verses that they fought together and that Narāntaka was slain. Did ever Poet compose thus?

Four of the other Rākṣasa warriors are disposed of in the succeeding sarga, but it is to the verses in long metre that we have to look for the actual slaying of three of them, *viz.*, Devāntaka by Hanumān (lxx. 26), Mahodara by Nīla (ib. 30-32), and Tris'iras by Hanumān (ib. 47, 48).

There remained Atikāya, son of Dhānyamālinī, the most powerful of the six heroes, and the "prop that did sustain Rāvaṇa's house" [*vide* Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, IV. i. 375-376].

यस्य बाहू समाश्रित्य लङ्का वसति निर्भया ।
तनयं धान्यमालिन्या अतिकायमिमं विदुः ॥

Yuddha, lxxi, 30.

It was Lakṣmaṇa that confronted him in battle. Long and fierce was the encounter as the Poet describes it in more than forty s'lokas (lxxi. 59-101). The combatants were evenly matched and the event hung in the balance. Then the Wind-god whispered in Lakṣmaṇa's ear that Atikāya who had had special boons from Brahmā was invulnerable except by Brahmāstra (lxxi. 103). The Poet, thanks to Brahmā's boon to *him*, heard the whisper, but his descriptive powers would seem suddenly to have flagged, and his next anuṣṭubh verse tells us merely that Atikāya's head toppled down.

तच्छिरः सशिरस्त्राणं लक्ष्मणेषुप्रपीडितम् ।
पपात सहसा भूमौ शृङ्गं हिमवतो यथा ॥

(*Yuddha*, lxxi, *111*.

We are referred to a later rhapsodist for the seven stanzas in longer metre (lxxi. 104-110) which relate how Lakṣmaṇa discharged his flaming Brahmāstra and how it burnt up all the armoury of the enemy and bore away his head.

V. xl. 23. When Hanumān took leave of Sītā did she wish him *bon voyage*? The Poet tells us that he was honoured with auspicious words at his departure:

स च वाग्भिः प्रशस्ताभिर्गमिष्यन्पूजितस्तया ।
तस्माद्देशादपक्रम्य चिन्तयामास वानरः ॥

Sundara, xli. *1*.

Sītā's own words of blessing however are contained in a stanza in long metre at the end of the previous sarga:

इमं च तीव्रं मम शोकवेगं रक्षोभिरेभिः परिभर्त्सनं च ।
ब्रूयास्तु रामस्य गतः समीपं शिवश्च तेऽध्वास्तु हरिप्रवीर ॥

Sundara, *xl*, *23*.

The Poet is careful to tell us that Jāmbavān pronounced a blessing in due form when Hanumān was about to cross to Laṅkā from Mahendragiri:

तव कल्याणरुचयः कपिमुख्याः समागताः ।
मङ्गलं कार्यसिद्ध्यर्थं करिष्यन्ति समाहिताः ॥
ऋषीणां च प्रसादेन कपिवृद्धमतेन च ।
गुरूणां च प्रसादेन प्लवस्व त्वं महार्णवम् ।

Kiṣkindhā, *lxvii*, *34*, *35*.

Pious Sītā could hardly have done less when he set out on the return voyage. It is unreasonable to suppose that the Poet omitted to report her gracious words and that the omission was supplied by a later hand.

V. lii. Vibhīṣaṇa pointed out to Rāvaṇa that Hanumān as an ambassador could not be put to death but only made to suffer some lesser penalty. Rāvaṇa disagreed. He saw no sin in killing such a wicked monkey :

न पापानां वधे पापं विद्यते शत्रुसूदन ।
तस्मादेनं वधिष्यामि वानरं पापचारिणम् ॥

Sundara, lii, 11.

The next anuṣṭubh verse is :

न चाप्यस्य कपेर्घाते कंचित्पश्याम्यहं गुणम् ।
तेष्वयं पात्यतां दण्डो यैरयं प्रेषितः कपिः ॥

Sundara, lii, 20.

This is obviously the continuation of a counter-argument addressed by Vibhīṣaṇa. The s'loka as it stands has no connection with the 11th s'loka and requires at least stanza 12 for its proper construction :

अधर्ममूलं बहुरोषयुक्तमनार्यजुष्टं वचनं निशम्य ।
उवाच वाक्यं परमार्थतत्त्वं विभीषणो बुद्धिमतां वरिष्ठः ॥

Sundara, lii, 12.

II. ix. 60-66. The ninth sarga of Ayodhyākāṇḍa closes with seven stanzas in long metre. They are not a mere repetition of what the Poet had said before in anuṣṭubh metre. They appear to be a continuation of the conversation between Mantharā and Kaikeyī *after* the latter had retired to the sulks-chamber, vide *Ayodhyā*, ix. *55* :

तथा प्रोत्साहिता देवी गत्वा मन्थरया सह ।
क्रोधागारं विशालाक्षी सौभाग्यमदगर्विता ॥

The passage shows us how the plot for the frustration of the king's project hatched in the boudoir was developed and perfected in the inner chamber. Says Mantharā to the Queen :

अतो हि कल्याणि यतस्व तत्तथा यथा सुतस्ते भरतोऽभिषेक्ष्यते ॥

Ayodhyā, ix. 61.

—in other words, 'act well your part now that you are here.' Kaikeyī rises to the occasion and rehearses her part as it were to her humpbacked tutor.

निधाय हस्तौ हृदयेऽतिविस्मिता शशंस कुब्जां कुपिता पुनःपुनः ॥
यमस्य वा मां विषयं गतामितो निशाम्य कुब्जे प्रतिवेदयिष्यसि ।
वनं गते वा सुचिराय राघवे समृद्धकामो भरतो भविष्यति ॥
अहं हि नैवास्तरणानि न स्रजो न चन्दनं नाञ्जनपानभोजनम् ।
न किञ्चिदिच्छामि न चेह जीवितं न चेदितो गच्छति राघवो वनम् ॥

Ayodhyā, ix, 62-64.

What the Poet suggests in this colloquy in the sulks-chamber is that the Queen was primed to say to the King not only

(*a*) that she would there and then put an end to her life if he did not grant her request to exile Rāma for fourteen years and to instal Bharata; but

(*b*) that if Rāma was not banished *forthwith* no food or drink should pass her lips.

This latter demand was peremptory as the King might conceivably postpone Rāma's exile till after Bharata had been fetched from Rājagṛha. We do not find in any of the scolding speeches of Kaikeyī in the tenth and following sargas that she used the threat that she would not eat or drink till Rāma left for the forest. There is however good reason to conclude that she must have uttered it. We have Sītā saying to Hanumān—

तस्मिन्संभ्रियमाणे तु राघवस्याभिषेचने ।
कैकेयी नाम भर्तारं देवी वचनमब्रवीत् ॥
न पिबेयं न खादेयं प्रत्यहं मम भोजनम् ।
एष मे जीवितस्यान्तो रामो यद्यभिषिच्यते ॥

Sundara, xxxiii, 20, 21

We have also this which attests the fact indirectly, *viz.*, Kaikeyī's words to Rāma:

यावत्त्वं न वनं यातः पुरादस्मादभित्वरन् ।
पिता तावन्न ते राम स्नास्यते भोक्ष्यतेऽपि वा ॥

Ayodhyā, xiv, 16.

Daśaratha of course had said nothing of the kind. But what of that? If she refused to eat or drink, the poor distracted king was not going to eat or drink either. He saw how she had twisted her own resolution into his, and

धिक्कष्टमिति निश्वस्य राजा शोकपरिप्लुतः ।
मूर्च्छितो न्यपतत्तस्मिन्पर्यङ्के हेमभूषिते ॥

Ayodhyā, xiv, 17.

Lastly, when Rāma came to take leave of his father, Kaikeyī urged the King in secret to let him go at once:

कैकेय्या चोद्यमानस्तु मिथो राजा तमब्रवीत् ॥

Ayodhya, xxxiv, 30.

There can be little doubt therefore that it was part of the plot as developed in the sulks-chamber that Kaikeyī should demand the instant banishment of Rāma on pain of her refusing to eat or drink, and that stanza 64, if not the whole passage, is the Poet's own and not an interpolator's.

V. lv. 36. Hanumān had taken his leave of Sītā. He had accomplished the prime object of his visit. But, like Caesar,

"Nil actum credens, dum quid supereset agendum."

Lucan, *Pharsalia*, *ii*, 657.

'He reckon'd not the past, while aught remain'd
Great to be done, or mighty to be gain'd.'

Sugrīva's message to the Rākṣasa king had yet to be delivered, and we know how he contrived to be captured and carried into the presence of Rāvaṇa. Chance then presented him with an unrivalled opportunity to set fire to Laṅkā. This work he proceeded with grim humour to execute systematically and thoroughly. Surveying the scene he suddenly recollected Sītā and a great fear came over him

Had he perhaps, like the ape that he was, done his work too thoroughly?

मया खलु तदेवेदं रोषदोषात्प्रदर्शितम् ।
प्रथितं त्रिषु लोकेषु कपित्वमनवस्थितम् ॥

Sundara, V, lv, 16.

The thought that Sītā had perished in the conflagration he had started flung him into the utmost anguish. Voices from the air then reassured him of her safety, and he regained his wits:

स निमित्तैश्च दृष्टार्थैः कारणैश्च महागुणैः ।
ऋषिवाक्यैश्च हनुमानभवत्प्रीतमानसः ॥

Sundara, V, lv, 35.

We should have expected him next to take his departure from Laṅkā, but in the next anuṣṭubh verse after this s'loka we find him back again at that famous 's'ims'upā' tree which Sītā in her captivity had chosen for her own particular abode:

चारुपल्लवपुष्पाढ्यं यं सीता स्वयमास्थिता ।
प्रवृद्धः शिंशुपावृक्षः स च तेनाभिरक्षितः ॥

Sundara, V, lii, 19.

—and offering her his respectful felicitations on her miraculous escape:

ततस्तु शिंशुपामूले जानकीं पर्यवस्थिताम् ।
अभिवाद्याब्रवीद्दिष्ट्या पश्यामि त्वामिहाक्षताम् ॥

Sundara, V, lvi, 1.

अब्रवीत्—Who, the learned Poet does not say. The indispensable grammatical and contextual link between the two anuṣṭubh verses, lv. 35 & lvi. 1, is the stanza in long metre which ends the former sarga, *viz.*,

ततः कपिः प्राप्तमनोरथार्थस्तामक्षतां राजसुतां विदित्वा ।
प्रत्यक्षतस्तां पुनरेव दृष्ट्वा प्रतिप्रयाणाय मतिं चकार ॥

Sundara, V, lv, 36.

Why should it be supposed that this link was forged by another hand?

IV. iii. 40. रामसुग्रीवयोरैक्यं देव्येवं समजायत ।

Sundara, xxxv, 52.

—So did Hanumān conclude his account of the alliance struck between Rāma and Sugrīva. It was not simply a political compact or personal friendship. It was nothing less than ऐक्यं as Hanumān happily termed it, and Hanumān ought to know as he was the author of the alliance. It was *chef-d'oeuvre* of his diplomacy. His part in bringing it about is *indicated* by the Poet in the opening passage of the fifth of Kiṣkindhā ending with:

भवता सख्यकामौ तौ भ्रातरौ रामलक्ष्मणौ ।
प्रतिगृह्यार्चयस्वैतौ पूजनीयतमावुभौ ॥

Kiṣkindhā, v, 7.

That he formed the resolution to effect it is ***plainly stated*** in the closing stanza of the third sarga, which cannot be discarded as spurious simply by reason of its metrical length:

ततस्य वाक्यं निपुणं निशम्य प्रहृष्टरूपः पवनात्मजः कपिः ।
मनः समाधाय जयोपपत्तौ सख्यं तदा कर्तुमियेष ताभ्याम् ॥

Kiṣkindhā, IV, iii, 4.

II. lxxxvii. 23. अहं सर्वं करिष्यामि जाग्रतः स्वपतश्च ते ॥

Ayodhyā, xxxi, 27.

We know that in the forest Lakṣmaṇa kept vigil when Rāma slept. The Poet makes us understand this once for all when he describes the night spent by the exiles under the Iṅgudī tree in S'ṛṅgiberapura.

तस्य भूमौ शयानस्य पादौ प्रक्षाल्य लक्ष्मणः।
सभार्यस्य ततोऽभ्येत्य तस्थौ वृक्षमुपाश्रितः ॥
गुहोऽपि सह सूतेन सौमित्रिमनुभाषयन् ।
अन्वजाग्रत्ततो राममप्रमत्तो धनुर्धरः ॥

Ayodhyā, I, 49, 50.

He is content here with the bare statement अभ्येत्य तस्थौ वृक्षमुपाश्रितः and does not describe *how* Lakṣmaṇa kept vigil. With a fine eye for effect he puts this vivid description into Guha's mouth where the latter pictures the night under the Iṅgudī tree to Bharata ·

नियम्य पृष्ठे तु तलाङ्गुलित्रवान्शरैः सुपूर्णाविषुधी परंतपः ।
महद्धनुः सज्यमुपोह्य लक्ष्मणो निशामतिष्ठत्परितोऽस्य केवलम् ॥

Ayodhyā, lxxxvii, 23

When we compare passages like

दीयमानां न तु तदा प्रतिजग्राह राघवः ।
अविज्ञाय पितुश्छन्दमयोध्याधिपतेः प्रभोः ॥

Ayodhyā, cxviii, 51.

कैकेयी नाम भर्तारं देवी वचनमब्रवीत् ॥
न पिबेयं न खादेयं प्रत्यहं मम भोजनम् ।
एष मे जीवितस्यान्तो रामो यद्यभिषिच्यते ॥

Sundara, xxxiii, 20, 21.

स विहायोत्तरीयाणि महार्हाणि महायशाः ।
विसृज्य मनसा राज्यं जनन्यै मां समादिशत् ॥

Sundara, xxxiii, 27.

where Sītā is made to report picturesque details omitted in the Poet's narrative, we feel little doubt that he reserved the description of Lakṣmaṇa's vigil for Guha. If we might take Murāri for our guide, it was appropriate that that ardent devotee should sing the praises of his newly-acquired friend.

तीर्त्वा भूतेशमौलिस्रजममरधुनीमात्मनासौ तृतीय-
स्तस्मै सौमित्रिमैत्रीमयमुपकृतवानातरं नाविकाय ।
व्यामग्राह्यस्तनीभिः शबरयुवतिभिः कौतुकोदञ्चदक्षं
कृच्छ्रादन्वीयमानः क्षणमचलमथो चित्रकूटं प्रतस्थे ॥

Murāri, *Anargharāghava*, v. 2.

II. lii. 100-102. Sarga liii of Ayodhyākāṇḍa which deals with the exiles' first night after the departure of Sumantra for Ayodhyā opens thus:

स तं वृक्षं समासाद्य सन्ध्यामन्वास्य पश्चिमाम् ।
रामो रमयतां श्रेष्ठ इति होवाच लक्ष्मणम् ॥

Ayodhyā, liii, 1.

This necessarily requires the stanza in long metre which occurs at the end of the previous sarga.

तौ तत्र हत्वा चतुरो महामृगान्वराहमृश्यं पृषतं महारुरुम् ।
आदाय मेध्यं त्वरितं बुभुक्षितौ वासाय काले ययतुर्वनस्पतिम् ॥

Ayodhyā, lii, 102.

"तत्र" again refers to the stanza before.

स लोकपालप्रतिमप्रभाववांस्तीर्त्वा महात्मा वरदो महानदीम् ।
ततः समृद्धाञ्शुभसस्यमालिनः क्रमेण वत्सान्मुदितानुपागमत् ॥

Ayodhyā, lii, 101.

Is stanza 100 necessary? Not absolutely perhaps. But it is the natural connecting link between the ślokas in which Rāma dismissed Sumantra and the car, *Ayodhyā*, lii, *64ff.*, and gave leave to Guha to return, *Ayodhyā*, lii, *73*, and the verse in a later sarga which resumes their story, *viz.*, *Ayodhyā*, lvii, *1*.

II. liii. 54. The first night spent under the great banyan tree before the exiles reached Prayāg was marked by a momentous decision. The stirring events that had followed the king's announcement of his installation seemed to have brought their inevitable reaction, and Rāma, with his thoughts turned to the lot of his father and specially of his mother under the new regime gave way to a fit of deep despondency. In this mood he proposed that Lakṣmaṇa should return to Ayodhyā in the morning to protect them, leaving him and Sītā to go forward and fulfil their father's word passed to Kaikeyī.

अयोध्यामित एव त्वं काल्ये प्रविश लक्ष्मण ॥
अहमेको गमिष्यामि सीतया सह दण्डकान् ।
अनाथाया हि नाथस्त्वं कौसल्याया भविष्यसि ॥

Ayodhyā, lui, 16, 17.

Lakṣmana knew how to deal with this mood, as witness the tribute which fourteen years later Rāma paid him when Indrajit had bound them both with the Nāgapāśa:

न लक्ष्मणसमो भ्राता सचिवः सांपरायिकः ॥
त्वं नित्यं स विषण्णं मामाश्वासयसि लक्ष्मण ।
गतासुर्नाद्य शक्नोषि मामार्तमभिभाषितुम् ॥

Yuddha, xlix. 6, 14

He would have it out with Rāma once and away. Interpreting Sītā's feelings on the matter correctly, he said

नैतदौपयिकं राम यदिदं परितप्यसे ।
विषादयसि सीतां च मां चैव पुरुषर्षभ ॥

Ayodhyā, liii, 30.

and uttered this memorable sentiment

न च सीता त्वया हीना न चाहमपि राघव ।
मुहूर्तमपि जीवावो जलान्मत्स्याविवोद्धृतौ ॥

Ayodhyā, liii, 31.

The Poet says that when Laksmaṇa had spoken

ततस्तत्र सुखासीनौ नातिदूरे निरीक्ष्य ताम् ।
न्यग्रोधे सुकृतां शय्यां भेजाते धर्मवत्सलौ ॥

Ayodhyā, liii, 33.

The next anuṣṭubh verses simply go on to speak of their journey to Prayāg in the morning, *Ayodhyā*, liv, *1*, *2*, and tell us nothing as to what reply, if any, Rāma made to Lakṣmaṇa, or how he decided the question of Lakṣmaṇa's return to Ayodhyā mooted by himself. We have however this stanza in long metre at the end of sarga liii:

स लक्ष्मणस्योत्तमपुष्कलं वचो निशम्य चैवं वनवासमादरात् ।
समाः समस्ता विदधे परंतपः प्रपद्य धर्मं सुचिराय राघवः ॥

Ayodhyā, liii, 54.

This tells us that after hearing Lakṣmaṇa's excellent words Rāma gave up once for all the idea of separation from him during the years of exile. As the कारिका has it,

दर्शनं परभक्तिः स्यात् परज्ञानं तु सङ्गमः ।
पुनर्विश्लेषभीरुत्वं परमा भक्तिरुच्यते ॥

The परमभक्ति which Lakṣmaṇa's forcible words imported so deeply touched Rāma that we cease to hear any more of his suggestion that Lakṣmana should go back to Ayodhyā. Embodying as it does the conclusion of the matter raised in controversy in the sarga and a conclusion of decisive importance for the story, it is difficult to see how the verse, liii. *54*, can be treated as aught but the Poet's own.

RĀṢṬRAKŪṬA CONQUEST OF SAPĀDALAKṢA

By

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya

A passage in the Lēmulavāḍa epigraph of Arikēsarin II states that Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla, the founder of the local branch of the Cālukya family, ruled over the Sapādalakṣa country, which could not be governed by others.[1] The same fact is mentioned by Pampa in the introduction to his *Vikramārjunavijayam*.[2] The Paiabhaṇi Plates of Arikesarin III also allude to Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla's rule over the Sapādalakṣa country.[3] The first point that deserves consideration is the situation of the Sapādalakṣa country. Neither the Lemulavāḍa and Parbhani inscriptions nor Pampa's *Vikramārjunavijayam* offer any information indicating the locality where it was situated. Pālkurki Soma, a great Vīraśaiva divine and author, who flourished about the beginning of the 14th century A.D., mentions, in the *Parvata-prakaraṇa* of his *Paṇḍit-ārādhya-caritra*, Sapādalakṣa as an appellation applicable to several countries in his time.

Nēpāḷa is *sapādalakṣa*
Kēdāra „
Tīrkārti „

[1] Telingāṇa Inscription I.S. No. 21.

So='yam kilāśāsad=ananya-śās yam Sapāda-lakṣam kṣitim=akṣat=ājñaḥ-
Samasta-rājendra-kirīṭa-koṭi-māṇikya-iaśmi-prakar=ārcit = āṅghriḥ ||

[2] *Vikramārjunavijayam*, 1.16.

[3] N. R. Premi, *Jain Sāhitya Aur Itihās*, p. 90.

Kāśmīra *sapādalakṣa*
Kannōja „
Konkaṇa „
Kaḷinga.[1] „

Sapādalakṣa is used here as a term indicating the extent of the countries, Nepāla, Kedāra, Tirkārti, Kāśmīra, Kannōja, Konkaṇa and Kaḷinga, and not as the proper name of any one country in particular as in the Lemulavāḍa and Parbhani records and Pampa's *Vikramārjunavijayam*. A country of the name of Sapādalakṣa is occasionally met with in the Sanskṛt literature and the Medieval North Indian inscriptions. Commenting on the passage "*aśmantakaveśmavihaya hi*" in the *Yaśastilakacampū* of Sōmadēvasūri, Śrutasāgara, states, "*āśmantaka, Sapādalakṣa-parvata-nivāsin.*"[2] A more valuable reference to Sapādalakṣa is found in the Citoḍghaḍ inscription of the Caḷukya Kumārapāla of Gujarāt dated A.D., 1150-51. "When this king had defeated the ruler of Śākambharī and devastated the Sapādalakṣa country, he went to a place named Śālipura, and having pitched his great camp there he came to view the great beauty of the Citrakūṭa mountain."[3]

[1] *Āndhra Granthamāla* No. 30. Part ii, p. 415.

అష్టాంశగ సపాదలక్ష నేపాళ
మూష్టాంశగ సపాదలక్ష కేదార
మూష్టాంశగ సపాదలక్ష తిరాభుక్తి
అష్టాంశగ సపాదలక్ష కాశ్మీర
మూష్టాంశగ సపాదలక్ష కన్నోజ
మూష్టాంశగ సపాదలక్ష కొంకణము
అష్టాంశగ సపాదలక్ష కళింగ

[2] *Kāvyamālā*, No. 70, p. 187-8. See also G. *Jhā Inst. Jour.* ii. p. 286.

[3] EI. II, p. 423.

Mahābhṛt=nikuñjeṣu śākambharīvaḥ,
priyā-putra-loke na śākambharīvaḥ

Bhagavanlal Indraji is of opinion that 'Sapādalakṣa is the Sanskṛt form of the modern Sewalik'. He believes that the Cauhans, whom the Gujarāt Jain chroniclers call the Sapādalakṣīyas, came originally from this region at first to Ajmere and thence to Gujarāt; that Ajmere and the country in the neighbourhood acquired from them the name of Sapādalakṣa; and that it was identical with the ancient S'ākambhari corresponding to the present Sāmbhar territory in Eastern Rajaputana.[1] A similar opinion is held by Nundolal Dey. He also considers that Sapādalakṣa is the Sanskṛt form of modern Sewalik, a corruption perhaps of Sawālākh, corresponding to S'ākambhari, that is, the modern S'āmbhar territory in Eastern Rājaputana[2] However that may be, it is certain that during the 9th century A.D. and even earlier, S'ākambhari or the modern Sāmbhar territory in Eastern Rajaputana was known as the Sapādalakṣa country.

Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla was a southern prince. He was probably a native of Northern Telingāṇa and ruled over a small principality with Bōdhan in the present Nizamabad district of Hyderabad state as his capital[3] The circumstances

api pi āsta-s'atrur=bhayāt=ham prabhūtaḥ
sthitau yasya mattebha-vāji-prabhūtaḥ ||
Sapādalakṣam=āmardya namrīkṛta-bhayānakaḥ
Svayam=āyān=mahīnātho grāme Sūlipur=ābhidhe ||
San=nivés'ya sinviram pṛthu tatra
trāsit=āsahana-bhūpati-cakram
Citrakūṭa-giri puṣkala-s'obhām
draṣṭum=āra nṛpatih kutukena ||

[1] *Bom. Gaz.* I. i. pp. 157, 158, n. 1, 184, 194.

[2] *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 178.

[3] An abortive attempt has been made by Muliya Timmappayya in his *Nāḍōja Pampa* (pp. 23-25) to identify this Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla with the Gujarāt Calukya Jayās'raya Mangalarasa who was also known as Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla (DKD, p. 374). Apart from the insoluble problems presented by the false pedigree of the spurious Kollipara plates, serious chronological difficulties preclude the possibility of their identification. The last known date of Jayās'raya Mangalarasa is A.D 731-2. As nothing is known about him subsequent to this date, and as his younger brother Avanijanās'raya Pulakēsin, who represents himself as meditating on his feet, (*tat-pād-ānudhyāta*) is seen to have been ruling his kingdom in A.D. 739, it has been correctly assumed that Jayās'raya Mangalarasa died

in which he came to rule over the Sapādalakṣa country in Eastern Rājaputana are not known. The spurious Kollipara plates of his son, Arikēsari I, no doubt, attribute to him the conquest practically of the whole of India ; but the account is so vague and conventional that no apology is needed for rejecting its evidence.[1] Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla does not appear to have been an independent prince. The statement, '*So'yaṁ kilāśāsad ananya-śāsya-Sapādalakṣām kṣitim*' in the Lêmulavāḍa inscription probably carries with it the implication that he succeeded in governing the Sapādalakṣa country, where others, who were in charge of its administration, failed. What is claimed for him here seems to be only the credit due to a successful subordinate, who performed a particularly difficult task that was not possible for others. Apart from this, all his descendants from the time of his son Arikesari I to that of Arikesari III, the last known member of the family, were the loyal *sāmantas* of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchs. It is not at all unlikely that like his descendants he was also a feudatory prince dependent upon some Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, who during the course of his northern conquests placed him in charge of the Sapādalakṣa country which he subdued. Asssuming tentatively that Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla was a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereign, we may now proceed to ascertain the time and the circumstances in which he was entrusted with the administration of the Sapādalakṣa country. Though no chronological datum, by which the time when he flourished can be determined, is furnished by the

some time between A.D. 731-2 and 739 and that he was succeeded by his younger brother. Now, the Lemulavāḍa Cāḷukya Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla was undoutedly a contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa I and possibly also of Dantidurga. Nothing is known of him earlier, nor is there any evidence to show that he was in any way connected with the Lāṭa country. It is not, therefore, possible to accept the identification suggested by Timmappayya, and assume that the Lemulavāḍa Cāḷukyas were an offshoot of the Lāṭa or the Gujarāt branch of the Bādāmi Cāḷukya family.

[1] Bharati VII. ii, p. 313. '*Turuṣka-Yavana-Barbara-Kāśmīra-Kāmbhoja- Magadha-Mālava- Kāḷinga Gaṅga- Pallava-Pāṇḍya- Kēraḷa-prabhṛti narapati-samarcita-pāda-pīṭhaḥ.*'

Lemulavāḍa inscription, Pampa gives some valuable information which enables us to fix his time with tolerable certainty. Speaking of Arikesari I, the son of Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla, he states that during the reign of Nirupamadeva, he conquered Vengi-viṣaya together with Trikaḷinga.[1] Nirupamadeva referred to in this passage is identical with the Rāṣṭrakūta king, Dhruva Nirupama Dhārāvarṣa Kalivallabha, who ruled over the Deccan from A.D. 780 to 793. It is obvious that Arikesari I must have flourished at the same time and that his father must have lived earlier in the time of Govinda II, Kṛṣṇa I, and possibly also of Dantidurga. Of these three, neither Govinda II nor Kṛṣṇa I is known to have invaded northern India and effected any conquests. Dantidurga, on the contrary, was a great conqueror, and the countries which he reduced to subjection are enumerated in some records of his reign. In his Ellora temple inscription, it is said that he vanquished the Vallabha (*i.e.*, the Cālukya ruler of Bādāmi), Sindhu-bhūpa, Kāñcīs'a, the king of Kōsala and Kalinga, the chief of the S'rīs'aila country, besides the rulers of Mālava, Lāṭa and Ṭanka.[2] Of the kings said to have been conquered by Dantidurga, only those that ruled over the countries in the north deserve notice here. Sindhudēs'a or Sind was at this time under the rule of the Arabs, who conquered it in A.D. 712. From that time onwards, the Arab governors were accustomed to send expeditions of conquest against the neighbouring Hindu kingdoms. One of the most serious invasions which descended upon the Hindu states of Western India like an avalanche came in A.D. 739. The Tājiks or the Arabs overthrew the Saindhava, Kaccella, Saurāṣṭra, Cāvōṭaka, Maurya and Gujjara kings, and

[1] *Vikramārjunavijayam* 1. 20.

Nirupama-dēvana-rājyado
ḷarikesari Vemgi- viṣayamam Trikaḷingam
beras=otti-koṇḍu garvade
bareyisidam pesaran-akhila=digbhittigaloḷ ||

[2] *Arch. Sur. Western India*, V. p. 87.

penetrated into Lāṭa; but in the Cālukya prince Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśi they met their match. He inflicted a severe defeat on them in a battle and turned back the tide of invasion.[1] Nāgabhaṭa I, the ancestor of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra kings of Kanauj, who ruled over a large part of Western India about the middle of the 8th century A.D., is said to have defeated the Mlecchas, who evidently invaded his kingdom.[2] If the Sindhubhūpa mentioned in the Ellora record was indeed an Arab chief, and not some minor Hindu prince otherwise unknown, Dantidurga appears to have carried war into the territory of the depredatory Mussalmans to chastise them and teach them a very much needed lesson. Ṭanka has not been so far identified. It is not unlikely that it is the same as the modern Tonk in Rājaputana. Mālava was included at that time in the Gūrjara Pratihāra empire, which extended probably from Lāṭa on the west coast to Mandor and Menta in Rajaputana.

When exactly Mālava passed into the hands of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, it is difficult to ascertain. Mr. R. C. Majumdar believes that 'Avanti must be looked upon as the home-territory of the (imperial Gūrjara-Pratihāra) dynasty, for (in the Jaina Harivaṁśa) although Vatsarāja, (one of the kings of this dynasty) ruled over a vast kingdom, he is simply called the ruler of Avanti.'[3] Again, commenting on a passage from Bilāduri that 'they (the Arabs) made incursions against Uzain, and they attacked Bahrimand and burnt its suburbs. Junaid conquered Al-Bailman and Juzz . . .', he states that 'whereas other places were *conquered*, the Arabs merely *sent* incursions against Ujjain, and if we remember that this is from the pen of an Arab historian, it must be looked upon as a tacit admission that the Arabs failed in their expedition against Ujjain.'[4] As Nāgabhaṭa I is said

[1] *I. C. O.* 1881, Aryan Section, p. 232 f.
[2] *EI.* XVIII, pp. 102, 107.
[3] *EI.* XVIII, p. 102.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 102-3.

to have crushed the large armies of the powerful Mleccha king, in the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhōja, he presumes that the failure of Arab expeditions against Ujjain must have been due to Nāgabhaṭa's opposition.[1] The evidence, however, is not conclusive. The fact that Vatsarāja is spoken of as the ruler of Avanti in the Jaina Harivaṁśa does not prove that Avanti (Ujjain) was 'the home-territory' of his family. It is not inconceivable that a conqueror should be referred to as the ruler of a country conquered by him. What Jinasena, the author of the Jaina Harivaṁśa, desires to convey in the passage under consideration is the exact time, when he completed his work and the names of the contemporary sovereigns, who were ruling the neighbouring kingdoms at that time, and not the location of the respective home territories of the dynasties to which they belonged. The inference from this that Avanti (Ujjain) was the home-territory of the imperial Gūrjara-Pratīhāra dynasty is both unwarranted and illogical. Again, there is no definite evidence to show that Nāgabhaṭa I was the ruler of Ujjain at the time of the Arab incursions. He is, no doubt, credited with a victory over a large army of a powerful Mleccha king, but there is nothing to connect this victory with Ujjain. The military activities of the Arabs were wide-spread. Nāgabhaṭa might have come into conflict with them in any place in Western India. It is not impossible that he defeated them in Al-Bailmān (Bhīnmāl) and Juzz (Gujaratrā) and liberated them from the yoke of the barbarians. True, he was in occupation of Mālava at the time of Dantidurga's invasion. That does not show that Mālava was his native kingdom and not a conquered territory. There is, as a matter of fact, some slight evidence which indicates that he, taking advantage of the general confusion caused by the Arab predatory expeditions, invaded Mālava and took possession of the country; and that this act of aggression brought in its train the Rāṣṭrakūṭa armies from the south.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

The Daśāvatāra temple inscription of Dantidurga gives some valuable information about his campaigns in Mālava and Western India. Apart from verse 22 which enumerates the countries and kings conquered by him, at least three verses, unfortunately damaged, describe his expedition against Mālava and the west coast and the important events that happened during the campaign. In verse 25, it is stated that Mahārāja Sarva, that is, Dantidurga did something (verb lost) like Bībhatsu (Arjuna) to rescue from danger a certain king called Deva, who like another Yudhiṣṭhira, was accompained by several devoted and fearless kings and loyal servants and was followed by a powerful army (Bhīmasena).[1] Verse 26 refers to some great gift (*mahādāna*) which he made at Ujjain. This *mahādāna*, according to the Sanjan Plates of Amōghavarṣa I, is the *Hiraṇyagarbha*; and during the performance of the ceremony, it is said that Dantidurga posted Gurjarēśa and other kings as *pratīhāras* (gate-keepers).[2] The use of the terms Gūrjarēśa and Pratīhāra here clearly shows, as pointed out by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, that at the time of Dantidurga's invasion, the king who was ruling in Ujjain was a member of the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra family.[3] Verse 29 alludes to the conquest of the *tīra-kṣiti*, that is, the coastal country and, encampment in a palace built by the king of the Gūrjaras.[4]

The identity of Deva whom, according to V. 26 of the Daśāvatāra temple inscription, Dantidurga rescued from danger is not known. Judging from the expressions '*Savaraparikaram*', '*bhīmasen=ānuyātam*, and especially

[1] Arch. Sur. West. Ind. V, p. 87.

Devaṁ . ... savara-parikaraṁ Bhīmasen=ānuyātaṁ
Prahvair=bhūpendra-vṛndaiḥ parivṛtam=abhayair=ugra-seno jitāriṁ
Vyāpady=uddhartum=ēkaṁ prasabha-para-kari-dhvaṁsa saṁskāra-dakṣo
Bhībhatsur=duṣṭanāgo jayinam-iva paraṁ Śrī Mahārāja Śarvaḥ ||

[2] *EI.* XVIII, p. 243.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 239.

[4] *Arch. Sur. West Ind.* V, p. 87.

'*prahvair=bhūpendra-vṛndaiḥ parivṛtam=abhayaḥ*' used to describe him in the verse, he seems to have been a powerful monarch to whom several subordinate chiefs owed allegiance. Dr. Altekar believes that he was a Gūrjara Pratīhāra ruler, obviously the younger of the two nephews of Nāgabhaṭa I. 'Some time after the defeat of Kīrtivarman,' says he, 'Dantidurga seems to have led an expedition to Ujjain either to help the Gūrjara Pratīhāra ruler Devarāja, or to take advantage of the defeat inflicted on him by the rival Gūrjara-Pratīhāra king, Siluka, ruling at Bhinmal."[1] This identification cannot be accepted without reservation, as it is involved in difficulties which do not admit of easy solution. As Dantidurga died in A.D. 757 or even earlier, his expedition to rescue Dēva and his victory over the Gūrjara king must have taken place some time before his death.[2] The Hansot plates make it clear the Pratīhāra Devarāja's uncle, Nāgabhaṭa I was the suzerain of the Cāhamāna Bhrātṛvṛddha of Bhṛgukaccha in Saurāṣṭra in Oct. A.D. 756.[3] There is no reason to believe that he died immediately after the issue of these plates as assumed by some modern writers on the history of the imperial Gūrjara-Pratīhāras. According to the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhojadēva, Nāgabhaṭa I was succeeded by his nephews Kakkuka and Devarāja one after the other.[4] Therefore, Devarāja could have come to the throne only after the death both of his uncle and elder brother. The dates A.D. 760—780 assigned to him by Mr. Munshi may be accepted as fairly reasonable.[5] From this it follows as a corollary that Dantidurga who, as stated already, died in A.D. 757 could not have gone to Mālava either to help this Dēvarāja

[1] *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times*, pp 39-40.

[2] The last known date of Dantidurga is A.D. 754 (*IA*. XI. p. 108); and the earliest date of his successor, Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa I is A.D. 758 (*Jr. Bh. Iti. Sam. Maṇḍ.* VIII. p 165). It is evident that Dantidurga must have died some time between these two dates, probably in A.D. 757, as his successor was on the throne in the next year.

[3] *EI*. XII, p. 197.

[4] *EI*. XVIII, p. 111.

[5] *The Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa*, Part iii, p. 55.

or in the alternative to take advantage of the defeat inflicted on him by Siluka, the king of the rival branch of the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra family ruling from Bhinmal.

It may however be pointed out that Devarāja was ruling in Mālava during the time of Nāgabhaṭa I either as his subordinate or as an independent monarch, and that having, for some unknown reason, incurred the displeasure of his uncle and fearing perhaps an attack from him, he appealed to Dantidurga for help; and that the latter welcoming the opportunity to widen the sphere of his influence, if not actually his dominion, invaded Mālava. Although it is not impossible that Devarāja should have solicited the help of Dantidurga against his uncle and invited him to Mālava, there is absolutely no evidence to show that Devarāja was in charge of Mālava during the time of his uncle or that he ever turned against him. Therefore, taking all the relevant facts into consideration, it seems reasonable to suppose that Deva, whom, according to the Daśāvatāra temple inscription, Dantidurga rescued from danger, had no connection whatever with the Gūrjara Pratīhāra Devarāja, the nephew of Nāgabhaṭa I. He was most probably a member of some other dynasty that was holding sway over Mālava at that time, who unable to resist the expansion of the Gūrjara Pratīhāra power under Nāgabhaṭa appealed to Dantidurga for help.

Dantidurga's expedition to Mālava was completely successful. Nāgabhaṭa who appears to have taken possession of Deva's capital, Ujjain was defeated; and was compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereign. Deva was probably reinstated in his kingdom, and rendered assistance to his benefactor in carrying out his designs against the Gūrjara Pratīhāra dominions. Dantidurga next proceeded against the '*tīra-kṣiti*,' or the country along the sea-board of the Arabian sea and reduced it to subjection. What happened afterwards is not definitely known, as the Daśāvatāra temple inscription which is the only source of information stops abruptly at this point. The campaign,

however did not come to an end with the conquest of the coastal region As Dantidurga is said to have defeated the king of Tanka (modern Tonk), it is certain that he advanced from the sea coast on Rajaputana and penetiated as far as the Sapādalakṣa country.

The foregoing discussion makes it clear that of the three Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings Dantidurga, Kṛṣṇa I, and Govinda II who could have been the contemporaries and the liege lords of Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla, only the first was a great conqueror who carried his arms successfully into the desert regions of Rajaputana. It must have been during Danti-durga's attack upon the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra dominions in Rajaputana that Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla was appointed as the governor of the Sapādalakṣa country, a position which according to the records of his descendants, he held with considerable distinction and power.

Abbreviations:

EI : Epigraphia Indica

IA : Indian Antiquary

I. C. O. : Proceedings of the Internation Congress of the Orientalists

PETITS PROBLÈMES ÉTYMOLOGIQUES

PAR LE

PROFESSEUR JULES BLOCH

Páśu

Que dans la demi-strophe RV. III 53, 23

न सायकस्य चिकिते जनासो
लोधं नयन्ति पशु मन्यमानाः ।

lodha désigne un cheval comme le veut Geldner, ou un bouc comme le veut Oldenberg, on s'accorde maintenant à traduire la fin par "le prenant pour une vache". C'est d'ailleurs ainsi que l'entendait déjà le Nirukta (*paśuṃ manyamānāḥ*, 4, 14). Mais les grammairiens et les lexicographes postérieurs donnent *páśu* comme particule; la Kāśikā la rend par *samyak*, v. Dyer, The Skrit. Indeclinables. . . . Language Dissertation, 31, p. 54, 70.

On pourrait se demander si cette interprétation postérieure ne repose pas sur l'unique passage du Veda cité plus haut; faute de trouver ailleurs un exemple de *páśu* neutre, alors que *paśuḥ* est généralement masculin et oxyton, on aurait eu recours à l'hypothèse d'une particule, quitte à la traduire n'importe comment; et cette tradition se serait conservée dans les écoles.

La difficulté offerte par la coexistence de *páśuḥ* et *páśu* n'existe plus pour qui connaît la coexistence en latin de *pecū* et de *pecus-pecoris* neutres à côté de *pecus pecudis*, féminin; ou l'opposition de l'avestique acc. sg. *pasūm* et du vieux

haut allemand *fihu* qui est neutre et suppose l'accent préhistorique posé sur la première syllabe comme en védique.

Il est cependant probable que la particule *paśu* n'a pas été inventée ; probable aussi qu'elle se rattache à la racine *paś-* " voir ", plus authentiquement que le nom du bétail que le Nirukta n'hésitait pas à expliquer ainsi (*paśuḥ paśyateḥ*, 3, 16). Et la Durghaṭavṛtti par exemple a sans doute raison de proposer dans une remarque accessoire (II, 3, 18, éd. Renou, p. 69) *paśu paśyety arthaḥ* ; cf. aussi P W. sous *paśu* (2).

L'élargissement -u- dans ce cas, est archaïsme unique, (ou expliquera-t-on un jour *khálu* de façon analogue ?), puisque le type *van-óti* n'a subsisté que par sa ressemblance avec le type *su-nót*. C'est ce caractère unique qui l'aura isolé dans l'emploi impératif et l'aura fait rejeter parmi les particules.

L'hypothèse en question est corroborée par l'existence en gâthique d'une forme également isolée, Yasna, 53, 6 *yə̄m* *spaśutha frādəm* " what advantage you perceive " (M. W. Smith), " whatever happiness you look for " (H. W. Bailey). Le *ś* empêche de voir ici une forme directement parallèle à l'indien ; Bartholomae y a reconnu une faute, graphiquement explicable, pour **spaśnutha*. Les deux formes s'appuient l'une sur l'autre, car le parallélisme des radicaux en -nu- et -u- a été reconnu depuis longtemps ; ne citons ici que latin *uoluo*, arménien *gelum*, en regard de skr. *vṛṇóti*, latin *struō*, en regard de grec στόρνυμι. skr. *stṛṇóti* (v. par exemple Meillet, MSL XVI (1921) 246, Kuiper, Die ig. Nasalpräsentia, (1937) 89). Et l'on sait aussi que cette forme d'élargissement s'applique particulièrement aux verbes qui n'ont pas de présent radical, ce qui est précisément le cas de *paśyati*, avest. *spasyeiti*, latin *speciō*, et sans doute grec σκέπτομαι.

Dravyam

On a coutume de rattacher *dravya* à *dru-*, thème réduit de *dāru*; l'idée impliquée est que *dravya* serait d'abord un

adjectif signifiant "de bois", donc "solide", puis un substantif désignant l'élément solide en général, la substance, et secondairement le bien, la propriété.

Il existe bien en effet un adjectif *dravya*, attesté exceptionnellement en sanskrit classique, et dont le correspondant pali *dabba* désigne l'arbre par opposition à *tiṇa*, l'herbe et *gaccha*, le buisson. On y compare le lituanien *drevi*, *dreve* désignant un trou dans un tronc d'arbre et par suite une ruche ; le sens reste là tout proche de l'origine. Par contre il existe bien en russe un dérivé du nom de l'arbre, *derevnja*, signifiant "domaine, village" ; mais c'est par l'intermédiaire de "chantier, exploitation de mois ? ". "C'est par là," m'écrit M. Vaillant, "par des installations sommaires de bûcherons et de charbonniers, qu'ont commencé les domaines et les villages dans la grande forêt de la Russie moscovite qu'on se mettait à défricher en poussant vers l'Est et la Volga". Il s'agit donc, on le voit, d'un dérivé unique, reflet de circonstances locales sans parallèle chez les Arya védiques.

En réalité, comme l'a bien vu J. Charpentier (Monde Oriental, I, 5[8]) *dravya* appartient à la famille de védique *drávinam drávinah* neut. "possession, propriété". Grassmann précisait à tort le sens de ces m[illegible] en traduisant "bien meuble", sous l'influence de la raci[illegible] "courir". Mais à l'époque ancienne *dru* ne veut dire que "courir" ou "se hâter"; quand plus tard *dravati* a pris le sens de "devenir coulant, se liquifier" (au sens propre), les deux termes restent distincts : Suśruta emploie l'expression *drava-dravya*, "substance liquide".

En regard du thème *dravi-*, *dravya-* se pose comme par exemple *távya*, "fort" en regard de *tavi*. Quant à *drávinah*, il a été formé avec le suffixe *-nas*, caractéristique dès l'indo-européen de noms à valeur juridique, comme l'a montré Meillet, MSL, XV, 254 ; cette valeur est claire dans l'avestique *draonō* "part d'héritage, portion de nourriture ou de boisson". Le sens premier de la racine s'aperçoit dans le persan *durūdan*

" moissonner, partager " que Hübschmann (Persische Studien, 61) dérive en effet d'une racine **drū-*, élargie de **dar-*, qu'on voit dans avest. dərəsta-, " moissonné ", cette racine est indo-européenne · grec δέρω, etc.

Le sens originel de *dravya* est donc "part" sans distinction du meuble et l'immeuble; et les sens dérivés sont plutôt du côté de l'immeuble. De même pali *dabba*, pkr. *davva* valent " propriété, somme d'argent, substance ", et l'adjectif pali *dabba* signifie " convenable, excellent " en partant de " substantiel " Le mot a conservé un caractère technique et ne se présente dans les langues modernes que sous forme de tatsamas légèrement adaptés. Les sens de " chose, outil " manquent; mais la valeur ancienne persiste dans nepal. *drabya* populairement drabbe, daibc, " metal, coin, money " (Turner), hindi *darb*, " property, money, wealth " (Fallow) etc. D'autre part dans la langue médicale "substance" s'est précisé en " substance usitée en pharmacie " ; d'où par exemple le titre du Dravyaguṇasaṁgraha " catalogue des propriétés des (diverses) substances ". De là vient le sens en marathe de *dravya* " drogue ", et l'usage des dialectes tsiganes : dialecte grec, *drap* " herbe, racine, médicament ", hongrois *drab* " médicament ", roumain, *drab* " tabac ", scandinave *drabb*, et gallois *drab* " médicament, poison ", espagnol *drao* " poison ".

Vātāvalī, Vātālī, Vardalikā

Dans Ratnāvali II entre les strophes 42-43, le bouffon félicite le roi de s'être bien tiré d'une entrevue orageuse avec la reine : *kkhemeṇa amhāṇaṁ adikkantā aālavādāvalī*, " voilà passée sans dommage une bourrasque hors de saison " (Tr. Stchoupak).

Un siècle après Harṣa, Bhavabhūti donne la forme sanskrite de ce nom de l'orage dans Uttara Rān. VI, réplique du vidyādhasa précédant la strophe 6 : *pralayavātāvalīkṣobha-gambhīragulugulāyamāno meghaḥ*, " nuages qui poussent de

profonds grondements sous le choc du cortège des vents de la destruction " (Tr. Lehot).

Il est difficile d'en séparer *vātālī* par lequel Ujjvaladatta (Un. 4, 124) explique *vrāji*, (v. Zachariae, BB, X, 129, 139). En effet l'interprétation par *vāta-āli* suppose au second terme une dématérialisation de sens qui étonne ; aussi bien, le PW. avait déjà suggéré à propos de *khadyotālī*, Megh., que *ālī* soitait de *āvalī*. Cette réduction était particulièrement facile dans un mot comme *vātā(va)lī* par la superposition des deux syllabes *vā*.

Mais le problème se complique du fait que *vātālī* ressemble fort à un mot moderne bien connu, v. Turner, Nepali Dict. sous *bādal*.

Or *bādal* s'explique par ailleurs, comme on sait. Signalé par les lexicographes (remarquons en passant que *vārdalī* du Gaṇapāṭha est inconnu de la Kāśikā), mais inconnu de la littérature classique, skr. vārdala, vardalikā, pali vaddalikā, pkr. (jaina) vaddaliyā, désignent un orage, sans doute lié à la mousson, (d'ou l'emploi de *akāla*), accompagné de pluie et de froid. Il se présente dans les récits du séjour du Bouddha chez le prince des Nāga Mucilinda.

Mvagga. I, 3, 2, *tena kho pana samayena mahā akālamegho udapādi sattāhavaddalikā sītavātaduddinī.*

Mvastu. III, p. 301, *tato pi tahiṁ saptāhikam akālavārdalaṁ utpannaṁ saptāhaṁ rātriṁdivaṁ devena varṣitam.*

Cf. Lalitav., p. 379, *saptāhe mahādurdine . . . mā bhagavataḥ kāyaṁ śītavātāḥ prākṣur iti.*

C'est également une semaine que dure la tempête dans un récit tout différent du Divyāvadāna p. 500 : *apareṇa samayena saptāhavardalikā jātāḥ.*

Vu l'antiquité relative de *vārdala*, il semble qu'on puisse le considérer comme à l'origine de tout le groupe. Au VIIe siècle il y avait longtemps que *vārdala*, passé par le stade *vaddala*, avait pu devenir **vādala* ; vātālī en est une re-sanskritisation, et l'on conçoit que le composé dont il a l'aspect ayant quelque chose d'imparfait au point de vue du

sens, on ait essayé de lui restituer une forme plus plausible sous l'aspect *vātāvalī*, prākritisé à son tour par Harsa.

Risquons un pas de plus dans l'hypothèse. La Deśīnāmamālā connaît un mot *vaḍḍavāso* traduit par *meghaḥ*. On sait qu'une quantité de mots deśi ne sont autre chose que des circonlocutions ou des adjectifs pris substantivement; *vaḍḍavāsō* est le nuage qui écùle du *vadda* : *vadda* en prākrit répondrait directement à *varda*, tout comme *vadda*. Or en telugu *vada-gallu* désigne la grêle, et *kuu vaḍi* signifie " pierre, rocher ". Où est l'original ?

Que ce * *vad-* soit un mot dravidien, ou au moins local, sanskritisé en *varda*, ou que ce soit un simple doublet de pali-prākrit *vadd-*, on peut en tirer l'indication que le sens primitif est " pierre ", et que par conséquent les mots aryens désignent plus particulièrement des orages à grêle ; ce qui expliquerait l'emploi de l'adjectif *akāla* et la mention supplémentaire de la pluie et du froid qui sans cela serait une simple redondance.

Johār

W. Crooke, Things Indian, p. 294, s'exprime ainsi au sujet de ce mot : " This is the Hindi term meaning literally 'taking one's life', for the desperate resistance offered by high-caste Hindus, principally Rajputs. When attacked, they were in the habit of slaying their wives and children, and finally committing suicide, in preference to surrender ".

L'interprétation qu'il donne de ce mot repose sur l'hypothèse d'un sanskrit * *jīvahāra*. Elle n'a pas satisfait Grierson, qui, pensant surtout à l'incendie accompagnant cette forme de suicide, proposait *jatugṛha* (Tod, Annals of Rajasthan, éd. Crooke, I, 310, n. 4). On discuterait utilement l'une et l'autre étymologie si le mot n'avait que le sens indiqué par Crooke.

Mais ouvrons le dictionnaire marathe de Molesworth sous *johār* : " The word used by the Mahār, Cāmbhār etc.,

in saluting their betters or each other. 2. The word of obeisance used to a *Rājā* by his attendants, implying 'O warrior'!"

Il apparaît immédiatement qu'il s'agit de *jayakāra* devenu **jayokāra*, puisque la forme effectivement créée devait etre *jayo°* renforcée d'ailleurs par *namo*. La forme *johār* succède à *jauhār* qui est attesté. Le prākrit littéraire a gardé les deux éléments distincts dans *jokkāra* (Hāla, Sattasai, 332; comm. *jo-kkārā namaskārā johārā iti vā*). L'insertion de *h* entre voyelles ne fait pas difficulté ; du reste le panjab. a *joār*,

TRILINGUAL SCHOLARSHIP

By

C. Jinarajadasa

One marked characteristic which differentiates Sanskrit pandits in India and Pāli scholars among Buddhist theros from scholars trained in the West is that the former confine themselves mainly to one language, while the latter are obliged to know several. Perhaps I can here make my topic clearer if I give the example of myself; this will mean a continual use of "I," which I hope the readers of this volume will pardon.

When I went to Cambridge and determined to take the Oriental Languages Tripos, with the two subjects Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, it was necessary, before I could matriculate and be enrolled a member of the University, that I should pass the "little go," or the matriculation examination, in Greek. For without passing in Greek one could not appear for the Oriental Languages Tripos. The Greek texts were one book of Homer, and a Gospel. As I had already worked up to the Greek standard required for the London University Intermediate examination, and had done Sophocles, the "little go" Greek was not a difficult matter. Once matriculated, I began Sanskrit. For the Tripos examination, there were set, a part of the Ṛgveda, with Sāyaṇa's Commentary, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Manu, and some other texts, and of course unseens and compositions.

My first teacher in Sanskrit was Mr. R. A. Neil, a very fine scholar in Latin and Greek, who knew Sanskrit and Pāli well. As there was no one to teach the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,

I had to arrange for private lessons from Mr. E. J. Rapson, then in the Oriental Department of the British Museum, later Professor of Sanskrit at Cambridge. But the *guru* of *gurus* in Sanskrit was Professor E. B. Cowell. He had been principal of a Government College in India, had all the Greek and Latin classics at his fingers' ends, and was thoroughly versed in Sanskrit and Persian. (It was he who taught Persian to Fitzgerald of Omar Khayyam fame.) He really seemed to be a reincarnated Sanskrit pandit, so deep was his knowledge of all things Sanskrit.

The class in Sanskrit with Professor Cowell was not composed of more than six, among whom I remember Dr. L. D. Barnett and Miss C. Ridding. And here let me mention one fact which will astonish eastern readers. When a man had passed the Classical Tripos—Latin and Greek of all possible periods, and was especially well versed in Homer and its archaic grammatical forms—then when he studied Sanskrit during only three terms, altogether some eighteen weeks, with three classes a week, he was ready to pass the Oriental Languages Tripos, for which others, not knowing the classics, required three years.

Professor Cowell's class was held at his house, in his library. That was the special charm. As he was expounding some archaism in the Veda, he would suddenly go to his shelves and take out Homer or some other classic and show interesting parallelisms. He broadened the minds of his class in a most fascinating way.

Ṛgveda, with Sāyaṇa's often fantastic derivations, Kālidāsa and his puns in Raghuvaṁśa, and Pāṇini were part of our course. But in addition, and this is what I want to emphasise, he took us through one Gāthā of the Avesta, commenting on every word, and showing how our Vedic studies made the Avesta appear to us almost like a cockney form of Sanskrit. He gave us a glimpse of Pāli too, with a Jātaka, naturally utterly simple to those of us who already had been deeply immersed in Sanskrit. When we took our degree, we

knew who were the "big men" in various branches of our studies, and what is more, we knew where to look for the "authorities." We left the University almost like junior professors, sure of ourselves in our chosen studies.

I should mention also the supreme value to our Sanskrit studies of Comparative Philology, a hard subject to study, with few good teachers. I learnt something of it from Professor Giles and Professor Moulton, the Avestic scholar. What remains of my studies in Comparative Philology is a general suspicion of linguistic equations.

I did not, after taking my degree, continue my Sanskrit studies. Dr. Barnett did and became the head in the British Museum of the Oriental section. Miss Ridding made her name in her department. The point I desire to make clear is that one trained in the universities of the West, when he chooses Sanskrit, Persian or Pāli, has behind him a larger background than those trained in India who do not know Homeric Greek, Avesta, and Pāli, nor Comparative Philology. He is not bound by the explanations of a commentary as final, but is able to appraise for himself, knowing what are the parallelisms in the allied languages.

I have noted in Ceylon that Buddhist theros know nothing of the Upaniṣads, and yet consider their interpretation of texts authoritative, unaware that Buddhist technical terms antedate Buddhism. Similarly, here in India, how many Sanskrit pandits know the Avesta? I believe among the few Avesta scholars among the Parsis, only one, Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, is versed in the Veda, because he studied Veda first and then took up Avesta. Among the scholars in India, one remarkable value in the scholarship of Dr. C. Kunhan Raja is that he studied Avesta in Germany under Geldner. For this reason, I would any day rely more upon his comment on any point of Vedic etymology than on that of the most learned of our Sanskrit pandits, in spite of their immensity of learning, and being the custodians of a priceless scriptural tradition....

TOLKĀPPIYAR AND PATAÑJALI

By

Rao Sahib S. Vaiyapuri Pillai

Tolkāppiyam is the earliest of the extant Tamil Grammars and its author, Tolkāppiyar, is assigned by some Tamil scholars to a date long anterior to Pāṇini, the great Sanskrit Grammarian. The main reason is that the prefatory verse written by a classmate of Tolkāppiyar tells us that he was an expert in Aindiram,

Aindiram niṟainta Tolkāppiyan.

Aindiram is believed to be an older treatise on Sanskrit Grammar superseded by Pāṇinīyam. If the latter had been in existence in Tolkāppiyar's time, he would have certainly studied it and become an adept in this work. Since it is not mentioned that he studied Pāṇinīyam, he must have lived before Pāṇini. Such is the argument of these scholars.[1]

A little reflection would show that this reasoning is not conclusive. Negative evidence may, at best, only raise a presumption and cannot be a valid substitute for positive evidence. In the present case, even that presumption is impossible. For, it is highly doubtful whether *Aindiram* ever existed as a distinct treatise on grammar. A simple, natural and intelligent system of Grammar, as we see from *Prātiśākhyas*, existed prior to the highly artificial system of Pāṇini and that simple system was supposed to owe its origin to Indra of the Hindu mythology. This god was believed to be

[1] M. Sreenivasa Iyengar, *Tamil Studies*, p. 17.

the author of a fictitious treatise on grammar based on that simple system. The system found adherents and developed into a school. *Aindiram* became in later days the name of this school. Neither Pāṇini, nor Patañjali nor even the authors of the Kāśikā mention this school by name. Kielhorn and Belvalkar (*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 11) are of opinion that the Aindra school is post-Pāṇinīyan in date, though pre-Pāṇinīyan in substance. *Kātantra* by S'arvavarman (1st cent. A.D.) is the best-known representative of this school. This work is also known as *Kaumāra* or *Kālāpa*.

One might naturally ask why Tolkāppiyar preferred Aindra to Pāṇinīya. The reason is obvious. Pāṇini[1] 'uses abbreviations and words invented expressly to designate grammatical forms; they are a kind of algebraic signs of grammar. With these word-signs he lays down, clearly and briefly, real rules of linguistic algebra. For example, the notion "If the vowels i, u, ṛ, and ḷ, short or long, stand before a vowel, they become y, v, r, and l, "is expressed in three words, "*iko yaṇ aci*" where *ik* stands for i, u, ṛ, and l, *yaṇ* for y, v, r, and l, and *ac* for the vowels in general. Memory plays an important part in the study of Grammar. To understand a rule, you must remember all the preceding rules and know by heart the Dhātupāṭha, or 'List of verbal roots', and the Gaṇa-pāṭha or 'List of word-groups', that is, of words which behave with reference to a rule like the first of them, which alone is quoted as an example. Only by means of this ingenious system of abbreviations and references, . . . could the whole of the language, differences of dialect being taken into account, be described in one small volume'.

This Pāṇinīyan System could not have been followed with advantage in the preparation of a grammar of another language entirely unconnected with Sanskrit. Besides this, there is another reason. Evidences show that Tolkāppiyar was a Jain and, from the Hindu point of view, heretic. He would have naturally studied and followed a heretical system. Aindram

[1] *History of Civilisation: Ancient India and Indian Civilisation*, p. 247

was one such and hence the preference. Here is a relevant passage from a recent writer:

"All[1] these treatises (Cāndra-vyākaraṇa etc.) followed the lines laid down by Pāṇini. New paths were, however, sought. The result was a grammar by S'arvavarman entitled Kātantra. It doubtless met the need of the day, for it was used as far as 'Central Asia' and in the south it served as a model for works on the grammar of the Dravidian tongues."

Finally we must remember that Tolkāppiyar shows considerable acquaintance with Pāṇini's great work. I would only refer the reader to 'Sup-tiṅ-antam Padam' (Pāṇini 1, 4, 14) and,

> Sol-l-enappaḍupa Peyar-ē-Vinai-y-enṟu
> Āyiraṇḍu-enba-aṟindis'inōrē (Tol. II, 158)

Even the 'S'ikṣā', attributed to Pāṇini, is laid under contribution by Tolkāppiyar. Compare S'ikṣā 13 with Tol. I, 88. Hence the view that Tolkāppiyar is anterior to Pāṇini must be given up once for all and we must hold that he is a later author.

But this conclusion does not lead us far towards a solution of Tolkāppiyar's date. Pāṇini's date is not settled definitely. R. G. Bhandarkar says that he must have lived 'about the 8th century before Christ.' Western scholars, except Goldstucker, generally refer him to the 4th or the 5th century B.C. Such a wide latitude can scarcely be of help to us. If there is anything definite in the conjectural chronology of Sanskrit literature, it is the date of Patañjali, the author of the Mahābhāṣya. It is the one definite landmark in the history of ancient Indian literature. He composed his great commentary in about 150 B.C. Does Tolkāppiyar owe anything to Patañjali?

Happily there is a sūtra in *Tolkāppiyam* which is almost a literal translation of a statement of Patañjali. The sūtra classifies compounds according to the position of their most significant member. It says

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 248.

Avai tām

Munmoḻi nilaiyalum pinmoḻi nilaiyalum
Irumoḻimēlum oruṅguḍan nilaiyalum
Ammoḻi nilaiyātu anmoḻi nilaiyalum
Annāṅgu enba poruḷ-nilai marabē (II, 419, Sena).

The meaning of the sutra is as follows:

'The significance of a compound may depend on either the first member or the second or both or on some word altogether extraneous. The learned say that such are the four modes of sense-indication in a compound'

Now compare this with what Patañjali says:

> " iha kaścit samāsaḥ pūrvapadārthapradhānaḥ, kaściduttara-padārtha-pradhānaḥ, kaścidanya-padārtha-pradhānaḥ, kaścidubhaya-padārtha-pradhānaḥ." (Kielhorn, 1, pp. 378-9, 382, 392).

No one can doubt that this is identical in sense with Tolkāppiyar's sūtra. Neither Pāṇini nor Kātyāyana has made this fourfold classification of the compounds. We are forced to conclude that the source of this classification is Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and that Tolkāppiyar has taken this from that great work. The word 'enba' in the Sūtra shows that he was not the originator. We may note incidentally that Avinayanār, probably a contemporary of Tolkāppiyar, also had a similar sūtra (Mayilaināthar's commentary on *Nannūl*, 369).

There is also another instance wherein we detect the influence of Patañjali on Tolkāppiyar. The latter uses the term 'ilakkaṇam' in the sense of grammar.

> " Ilakkaṇa maruṅgiṛ collāṟalla " (II, 27).

Now, Patañjali is probably the first grammarian who uses 'lakṣaṇa' the Sanskrit equivalent of 'ilakkaṇam' in the sense of a rule of grammar, though Kātyāyana, the author of

Vārtika, seems to foreshadow this sense. This will be seen from his explanation[1]:

"śabdo lakṣyaḥ sūtram lakṣaṇam"

under the Vārtika 'lakṣya-lakṣaṇe vyākaraṇam.' He uses 'lakṣaṇa' in this sense in another place[2] also:

"na lakṣaṇena padakārā anuvartyāḥ padakārair nāma lakṣaṇamanuvartyam."

Not only this. 'Lakṣaṇa' means mark or sign in Sanskrit. Kuṟi, its Tamil equivalent, is also used by Tolkāppiyar in the sense of grammar:

Uḷḷuṟai teyvam olintatai nilam ena-k-
koḷḷum enba kuṟi-y-aṟintōre (III, 50, Ilam).

Thus we see that Tolkāppiyar is indebted to Patañjali. Hence, he must have lived definitely later than 150 B. C.

[1] Kielhorn, I, p. 12;
[2] Ibid, II, p. 85.
Cf. P. C. Chakravarti, *Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus*, p. 409, n. 3.

NAṢṬĀŚVA-DAGDHARATHA NYĀYA IN PHILOLOGY

By

Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri

It is of common experience that, if two Jutka drivers go in the same direction, they have a tendency to compete with each other in their drive. So long as their Jutkas and horses are in order, they compete. If, by chance, the horse of one Jutka falls dead and the other Jutka is burnt, they have to come to terms with each other so that the horse belonging to one should be yoked to the Jutka belonging to the other and the passengers may be taken to their destination.

In the growth of every language certain forms belonging to a stem derived from a root become obsolete, and certain forms belonging to a different stem derived from the same root become current. The descriptive grammarians have taken the forms belonging to *different* stems derived from a root to belong to *one* stem. For instance the following Vedic quotations testify that different stems were formed from the root *mah*.

stem mah महो देवान्यजसि (RV. VI. 48. 4)
मह्ना नमसाविवासे (RV. VI. 52. 17)
stem mahan मह्ना महद्भिः (RV. I. 72. 9)
stem mahat मह्ना महद्भिः (RV. I. 72. 9)

The forms महतः, महता महद्भ्यो महद्भिः, महते, महतः, महद्भ्यः, महतोः महतां, महति and महत्सु belong to the stem महत्. From the stem

mahan, the forms महा महानौ महान:, महानं महानौ should have existed and from the stem *mahat*, the forms महन् महन्तौ महन्त:, महन्तं महन्तौ should have existed. The ह of the latter set might have been lengthened on account of हा in the former set.

At present the forms महान् महान्तौ महान्त:, महान्तं महान्तौ are taken to belong to the stem *mahat*.

Similarly the forms which are now considered to belong to पथिन् do not belong to it, but belong to different stems. पन्थानौ, पन्थान: and पन्थानं belong to the stem पन्थन्; पथ:, पथा, पथे, पथ:, पथो:, पथां and पथि belong to the stem पथ्; पथिभ्यां, पथिभि:, पथिभ्य: and पथिषु belong to the stem पथि (and not to पथिन् since पथीनां पतये नम: is found in VS. 16, 17). The form पन्था: should belong to the stem पन्थन्, since पन्था: is used both as singular and plural in the Ṛgveda.

अभूदु पारमेतवे पन्थाः (RV. I. 46. 11)
ये ते पन्थाः सवितः (RV. I. 35. 11)

Sometimes forms which are not derived from the same root are considered to be related to one another by descriptive grammarians, though they are not morphologically connected.

Positive	Comparative
अल्प	कनीयस्
वृद्ध	ज्यायस्
Good	Better

The same is seen in the conjugation of verbs. अवधीत् is taken to be the aoristic form of हन्; उवाच, the perfect form of ब्रू etc.

The history of the growth of each language tells us clearly how the *naṣṭaśva-dagdharatha nyāya* has played a very large part in philology.

VARĀHAMIHIRA AND UTPALA

(IN RELATION TO SANSKRIT METRES)

By

PROFESSOR H. D. VELANKAR

VARĀHAMIHIRA'S *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* is a wonderful work of an encyclopaedic character. Outwardly, it is a work on Astrology; but since Astrology touches our life at almost every point, the work contains ample information about various aspects of life in ancient India. It is written in a simple style with an occasional poetical flourish; but Varāhamihira was certainly a good versifier and had a good command of the Sanskrit Akṣara Gaṇa Vṛttas. He employs a very large number[1] of these in his compositions, but the Āryā seems to be his favourite. He even knows the Prakrit names of some metres such as Gāthā of Āryā, Māgadhī of Vaitālīya, Gītaka of Narkuṭaka and Skandhaka of Āryāgīti; he mentions these equations in vv. 52 and 54 of Ch. 103 of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*. Varāhamihira devotes this whole chapter containing 64 stanzas to the illustrations of about 60 metres, which he evidently regarded as the commonest. He does not give the definitions of any of these, but so arranges the composition

[1] The total number of verses composed by Varāhamihira in his two works namely, the Bṛhatsaṁhitā and the Bṛhatjātaka, is about 3200, of which about 1750 are in the Āryā metre, 337 in the Upajāti (mixture of Indravajrā and Upendravajrā), 268 in the Anuṣṭubh, 157 in the Vasanta-tilaka, and 116 in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre. He has used about 60 different metres in all; among these Āryā (including Gīti and Upagīti), Aupachandasika and Vaitālīya are the Mātrā Vṛttas, while the rest are the Varṇa Vṛttas. More than 25 of the Varṇa Vṛttas are employed by him in Ch. 103 alone of the Bṛhatsaṁhitā, where he specially undertakes to mention and illustrate the usual Varṇa Vṛttas. For a detailed account of the metres employed by him, cf. ZDMG., Vol. 44 (1890), pp. 4 to 15.

that the name of the particular metre invariably occurs in the stanza which is intended to illustrate it The stanzas themselves describe the results of the different planetary positions in the horoscope of a person; but incidently, Varāhamihira mentions some peculiarities of the structure of the Āryā in vv. 50 and 51, and those of the S'loka in v. 57. In v. 58 he tells us how a short letter at the end of a line becomes long by position. These are all the hints and directions about metre which we get in this chapter.

The shortest among the metres thus illustrated is the Sthira which has 8 letters in each of its 4 lines, while the longest metres are the Daṇḍakas with 27 or more letters in each of their 4 lines. Between these we have *ten* with 11 letters, *eight* with 12 letters, *six* with 13 letters, two with 15, *seven* with 17, *two* with 19 and *one each* with 10, 14, 16, 20, 21 and 26 letters in each of their four lines. There are only two Ardhasama Vṛttas, namely the Hariṇapluta and the Aparavaktra; the odd and the even lines of the former contain 11 and 12 letters, while those of the latter contain 12 and 13 letters respectively. Of the Viṣama Vṛttas only three namely, the Udgatā, the Vilāsa and the Vaktra are illustrated in this chapter, while only two Mātrā Vṛttas namely the Āryā and the Skandhaka and only two mixed Mātrā-Varṇa Vṛttas namely Vaitālīya and Aupacchandasika are also given.

It is not however clear which particular manual of metres Varāhamihira followed in the nomenclature and definitions of the illustrated metres. At any rate he does not seem to have followed either Piṅgala or Bharata. It would perhaps appear from the name Narkuṭaka used in v. 52 that he had followed Jayadeva, who according to Hemacandra (*Chandonus'āsana*, NSP. ed., p. 13a/line 2), first gave this name to that metre. This is further made more likely by the very close resemblance of the definitions quoted by his commentator Utpala with those of Jayadeva's *Chandas S'āstra*, which I soon intend to publish. But this is not wholly borne out by the fact that about 14 of the metres mentioned and illustrated by

Varāhamihira are quite unknown to Jayadeva as will be seen below. There is of course no doubt at all that Uptala knew Jayadeva very well and used his manual profusely wherever possible, but it is equally true that he also used some other manual for the definitions of metres which he had before him in the text of Varāhamihira, but which were not defined in Jayadeva's manual. Even Utpala does not seem to have any traditional knowledge of the metrical manual used by Varāhamihira, since in two cases (Nos. 63, 64) at least, he is unable to quote any definitions and merely explains the formation of the metrical line, *from* the illustrations themselves, in prose.

Utpala quotes about 64 definitions of the metres mentioned and illustrated by Varāhamihira. He makes some preliminary observations about short and long letters and quotes a verse (No. 1) defining the eight Akṣara Gaṇas. Throughout his commentary on this chapter, or anywhere else, he does not mention the source[1] of these quotations; he merely quotes the definitions and explains them. Yet a close comparison of these definitions with the text of Jayadeva's *Chandas S'āstra* yields a very important result. Jayadeva is a very old writer and chronologically is to be placed soon after Piṅgala himself. He closely follows Piṅgala's plan in his work, but differs from him in one important respect. Piṅgala uses the Sūtra style throughout his work, while Jayadeva does so only in the case of the Vedic metres. When he comes to the Classical metres, he defines them in single lines composed in the same metre which is being defined and illustrated. This method which is extremely useful is invariably followed by the later writers on metre; but Jayadeva seems to have been the earliest author to have resorted to this method. Jayadeva was very probably a Kashmerean and

[1] Weber, Indische Studien, VIII, p. 165, wrongly reads *sunārafaṃi-kārau* for *punā refanakārau* in Utpala's commentary on v. 41. This is quite obvious from the context. Hence his conclusion that Sunāra was Utpala's source of information is untenable.

this is why he was easily available to Utpala who too belonged to Kashmere.

My edition of Jayadeva's work is to be based on two Mss. One of them is written on palm leaves and is dated Saṁvat 1190, while the second is a copy of the first, preserved at the BORI., Poona. Both the Mss. contain a commentary by Harṣaṭa, son of Mukula But the text commented upon by Harṣaṭa sometimes materially differs from the one actually given in the Mss. themselves. This would show how several years, or perhaps centuries, must have passed between Jayadeva and Harṣaṭa, while Harṣaṭa and our Utpala seem to have been almost contemporaneous. I shall now proceed to discuss the relationship between Utpala and Jayadeva, so far as their metrical definitions are concerned. The references to Utpala are to the numbered quotations given at the end of this article; these are borrowed serially from Utpala's commentary on Ch. 103 of the *Bṛhatsaṁhita* as edited in the Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series, Vol. X, Benares, 1895 and onwards. On the other hand the references to Jayadeva are to my Press-copy which I have prepared from the two Mss. mentioned above.

Out of the 64 quotations, (really speaking only 62), the following 28 agree word for word with the corresponding definitions of Jayadeva:

No. *2* = Jay. IV. 6; *3-6* = IV. 7-10; *7* = VII. 21; *8* = VII. 24; *12* = VII. 17; *14* = VI. 17; *15* = VI. 18; *21* = VI. 29; *24* = VII. 2; *26* = VI. 19; *27* = VII. 11; *29* = VII. 3; *30* = VII. 10; *36* = VII. 7; *40* = VI. 36; *42* = VI. 33; *43* = VII. 15; *45* = VI. 34; *46* = VI. 31; *47* = VI. 37; *54* = VII. 18; *56* = IV. 14; *60* = VII. 32; *61* = VII. 33; *62* = VII. 34.

In the following 15 cases,[1] Utpala's text is almost the same as Jayadeva's, except for a variant reading:

[1] I was able to consult MS. No. BD. 277 of the BBRAS., Town Hall, Bombay, which contains Utpala's commentary on the Bṛhatsaṁhitā, and I find that in 8 out of these 15 cases (*i.e.*, Nos. 9, 11, 20, 22, 25, 31, 53 and 59), the readings of this MS. completely agree with those of Jayadeva.

No. *9* = Jay. VII 22 मुनिभ्य· म्वररस for मुनिव्योमगरस ; *11* = VII. 13 भ्लौ गन्ता for भोलवन्ता ; *18* = V. 35 ननरलगुरुका for ननरलागुतौ ; *20* = V. 36 ततः परौ यौं for ननश्च रोयो ; *22* = VI. 24 गुरुकान्ता for गुरुतोन्ते ; *25* = VII. 1 प्रहर्षिणी स्यात् for प्रहर्षणीयम् ; *28* = VI. 22 म्भौ न्लो गन्ता for मो भ्नौ ग्गान्ता ; *31* = V. 34 हरिणप्लुता for हरिणप्लुतम् ; *33* = VI. 20 म्तौ ग्गौ गश्चेत for माचो गौ चेत् ; *34* = VI. 23 नौं रलो गुरुयुता for रो नरौ लगयुता ; *37* = VI. 16 तौ ज्गौ गुरुश्चेत् for तौ जो गुरू चेत् ; *50* = VII. 30 मो त्नौ नौ for मौ तो नाः ; *52* = IV. 11 अत्रादितो मया for इतरत्र प्रथमतो ; *53* = IV. 12 दलभव for दलतोर्थे ; *59* = IV. 16 औपच्छन्दसकं for औपच्छन्दसिकम् ।

In the following two cases, there is again a complete agreement between the two except for a variant reading caused by the different names used by the two · No *10* = VII. 20; for Utpala's *dvirasamunibhis syād virāmais suvṛttā* we get in Jay. *dvirasaviratir meghavisphūrjitāsvaih*. No. *13* = VII. 16; here for Utpala's *vṛṣabhacaritam* we get in Jay. *bhavati hariṇī*. In both cases, Utpala after quoting the definitions, gives also the alternative names used by Jayadeva without mentioning his name. It is quite clear that he had Jayadeva's text before him. But it is difficult to say whether he could have gone to the length of intentionally changing Jayadeva's text to suit the names employed by Varāhamihira. At any rate both these definitions look very suspicious, and create an impression that Utpala did not know the metrical manual used by Varāhamihira himself.

Further, Weber, at Indische Studien, VIII, pp. 309 to 404, has wholly reproduced Utpala's definitions; and I find that in 5 more cases, three very definite and two almost definite, (i.e., Nos. 28, 33, 37, 50 and 52 on pp. 375, 374, 371, 404 and 303 respectively) his definitions of Utpala agree completely with those of Jayadeva. At present I am unable to get access to more MSS. of Utpala; but it is clear that the text of Utpala's definitions requires careful investigation. For the present, the case of complete agreement between Utpala and Jayadeva is 43.

The next two cases[1] are similarly very interesting: No. 51=V. 21. In Jayadeva's text we get the following for the first three lines:

तरसोदिता मजमलेषु । नमजगुरुकेष्वथैकतः । सत्सु भनजलगुरूणि ।

From Utpala's commentary, this appears to be the text before him and not the one which is actually given in the printed text of his commentary. Compare:

यस्याः प्रथमः पादः सजसलेषु भवति । एतेषु सत्सु विद्यमानेषु । अथ द्वितीये नसजगुरुकेष्वथैकतः सत्सु । ततः तृतीयपादे भनजलगा भवन्ति etc.

Similarly No. 57=IV. 15. In Jayadeva we get वैतालीयं ल्गौनिधनाः षडयुक्पादो for Utpala's ल्गाः षड् ल्गानिधनाः अयुक्पादो as given in the printed text. Here, in Utpala the name Vaitālīya does not occur, while Utpala's commentary begins as follows: वैतालीयं नामेदं मात्रावृत्तमुच्यते । etc. Now, had the name of the metre been absent in the definition before him, he would certainly have attempted to account for its absence somehow. But he does not do so and it is quite likely that Jayadeva's text which otherwise wholly agrees with that of Utpala was before Utpala when he wrote his commentary.

Out of the remaining metres three are traceable to Jayadeva but under different names, which are not mentioned by Utpala, and besides the wording of Utpala's definitions is not strikingly similar to that of Jayadeva's. These are Prasabha (No. 16), Sthira (No. 41) and Ūrmimālā (No. 48) which are respectively known to Jayadeva as Bhadrikā, Pramāṇī and Vātormi. The name Vimalagati of the Pṛthvī metre used by Varāhamihira (No. 19) is traceable to Bharata; so is also the name Lalitapada (No. 32) according to Jayakīrti, a Digambara Kannaḍa writer of the 12th century A.D., a portion of whose

[1] On consulting the Bombay MS. and Weber's MS., I find that my assumption is absolutely correct. For the latter, cf. Indische Studien, VIII, pp. 309, 353. Utpala's definitions as given in both wholly agree with those of Jayadeva.

work is being published by me at *JBBRAS.*, 1945. But none of the other metres are found in Bharata. Three are known to Hemacandra and three more to Jayakīrti; but the remaining five or six ones are entirely new to me at least for the present.

From the above discussion, it ought to be sufficiently clear that Utpala knew and used Jayadeva's manual for giving the definitions of most of the metres named and illustrated by Varāhamihira. But it is also equally clear that in some cases at least he had to use another manual when the particular metre was not found in Jayadeva's manual. It is also almost certain that Utpala did not know the particular manual used by Varāhamihira, and so in two cases at least, as said above, Utpala does not quote any definitions, but only gives the formation of the metre in prose, evidently from the stanza of Varāhamihira itself.

Utpala gives us one quotation from Rāta and Māṇḍavya, who seem to be joint authors, since a single verse is introduced by Utpala with the following words. *tathā ca tau ūcatuḥ.* These two metricians are mentioned even by Piṅgala, but no quotation from them was so far available. See Nos. 65 and 66. Utpala gives us two more quotations in his commentary on v. 54; these are in Prakrit (see Nos. 67 and 68) and are offered as illustrations of the Māgadhikā (the same as the Sanskrit Vaitālīya) and Gāthā (the same as the Sanskrit Āryā), both of which are well known Prakrit metres. Both these illustrations contain their names by way of Mudrā, just as Varāhamihira's illustrations do. Hemacandra employs this particular device throughout his *Chandonuśāsana*; but for doing so, the metrician has to compose his own illustrations and cannot merely quote from the existing compositions. Thus these two Prakrit quotations would show how by Utpala's time Prakrit Poetry too had sufficiently attracted the attention of the Metricians who were at the same time poets. Two more Prakrit stanzas are quoted by Utpala in his commentary on vv. 52 and 54, but neither of them contains the

name of the metre as above.[1] The stanzas are for illustrating the metres Gītaka (the same as the Sanskrit Narkuṭaka) and Skandhaka (the same as the Sanskrit Āryāgīti).

In the beginning of his commentary on this chapter in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, Utpala gives us the names of the eight Akṣara Gaṇas, defines the short and long letters and tells us how they are to be graphically represented (*i.e.*, by a straight line and by a line hooked at either end respectively). His remark about the length of this graphical representation of short and long letters is very interesting: *prastāre gurur laghur vā aṅguṣṭhaparva-pramāṇaḥ kāryaḥ*. This is exactly similar to what Virahāṅka says and throws much light on the condition of writing obtaining in the days when the rule was in vogue. See my remarks on this at *JBBRAS.*, 1932, p. 11.

I proceed to give below the definitions of Utpala as they serially occur in his commentary. They are continually numbered and the verse under which they occur in the commentary is indicated within brackets.

श्री उत्पलभट्टीयं छन्दःशास्त्रम्

[*From his commentary on Adhy. 103 of* बृहत्संहिता]

मस्त्रिगुरुस्त्रिलघुश्च नकारो भादिगुरुश्च तथान्त्यलघुर्यः ।
जो गुरुमध्यगतो रलमध्यः सोन्तगुरुः कथितोन्तलघुस्तः(१) ॥ १ ॥
द्व्यन्तान्तरादिगुरुभिः सोदधिलैः सप्तभिर्गणैर्गुरुणा ।
आर्यार्धं नाग्रायुजि जः षष्ठोऽयं न लघुको वा(१) ॥ २ ॥
न्ले लात् पदं द्वितीयात्प्रथमात्परकेऽथ विषययुजि चरमे ।
षष्ठो लोऽथान्त्ये त्रिषु पादो भवति भवति तु पथ्या(२) ॥ ३ ॥
विपुला तु यान्यथापादभाग्जकारौ द्वितीयकचतुर्थौ ।

[1] It is absolutely certain that both these stanzas contain the name of the metre in which they are composed, like the other two stanzas. This is clear from the Bombay MS., from which however, it is not possible to reconstruct the stanzas completely.

गुरुमध्यगौ भवेतां भवेत्तदा सर्वतश्चपला(१) ॥ ४ ॥
अर्धे यदग्रिमे लक्षणं भवेत्केवले तु चपलायाः ।
मुखचपलासौ गदिता शेषे पूर्वोक्तलक्षणिका(२) ॥ ५ ॥
पूर्वार्धे पूर्वसमं चपलाया लक्षणं निरवशेषम् ।
पाश्चात्यमर्धमाश्रित्य वर्तते जघनचपला सा।(३) ॥ ६ ॥
म्सौ ज्सौ तौ गुरुकं च सूर्यतुरगैः शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्(४) ॥ ७ ॥
म्रौ भ्नौ याश्च त्रयः स्युः स्वरमुनितुरगैः स्रग्धरा स्याद्विरामैः(५) ॥ ८ ॥
म्रौ भ्नौ य्भौ ल्गौ मुनिव्योमगरसविरतिः ख्याता सुवदना(६) ॥ ९ ॥
यमौ न्सौ रौ गश्चेद् द्विरसमुनिभिः स्याद्विरामैः सुवृत्ता(७) ॥ १० ॥
यमौ न्सौ भो लवन्ता रसहरविरामा शिखरिणी(८) ॥ ११ ॥
मन्दाक्रान्ता ममनततगा गः समुद्रर्तुलोकैः(९) ॥ १२ ॥
वृषभचरितं न्सौ म्रौ स्लौ गो रसोदधिसप्तकैः(१०) ॥ १३ ॥
उपेन्द्रवज्रा तु जतौ जगौ गः(११) ॥ १४ ॥
अनन्तरापादितलक्ष्मशोभौ पादौ भवेतां विविधैर्विकल्पैः ।
यासामिमौ श्र्व्ययतिप्रपञ्चौ स्मृताः स्मृतीशैरुपजातयस्ताः(१२) ॥ १५ ॥
प्रसममपि ननौ रलौ गुरुः(१३) ॥ १६ ॥
नजजरकैरपि मालती मता(१४) ॥ १७ ॥
ननरलगयुतौ नजौ जरौ । भवति सदापरवक्त्रमीदृशम्(१५) ॥ १८ ॥
विलम्बितगतिर्जसौ जसयलैर्गयुक्तैर्भवेत्(१६) ॥ १९ ॥
भवति जगति नौ ततश्च रो यो । नजसहितैर्जरगैश्च पुष्पिताग्रा(१७) ॥ २० ॥
ताविन्द्रवंशा जरसंहिता मता(१८) ॥ २१ ॥
स्वागता रनभगैर्गुरुतोन्ते(१९) ॥ २२ ॥
द्रुतपदं नभजयैः कथितं तत्(२०) ॥ २३ ॥
जभौ सजौ गिति रुचिरा चतुर्ग्रहैः(२१) ॥ २४ ॥
म्नौ ज्रौ गस्त्रिकदशकैः प्रहर्षणीयम्(२२) ॥ २५ ॥
भौ तु भगौ गिति दोधकमेतत्(२३) ॥ २६ ॥
वसुमुनिविरतिश्चेन्मालिनी नौ मयौ यः(२४) ॥ २७ ॥
मो भ्नौ ल्गाम्ता भ्रमरविलसिता(२५) ॥ २८ ॥
म्तौ य्सौ गान्तं सैव यतिर्मत्तमयूरम्(२६) ॥ २९ ॥

वसुमुनियतिरिति मणिगुणनिकरः(२७) ॥ ३० ॥

त्रिसकारचितेर्भवतो ल्गौ । नभभरैश्च गणैर्हरिणप्लुतम्(२८) ॥ ३१ ॥

ललितपदं नजज्यैर्भवतीह [न नजौ भवतिज्यौ Bombay MS.](२९) ॥३२॥

मात्तौ गौ चेच्छालिनी वेदलोकैः(३०) ॥ ३३ ॥

रो नरौ लगयुता रथोद्धता(३१) ॥ ३४ ॥

भवति विलासिनी यदि नजौ भजौ भलगुरू(३२) ॥ ३५ ॥

त्भौ जौ वसन्ततिलकं गुरुकद्वयं चेत्(३३) ॥ ३६ ॥

तौ जौ गुरू चेद्भवतीन्द्रवज्रा(३४) ॥ ३७ ॥

अनवसिता न्यौ भ्गौ च यदि स्यात्(३५) ॥ ३८ ॥

लक्ष्मीरियं तभसजगैरुदाहृता(३६) ॥ ३९ ॥

प्रमिताक्षरा सजयुतावथ सौ(३७) ॥ ४० ॥

ल्गौ स्थिरः प्रकीर्तितः(३८) ॥ ४१ ॥

अथ तोटकमब्धिसकारचितम्(३९) ॥ ४२ ॥

दिङ्मुनि वंशपत्रपतितं भरनभनल्गैः(४०) ॥ ४३ ॥

स्याद्भरना रनौ च गुरु नाम सात्र ललिता(४१) ॥ ४४ ॥

भुजङ्गप्रयातं चतुर्भिर्यकारैः(४२) ॥ ४५ ॥

वसुजलधिविरामौ नौ पुटा म्यौ(४३) ॥ ४६ ॥

मौ यौ पञ्चाश्वैर्वैश्वदेवीति नाम्ना(४४) ॥ ४७ ॥

म्भौ तो गौ चेत् कथिता सोर्मिमाला(४५) ॥ ४८ ॥

त्रिसगैरपि विद्धि वितानम्(४६) ॥ ४९ ॥

मौ तो ना रः सल्गाः प्राडुर्वसुमदनदहनमुनिभिर्भुजङ्गविजृम्भितम् ॥ ५० ॥

प्रथमे सजौ यदि सलौ च । नसजगुरुकाण्यनन्तरम् ।

यद्यथ भनजल्गाः स्युरथो । सजसाजगौ च भवतीयमुद्गता(४८) ॥ ५१ ॥

आर्यायाः पूर्वार्धे यदुक्तमितरत्र प्रथमतो लक्ष्म ।

गीतिं गीतिविधिविदो वदन्ति संवीक्ष्य तदितरत्रापि(४९) ॥ ५२ ॥

आर्याद्वितीयदलतोऽर्धे लक्ष्म प्रतिनियतमवगम्य ।

उभयत्राप्युपगीतिं वदन्ति यत्यंशकैर्गदितैः(४९) ॥ ५३ ॥

नजभजजा ल्गौ च यदि नर्कुटकं तु तदा(५२) ॥ ५४ ॥

तो मो यगौ यस्याद्यपादे स्यात् । तौ ज्गौ तथा यत्र च दृश्यते ।

तदनु स्तौ मश्चतुर्थे स्यात् । सप्तमा ल्गु विलासमुदाहृतम्(५३) ॥ ५५ ॥
गुर्वन्ताष्टमगणभागार्या पूर्वार्धसदृशशकलद्वितया ।
आर्येरार्यागीतिर्गीता संगीतगीतिभिर्गीतिविधौ(५४) ॥ ५६ ॥
लाः पट् ल्गौनैधनाः अयुक् । पादोऽष्टौ तु तथा समे च लाः ।
न समोऽत्र परेण युज्यते । नेतं षट् च निरन्तरा युजोः(५५) ॥ ५७ ॥
रौ यदा गौ तु वक्त्रं स्यात् । म्रौ गावन्यत्र दृश्येते ।
तृतीये चरणे य्सौ गौ । जसौ गुरुरथो गः स्यात्(५६) ॥ ५८ ॥
यावन्त शेषपूर्वसाम्यात् । औपच्छन्दसिकं वदन्ति सन्तः(६०) ॥ ५९ ॥
प्रथमक इह दण्डकश्चण्डवृष्टिप्रयातो भवेन्नद्वयेनाथ रैः सप्तभिः(६१) ॥ ६० ॥
प्रतिपदमिह रेफवृद्धाः स्युरर्णार्णवव्यालजीमूतलीलाकरोद्दामशङ्खादयः(६१) ॥ ६१ ॥
प्रचित इति कविभिर्वर्णितोऽस्मादिहोपात्तशेषात् त्रिकैरुत्तरैर्नद्वयाद्यैः(६१)॥६२॥
वर्णकदण्डकं नद्वयेन सप्तभिर्मैर्गुरुणा च (६२) ॥ ६३ ॥
समुद्रसंज्ञकं दण्डकं नद्वयात्परतः पञ्चरेफा जकारान्तरिता भवन्ति अन्ते लघुगुरू(६२) ॥ ६४ ॥

On V. 61, the quotation from रातमाण्डव्यौ together with the introductory words, is as follows:

प्रथमको दण्डकश्चण्डवृष्टिप्रयातसंज्ञः भवति पिङ्गलादीनामाचार्याणां मतेन रातमाण्डव्यौ वर्जयित्वा । तयोस्तु मते एष सुवर्णाख्यः । तथा च तावूचतुः ।

सुवर्णश्चण्डवेगश्च प्लवो जीमूत एव च ।
बलाहको भुजङ्गश्च समुद्रश्चेति दण्डकाः ॥ ६५ ॥

तथा च पाठान्तरम्—

अर्णोऽर्णवः प्लवश्चैव जीमूतोऽथ बलाहकः ।
समुद्रश्च भुजङ्गश्च सप्तैते दण्डकाः स्मृताः ॥ ६६ ॥
परमागहिआ सुहासिणी । कण्णाडी पिअकोइलालवा ।
गुणअणरमणी अ मैहिली । कलहोरू उकली मुहोण्णता ॥ ६७ ॥
गाहाधिरूढकंठे मणहरसअणंमि तुंगपोरथणी ।
जं णिद्दाअदि बाला सा णिद्दा मणंसिआ अवरा ॥ ६८ ॥

INDEX OF METRES

[*The figures refer to the number of the quotation*]

Post-Script: It is to be noted that Utpala's explanation of the words सैव यतिः in No. 29 by चतुर्भिरिति shows that No. 24 immediately preceded No. 29 in the manual before him and this is what happens in Jayadeva. H. D. V.

NĀRADA SMṚTI

BY

DR. T. R. CHINTAMANI

THE Nārada Smṛti, the most authoritative work on secular law of the Hindus, probably the most systematic treatise on Civil Law of the ancient Indians, has come down to us in several forms Dr. Jolly, the pioneer in the study of Hindu Law has detected two recensions of the Smṛti of Nārada, one consisting of about 1028 verses and the other about 870 verses. He calls them the longer and shorter versions respectively. The former was edited by him for the Bibliotheca Indica and the latter was translated and published in the Trubner series, though the text itself was not published. Dr. Jolly seems to think that the longer text is perhaps older and superior of the two, though some of the early citations do not occur in the longer but in the shorter version only.

The main difference between the two versions consists in the fact that the shorter text omits the chapter on thefts, the section on ordeals as a separate chapter, and the chapter on legal procedure. The difference between the two versions arranged in paralled columns may be shown thus:

LONGER VERSION				SHORTER VERSION, TRANSLATED BY DR. JOLLY
Prose preface				Preface with differences
Section	I	No. of Verses	74	I No. of verses 68.
"	II	"	44	Missing.
"	III	"	18	II No. of verses 24.
"	IV	"	348	The 4th section of the longer version is divided into seven sections,

This includes the treatment of the various forms of ordeals.

Section	V	No. of Verses	15
,,	VI	,,	18
,,	VII	,,	12
,,	VIII	,,	43

the total number of verses being 317. The verses are thus distributed:

III		70
IV		71
V		130
VI		11
VII		17
VIII		10
IX		8
X	No. of Verses	9
XI	,,	16
XII	,,	11
XIII	,,	42

The distinction betwen the versions practically disappears here for the text of the longer version is not available for the rest of work. The number of verses in both the versions is given completely at the end of this paper.

The text of the longer version edited by Dr. Jolly contains an appendix on thefts consisting of 61 verses and it is said to be missing in the minor version; Dr. Jolly found another appendix on ordeals in the Nepal manuscript in which alone the appendix on theft also was found; but he has rejected the second appendix as not genuine, partly for the reason that a portion of it had already found a place in the chapter on Ṛṇādāna and partly on the score that is out place as an appendix.

It is proposed to examine some of these remarks while drawing attention to a third and fairly old recension of the text.

A work called the Nāradīya Manu Saṁhitā was published from Trivandrum as long ago as 1929 with the Bhāṣya of one Bhavasvāmin. It had failed to catch the attention of scholars very probably due to the fact that the commentator Bhavasvāmin has been taken by the editor to belong to the 16th century, and regarded as probably identical with the grandfather of Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita. Mere identity in names seems to have been the basis of this conjecture. It should be pointed out that in the family of Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita almost every alternately preceding generation had one Bhavasvāmin in the family.

Several Bhavasvāmins are known to Sanskrit literature. A Bhavasvāmin, called Bhāṣyakāra Bhavasvāmin is one of the predecessors of Ratnakheṭa S'rīnivāsa Dīkṣita. What Bhāṣya he wrote we do not know, a Bhavasvāmin is known as the commentator on the Bodhāyana S'rauta Sūtras. A Bhāṣyakāra on the Yajur Veda is referred to by Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara. It is very likely that the last two are identical and are fairly old writers. The commentator on the S'rauta Sūtras is assigned to about the 9th century by Burnell. In fact it seems probable that Bhasvasvāmin belonged to the age of the early Svāmins like Harisvāmin, Skandasvāmin, Devasvāmin, Bhartṛsvāmin, Dhūrtasvāmin.

The commentator on the Nāradīya Manu Saṁhitā seems to belong to this category of writers. For aught we know he might have been the same as the commentator on the Vedas and the S'rauta Sūtras of Bodhāyana. A perusal of the commentary will convince any body that the work was composed at a comparatively early period. Bhavasvāmin does not refer to any *nibandhakāra* on the smṛtis. He refers to Pāṇini, Vālmīki, Vyāsa, S'ruti in several places, Vararuci, Vasiṣṭha, Manu and the Bhṛgu Saṁhitā. Beyond these, we do not find any author referred to Among the nibandha-smṛtis that we have at present, the oldest are those of Medhātithi and Vis'varūpa. Even they refer to earlier writers like Asahāya and Ṛju. Bhavasvāmin does not mention even one. This significant omission, coupled with the fact that in language and style the work of Bhavasvāmin bears the unmistakable stamp of antiquity, creates a strong prejudice in favour of regarding the work as one of the oldest of the commentaries on Dharma S'āstra works. Asahāya is the earliest known commentator on the Nārada Smṛti, having been referred to as such by Medhātithi and Vis'varūpa. Bhavasvāmin is the oldest commentator on the Nārada Smṛti whose work is available in entirity to-day. It is not now possible to say whether Asahāya or Bhavasvāmin is older. The commentary of Asahāya as revised by Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa cannot be regarded

as the work of Asahāya, for we find Kalyāṇa taking too much liberty with the text, altering it in certain places and adding to it where he thought it necessary. Until a reliable manuscript of Asahāya's work is discovered, we must leave this as an open problem.

I permit myself a small digression here regarding the home of Bhavasvāmin. For the reason that manuscripts of Bhavasvāmin's *vyākhya* were found in central Malabar the editor of the work in the Travancore series regards Bhavasvāmin as a native of Malabar. Plainly it cannot carry conviction.

The following passages in the commentary deserve notice in this connection. Commenting on the verse

एष एव विधिर्दृष्टो याचितान्वाहितादिषु ।
शिल्पिषूपनिधौ न्यासे प्रतिन्यासे तथैव च ॥ III, 7.

Bhavasvāmin says:

मथुरायाः कश्चित् स्वार्थी कन्याकुब्जं प्रस्थितः । तस्य हस्ते कन्याकुब्जस्थस्वं द्रव्यमिदमस्मद्गृहे देहीति समर्पितम् ॥ page 84.

Again the commentary on the verse

अन्वाहितं याचितकमाधिं साधारणं च यत् ।
निक्षेपं पुत्रदारं च सर्वस्वं चान्वये सति ॥ V, 4.

we find:

अन्वाहितं मथुरायाः प्रस्थितः तत्रस्थस्य पूर्वगृहीतं तस्मै दत्वा पश्चादिदं मम पुत्राय कन्याकुब्जगतो देहि इति यत्समर्पितम् । page 89.

It is very likely that the author; Bhavasvāmin had something to do with Kānyakubja, and Mathurā. Again the commentary on XVIII. 116 which reads thus:

कार्षापणो दक्षिणस्यां दिशि द्रविलविषयादौ रूढ एक एव लोहैः कृतो मानगणनायाम्, यथेह दीनारकेण व्यवहारः प्रवर्तते । page 192.

seems to indicate that the author was living at a time and place where the *dīnāras* were current as coins and that he was not living in the Drāviḍa country. Now *dīnāras* were current in places where the Indo-Parthian influence was felt in a large measure. In fact, the remnants of the Kushan dynasty are found in several places up to Mathurā or a few miles east beyond Mathurā and in Western India, not omitting the North-West. It is also known that the *dīnāra* ceased to be in currency after A.D. 600.[1] It may be therefore safe to conclude that Bhavasvāmin wrote from somewhere near Mathurā and that he flourished in the early centuries of the Christian Era.

If it is conceded that Bhavasvāmin is such an old writer, the text on which he commented assumes an importance in the history of the versions of the Nārada Smṛti. In the main, the recension on which Bhavasvāmin comments is the minor version of Dr. Jolly. Important variations like the omission of the prose preface, the omission of the chapter on judicial procedure, the omission of ordeals and their varieties under *ṛṇādāna* but their inclusion as a separate chapter at the end and treatment of theft in a separate chapter at the close of the eighteen titles of law can be mentioned in brief. The Nepalese manuscript to which Jolly had access contains the last two chapters as referred to already; his conjecture that the chapter on *theft* is genuine is a happy conjecture and is borne out by the commentary of Bhavasvāmin. Regarding *ordeals* the conjecture of Jolly is not correct. It is altogether omitted in the chapter on *ṛṇādāna* by Bhavasvāmin but given at the end. There is therefore no question of repetition. The text contained in the Nepalese manuscript of Jolly is genuine and Bhavasvāmin regarded it such. The text adopted by Bhavasvāmin varies in the number of verses in each

[1] Dr. Altekar, the chief Editor of the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India in a letter writes as follows:

"All things considered I am inclined to think that it is very unlikely that the Gold *dīnāras* were in circulation after c. 600 A.D. in the Mathura and Kanauj area. And that may be the time of the commentator."

section as compared with the text adopted by Jolly. The number of verses according to each recension is given in a tabular form below.

Longer Version				Shorter Version	Bhavasvāmin	
Prose Preface				Prose Preface	Missing	
Section	I	Verses	71	I Verses 68	I Verses 80 (I & III of long are treated together)	
,,	II	,,	41	Missing	Missing	
,,	III	,,	18	II Verses 24	See note on I	
,,	IV	,,	348	III 70 IV 71 V 130 VI 11 VII 17 VIII 10 IX 8=317	II	221
,,	V	,,	15	X 9	III	8
,,	VI	,,	18	XI 16	IV	16
,,	VII	,,	12	XII 11	V	11
,,	VIII	,,	13	XIII 42	VI	42
,,	IX	,,	22	XIV 22	VII	23
,,	X	,,	8	XV 8	VIII	8
,,	XI	,,	12	XVI 12	IX	12
,,	XII	,,	16	XVII 16	X	16
,,	XIII	,,	7	XVIII 7	XI	7
,,	XIV	,,	43	XIX 12	XII	40
,,	XV	,,	113	XX 112	XIII	118
,,	XVI	,,	52	XXI 52	XIV	49
,,	XVII	,,	27	XXII 27	XV	26
,,	XVIII	,,	37	XXIII 32	XVI	29
,,	XIX	,,	8	XXIV 8	XVII	6
,,	XX	,,	55	XXV 54	XVIII	119
					This includes XX and Appendix of Dr. Jolly	
Appendix		...	61	Missing		
			...	...	XIX	46½
Total		...	1028	870		877½

Of the total of 1028 verses, Dr. Jolly himself is not sure of the authenticity of the following verses: I, 20—25; IV 279*b*—281; of the verses found in the longer version and omitted in the minor version, the following are the same or nearly the same as in the Manu Smṛti. I, 60, 61; III, 2—4;

I shall now proceed to record the differences in the text of the Smṛti as published by Jolly and as found in the Nāradīya Manu Saṁhitābhāṣya. Nearly a thousand variations are

registered, but in the following pages I am omitting such variations in them as are *prima facie* negligible. The changes of a word from तु to च or हि or *vice versa* or the transposition of a word in the same verse is not given.

P.	V.	Jolly's Text	Trivandrum Text with Bhavaswāmin's Commentary
1–3		इह हि भगवान् . . . श्लोकः	omitted
3,	1	धर्मैकताना: पुरुषा यदासन् सत्यवादिनः । तदा न व्यवहारोऽभूत् न द्वेषो नापि मत्सरः ॥	मनुः प्रजापतिर्यस्मिन् काले राज्यमभूभुजत् । धर्मैकतानाः पुरुषाः तदासन् सत्यवादिनः ॥
	2a	नष्टे धर्मे मनुष्याणां व्यवहारः प्रवर्तते ।	नष्टे धर्मे मनुष्येषु व्यवहारः प्रकल्पितः ।
	2b	स्मृतः	कृतः
4,	3a	साक्षिणश्चैव . . . परिकीर्तितौ	साक्षिणश्चात्र संप्रवर्तितौ
5,	5b	स एव हि पणं दाप्यः	स एव स्वपणं दाप्यः
6,	7a	अधिकृतो नृपः	अधिकृता नृपैः
	7b	गुर्वेभ्यस्तूत्तरोत्तरम् ॥	गुर्वेषामुत्तरोत्तरम् ॥
	8b	च	इति
7,	9b	द्विद्वारः	द्विद्वारः
8,	14b	चोच्यते	प्रकीर्तितः
9,	15a	सत्पुरुषः	स पुरुषः
	15b	समुदाहृतः	स उदाहृतः
10,	20a	द्वात्रिंशदधिकं शतम्	शतमष्टोत्तरं स्मृतः
10–12,	21–25		These are omitted
13,	28a	द्विद्वारः समुदाहृतः	द्विद्वारः स उदाहृतः
	29b	संयुक्तं	युक्तं तत्
14,	30		This is omitted
	33b	स्वर्गे	स्वर्गे

15,	36b	चिकित्सा	विवित्सा
16,	37b	यत्नतः	पार्थिवः
	37b	संपश्यमानः	समीक्षमाणः
		व्यवहारगतिं नयेत्	व्यवहारगतीर्येनाः
	38b	पादेन [पातेन]	लेशेन
	40a	विधिः स्मृतः	अपि धर्मतः
17,	40b	अवहीयते	अपचीयते
	41a	भगवान् धर्मः परोक्षो दुर्विचारणः	बलवान् धर्मः दुर्विचारस्त्वतीन्द्रियः
18,	46a	राज्ञे	राज्ञः
19,	46b	चास्यार्थैः	चाप्यर्थैः
	48b	नासिद्धस्तं विलङ्घयेत्	तमासिद्धो न सङ्घयेत्
20,	50		This is omitted
	51a	यो व्यतिक्रमेत्	योऽतिवर्तते
	52a	निर्वेष्टुकामः	निवेष्टुकामः
	53a	सस्यारम्भे	सस्याबन्धे
	53b	तत्कालं	तत्काले
	54b	नासेध्यो न चैतान्	नासेध्या न चैनान्
21,	55a	तमतीर्त्वा[नीत्वा]र्थमन्यतः	तमतीत्यार्थमन्तरा
	55b	वेद्धुं	व्युद्धु
22,	59b	विनयः स भवेत्	स दण्ड्यश्च भवेत्
	60 }		These are omitted
23,	61 }		
	62a	निर्णिक्तव्यवहारेषु	निर्णिक्ते व्यवहारे तु
	64b	परीक्षयेत्	परीक्ष्यते
24,	65a	विधर्मतः	विधर्मणा
	66b	दण्डं	दण्डात्
	67b	नृपः	भृशम्
25,	68a	अनुरक्षता	अनुतिष्ठता
	69a	ये लोभात्प्रब्रूयुः साक्ष्यमन्यथा ।	ते लोभाद्ये ब्रूयुः कार्यमन्यथा ।

	71a संनिभा:	दर्शना:
27–39,	Verses 1–44	These are omitted.
40,	2	This is omitted.
41,	3a वदन्	ब्रुवन्
42,	6b मूलश्च पार्थिव:	मूलाश्च पार्थिवा:
42,	9	This is omitted.
43,	10 सभायां न प्रवेष्टव्यं	सभा वा न प्रवेष्टव्या
	11	This is omitted.
44,	15 व्रजेत	पतेत
	16a शक्तित:	युक्तिभि:
46,	1b धर्माभ्यां	धर्माश्च
	2b यो वा तामुद्धरेद्धुरम	यस्तामुद्वहते धुरम्
47,	5b मोचयिष्यति	मोक्षयिष्यति
48–49, 6–8		Instead of these three verses read— अत: पुत्रेण जातेन स्वार्थमुत्सृज्य यत्नत. । ऋणात्पिता समुद्धार्यो यथा न नरकं पतेत् ॥
49,	9a ऋणवान् म्रियते यदि	म्रियते चेदृणी यदि
	10b भाव्यकृतं	भाव्यकृतात
50,	11b ऋणं वा यत्कृतं	कृतं वा यदृणम्
	12a प्रेष्यकृ[त्य]करैश्च यत्	वैयावृत्य करैश्च यत्
	12b[1] उक्षिप्तं	उच्छिन्नं
51,	15a अवियुतै:	अधिकृतै:
	16b भवेत्	तथा
52,	17b आदत्ते	आदद्यात्
	18a पत्युर्वापि कथं भवेत्	कथंचित्पत्युराभवेत

[1] Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa's commentary presupposes a reading as found in Bhavasvāmin.

	18b दुस्तर:	विस्तर:
52,	19a योपिता	योषित:
53,	20b द्रव्यं	रिक्थम्
54,	22b स आभजेदृणं वोढ: सैव तस्य धनं यत: ।	ऋणं वोढु: स भजते तदेतस्य धनं स्मृतम् ।
55,	24a अन्तिमा उत्तमा च पुनर्भुवाम्	उत्तमा पुनर्भ्वामुत्तमा तथा
	25	This is omitted
	[25]	This too is omitted
	26a मनीषिण:	अनापदि
57,	30b तत्समो	तौ समौ
	31a हि नर्णभाक्	न चर्णभाक्
	32b प्रतिवर्णं च	पति प्रति च
58,	34a दासादिश्च परिग्रह:	दासाश्च सपरिग्रहा:
	34b यत स्यात	स्यात्तत
	35b पोगण्ड इति शस्यते	पोगण्डश्चेति-शब्द्यते
	36a पितरौ विना	पितरावृते
59,	38a विसर्गे	निसर्गे
	39b धर्मशास्त्रविद:	शास्त्रे शास्त्रवित्:
	40b अकृतं तदपि प्राहुरस्वातन्त्र्यस्य	तदप्यकृत मेवाहुरस्वतन्त्र: स
	41a भूतार्तं	युक्तार्तं
60,	42a प्रकृतिस्थश्च	प्रकृतिस्थस्तु
	42b तत्कृतं तु कृतं प्राहु:	तत्कृतं स्यात्कृतं
	44b पृथक्	पुन:
61,	45b उद्योगस्तस्य	उद्यतोऽप्यस्य
	47a उत्कोचधूत	पार्श्वकधूत
62,	50a वर्णाश्रयात्	वर्णाश्रयं
	50b विदु:	स्मृतम्
	51b शुभम्	धनम्

	52a शुभं त्रिधा	त्रिलक्षणम्
	52b यल्लब्धं	लब्धं च
	53a शुद्धं	प्राहु:
	53b कराद्युद्धोपलब्धं च दण्डाच्च	युद्धोपलब्धं कारश्च दण्डश्च
	54a त्रिधा शुभम्	त्रिलक्षणम
	54b वाणिज्यै: शूद्रस्यैषां	वाणिज्यं शूद्रस्यैभ्य:
63,	57b पतनीये हि ते	पतनीयो हि तौ
64,	59a वृत्त्यर्जितैर्धनै:	वृत्त्या भृते जने
	60a ब्राह्मणो रमते सदा	रमते ब्राह्मणो रमात
	63a चेलकौशेय	नीलकौशेय
65,	64b गन्धद्रव्यैरकाथेत्रतूलमूलकुशादने	गन्धद्रव्यैरकालेयतूलमूलतुषादने
66,	68a परिकल्प्यानि	परिपाल्यानि
	68b प्रमेयाणि	प्रमाणानि
	69a स्मृतम्	विदु:
	69b अवाप्नुयात्	उपाश्नुते
66–67, 70–74		These are omitted.
67,	75a जीवितश्चैव	जीवन्तस्त्वेव
	75b शास्त्रविनिश्चय:	शास्त्रेषु निश्चय:
68,	76b भुक्तिस्तेभ्य:	भुक्तिर्वैषां
	78a स्वान्मौख्यात्	स्वमौढ्यात
69,	78b पशे	स्वकान्
	79	Add after this— उपेक्षां कुर्वतस्तस्य तूष्णींभूतस्य तिष्ठत: । कालेऽतिपन्ने पूर्वोक्तो व्यवहारो न विद्यते ॥
70,	81b श्रोत्रियद्रव्यं न भोगेन प्रणश्यति	श्रोत्रियस्वं च नोपभोगेन जीर्यति ॥
	82b जीर्यन्ते	जीर्येयु:
	84a संभोग:	निर्भोग:

70,	85–7	These are omitted.
71,	88a भोगपदं नयेत	भोगोऽतिवर्तते
	89	This is omitted.
	90a स्यान्नार्तानामुद्धरेत	सन्नर्थतस्तद्धरेत्
	90b प्रासा या	प्रासानाम्
	91	This is omitted.
72,	92a अन्वाहितं हृतं न्यस्तं	अन्वाहितहृतन्यस्त
	92b आगमं	आगमात
	93b न तं भोगपदं नयेत	न तद्भोगोऽतिवर्तते Add after this— आगमेन विना पूर्वं भुक्तं पूर्वैस्त्रिभिस्तु यत । न तच्छक्यमपाकर्तुं क्रमात्त्रिपुरुषागतम् ॥
73,	94b यस्मात	यत्स्यात
	95b कारणं तत्र प्रमाणं तस्य जीवत: ॥	करणं तत्र प्रमाणं स्याद्विनिश्चये ॥
	96b साक्ष्यं	साक्षी
	97a ग्रहणादिषु	क्रियणादिषु
74,	97b बलीयसी	गरीयसी
	98b प्रोक्तं	ज्ञेयम्
74–75,	99–101	These are omitted.
75,	102a कालिका कारिता चैव कायिका च तथापरा ॥	कायिका कालिका चैव कारिका च तथा स्मृता ॥
	102b शास्त्रेऽस्मिन् वृद्धिर्दृष्टा	शास्त्रेषु तस्य वृद्धि:
76,	103b कारिता	कारिका
	104a स्वस्व	शश्वत् This ardha is read before 103a
	105a अर्थानां	ऋणानां
	वृद्धिकर:	वृद्धौ क्रम:
	105b या देशावस्थितिस्त्वन्या	देशाचारविधिस्त्वन्य:

	106a वापि तथान्यत्र	चैव तथान्यस्मिन्
	106b देयं देशे	देशे देशे
77,	107b रसस्याष्टगुणा	घृतस्याष्टगुणा
	108b प्रवर्धते	विवर्धते
77,	109	This is omitted.
78,	110a प्रीतिदत्तस्य कर्मणः	प्रवृद्धस्येह धर्मतः
	110b धान्यस्य वार्धुषं	धान्यानां वार्धुष्यं
	112b निक्षिपेत्तत्स्वकुल्येषु	सपिण्डेभ्योऽस्य निर्वपेत्
79,	115	This is omitted
	116a विशुद्धर्णे	ऋणे शुद्धे
	प्रतिश्रयं	प्रतिश्रवं
	117b कारके	कारणे
80,	119a वापि ह्यापिने	वा विवादिने
81,	120a चेत्	स्युः
	120b ह्येषु	तेषु
81-82,	122-3	These are omitted.
82,	124a विज्ञेयः	तु ज्ञेयः
83,	125b उपचारः	प्रतिदानं
84,	127-9	These are omitted.
	130b तत्राधिरन्यः कर्तव्यः	आधिरन्योऽधिकर्तव्यः
85,	132-3	These are omitted.
	134a न स्यात्	नश्येत्
86,	135b असाक्षिमत्	असाक्षिकम्
	स्थितेः	स्थितिः
	136a व्यक्तावधि विलक्षणं	व्यक्ताधिकृतलक्षणम्
87,	138b न चेदाधिः स्थिराश्रयः	ऋते त्वाधेः स्थिराश्रयात्
	139a आधिस्तु	आधिर्यः
	139b अत्र	अस्य
	140a प्रार्थितं श्रावितं	श्रावितं स्रावितम्
88,	141a अदृष्टार्थमश्रुतार्थं व्यवहारार्थमागतम्	अश्रुतार्थमदृष्टार्थं व्यवहारार्थमेव च

	142b द्रष्टृदर्शनम्	अदृष्टदर्शनम्
89,	143a यत्र	यस्मिन्
	143b युक्तिप्राप्तिभिः	प्राप्तियुक्तिभिः
90,	145b लिखितात्	लिखितेन
91,	148b चक्षुषोर्दर्शनं स्वयम्	चक्षुषः कायकर्म यत्
	149a शास्त्रदृष्टः	स तु दृष्टः
	149b तेषां	तत्र
	150a लिखितः	लेखितः
	150b कृतः	स्मृतः
92,	151a षडेते पुनरुद्दिष्टाः साक्षिणस्त्वकृताः स्वयम्	अकृतः षड्विधो नित्यः सूरिभिः परिकीर्तितः
	152a अभ्यन्तरः	अधिकृतः
	152b कुल्याः	कुलम्
	153b शुद्धबुद्धयः	स्युः सुबुद्धयः
	154b स्मृताः	पुनः
93,	155b स्युः	च
	156b साक्ष्यं	साक्षी
	157a शास्त्रेषु	शास्त्रेऽस्मिन्
	157b स्वयमुक्तिर्मृतान्तरः	स्वयमुक्तेर्मृतान्तरात्

After this add the follow-
ing two verses—

श्रोत्रियाद्या वचनतः
स्तेनाद्या दोषदर्शनात् ।
भेदाद्विप्रतिपत्तिः स्या-
द्विवादे यत्र साक्षिणः ॥
स्वयमुक्तेरनिर्दिष्टः
स्वयमेवैत्य यो वदेत् ।
मृतान्तरोऽर्थिनि प्रेते
मुमूर्षुश्रावितादृते ॥

94, 161a	अनिर्दिष्टस्तु साक्षित्वे	स्वयमुक्तैरनुद्दिष्टः
162b	वदतु	वदति
95, 166b	उत्तरा क्रिया	उत्तरक्रिया
96, 167b	न चेदन्येव लेखयेत्	अजानानस्तु लेखयेत्
169b	आ संवत्सरतः	आ वत्सरात्तथा
171a	बुद्धिः	पुंसः
	साक्षिणः	नित्यश.
97, 172b	साक्षित्वे येषा	साक्षित्वं नेषां
175a	प्रत्यक्षचिह्नः	अभ्यग्रचिह्नः
176a	उपद्रवेत्	अभिद्रवेत
98, 179b	व्यङ्गैक	लुब्धैक
99, 181b	औपपातिकाः	उपपातकाः
182a	श्रान्तनिर्धनान्त्य	शान्तनिर्धूतान्त
100, 182b	भिन्नवृत्त	भिन्नवृत्ति
	जड	झल्ल
184a	श्यावदन्तश्च	श्यावदन् श्वित्री
185a	वधकश्चर्मकृत्पङ्गुः	वधकृच्चित्रकृन्मङ्खः
186a	मनुष्यपशुमांसास्थि- मधुक्षीराम्बुसर्पिषाम्	मनुष्यविषशस्त्राम्बु- लवणापूपवीरुधाम्
101, 187a	सेवकः	सेविता
189b	न परीक्षेत साक्षिणः	असाक्षी नोपपद्यते
190a	तेषामपि न	न तत्रापि च
192a	उभयानुमतः	अथवानुमतः
192b	असाक्षिकोऽपि	स साक्ष्येकोऽपि
193a	दोषभिन्नत्वात्	दोषदुष्टत्वात्
193b	चानुधावति	चोपधावति
102, 194a	कामति	कासति
196a	इवाकस्मादपृष्टो बहु	इवापृष्टो बहुबद्धं च
196b	नृपः	भृशम्

	197a यो विनिह्नुते	योऽपि निह्नुते
103,	200b उत्त्रासयेदिमान्	उत्त्रास्य साक्षिण:
	201b अन्य:	क्रुद्ध:
	202a नग्नो मुण्ड: कपालेन	नगरे प्रतिरुद्ध: सन्
	परद्वारो बुभुक्षित:	बहिर्द्वारो बुभुक्षित:
	204a साक्ष्ये समुद्दिशन्	साक्ष्यसमुद्देशे
	वच:	चरन्
	204b मुच्यते स बन्धनाद्ध्रुवम्	आत्मनि प्रतिमुञ्चति
104,	205a एव	एक:
	205b	This ardha is omitted
	206a संबन्धनात्	सबन्धनात्
	नियताश्च स:	नियता: समा:
	206b	This is omitted
	207a तस्मिन्	यस्मिन्
	207b संप्रवक्ष्यामि	संख्यया तस्मिन्
	212 परं	वरं
105,	213a उदेति भास्कर:	उदयते रवि:
	214b इति न: श्रुतम्	इति वै श्रुति:
	215a स्मृतम्	स्मृता:
	217a नरकेषु	निरयेषु
	218a शूलैर्भेत्स्यन्ति चाक्रम्य	शूले मत्स्यानिवाक्षिप्य
	218b अवस्थितं समुत्क्षिप्य	अवाक्शिरसमुत्क्षिप्य
	त्वां हुताशने	अग्निह्रदेषु च
	219a तास्तीव्रा:	दु:खास्ता:
	219b इह यास्यसि पापासु	इह यास्यस्यभव्यासु
	220b नात्मानं पातय स्वयम्	मात्मानं पीपतश्चिरम्
106,	222b किंत्वस्मान् किं चार्यं	किन्त्वस्मानात्मानम्
	223b सत्यमुक्त्वा	सर्वथैव
	संनियोजय	योजयिष्यसि

	224a	यस्यां रात्रावजनिष्ठा यस्यां रात्रौ मरिष्यसि ॥	यां रात्रिमजनिष्ठास्त्वं या च रात्रिं मरिष्यसि ॥
	224b	तदन्तरं तुभ्यं . . . कृथाः	तदन्तरा ते स्यात् . . . वदः
	227a	द्वौ	चात्र This verse is printed here as part of the commentary.
	227b	प्रहिणुयान्	अपहरति
107,	228a	वाच्यर्था नियताः सर्वे वाङ्मूला वाग्विनिश्चयाः ॥	अर्था वै वाचि नियता वाङ्मूला वाचि मिश्रिताः ॥
	228b	यो हि तां स्तेनयेत्	यो वैतां स्तेययेत
	231		This is omitted.
108,	234a	वाप्यधिकं	अभ्यधिकम्
	236b	साधयेत्	शोधयेत्
	237a	यः	अपि
	237b	स दापयेत्	समाचरेत्
109,	240	यमन्तर्धारयन्त्यापो दीप्तोऽग्निर्न दहत्येव । शाययत्यभिशापं तं किल्बिषी स्यादतोऽन्यथा ॥	दीप्तोऽयं न दहत्यग्नि- रापोऽन्तर्धारयन्ति यम् । स तरत्यभिशापं तं किल्बिषी स्याद्विपर्यये ॥
	241		This is omitted.
	242a	योगेषु	योगे च
	242b	च	यः
110,	243a	अपि देवानामृषीणामपि च स्मृताः ॥	ह्यृषिदेवानां पुरा सृष्टाः स्वयंभुवा ॥
	243b	धानेव शङ्कितः	धानेन शब्दितः
	244a	इन्द्रेण पुष्करार्थेन शङ्किताः ॥	तथा सेन्द्राः पुष्करार्थे तपोधनाः ॥
	245b	सदिति	सदसि
	246a	वैचित्र्यात् . . . जीयते ॥	दौःशील्यात् . . . हीयते ॥
111,	246b	सभ्यास्तस्य . . . पात्यते ॥	सभ्याश्चास्य . . . पार्थिवात् ॥

111–128, 247–348	These are omitted[1].
129, 2–4	These are omitted.
130, 7b दुष्टात्मा	दाप्यश्च
8a यं	य:
131, 8b दाप्यस्तच्चापि सोदयम्	तच्च सोदयमाप्नुयात्
131–132, 10-13	These are omitted.
132, 14b शिल्पे च	शिल्पिषु
15b भवेद्धर्मः	विधिर्दृष्टः
133, 3a तत्रांशः	यत्रांशः
4b अव्यभिचारेण	व्यवहारेण
134, 6a राजभ्यः	राजोत्थे
6b रक्षेत	संरक्षेत
7a स्याद्व्यसनं	तद्व्यसनं
9b अदुष्टं वर्त्विजं	अदुष्टमृत्विजं
135, 10a दृष्टः पूर्वजुष्टः	प्रोक्तः पूर्वैर्जुष्टः
11b याद्दच्छिकेषु याज्यस्य	याद्दच्छिके तु सांयाज्ये
12a यथोदितम्	यथोपगम्
136, 14–15	These are omitted
16b रक्षेत	संरक्षेत्
17a वा	अस्य
137, 3b ज्ञेयं	विद्यात्
6b कुटुम्बी दोषमाप्नुयात्	ददद्दागः समाप्नुयात्
138, 7	This is omitted
8b स्त्रीभवत्यनुग्रहार्थं च दत्तं सप्तविधं स्मृतम्	स्त्रीशुल्कानुग्रहार्थं च दत्तं दानविदो विदुः
10a बालमूढास्वतन्त्रार्त	बालप्रमूढास्वतन्त्र
139, 11a वा धर्म	चाधर्म
11b तदपि स्मृतम्	तत्प्रकीर्तितम्

[1] See the closing pages of this paper.

140,	12b	अदेयदायको ... दत्तप्रतीच्छकः ॥	अदत्तदायको ... देयस्य दायकः ॥
141,	1b	एतत	इति
	2b	नेषा	शेषाः
	3b	ज्ञेयाः	प्रोक्ताः
	4b	चोक्तः	तूक्तः
	5b	शुभं कर्मकृता	शेषं कर्मकृतः
142,	7a	अथोऽन्ततः	अथान्ततः
	8a	शुश्रूषेत्	शुश्रूषन्
	10a	गुरुणा	अपि गुरुं
	10b	प्रतिकुर्वीत ... विचारयन् ॥	कर्म कुर्वीत ... विलम्बयन्
	11b	पार्श्वे	कूर्चे
143,	12		This is omitted
	10a	अनुशास्यः	अनुशिष्यः
	13b	अविधिनाथवा बद्धा	अवधेनाथवा शिष्यान्
	14b	अनुशास्याथ ... शास्यः	अनुशिष्य च ... दण्ड्यः
144,	18a	य आचार्यं संपरि	च य आचार्यं परि
	20a	चार्यमदक्षिणाम्	चार्यं प्रदक्षिणम्
	20b	शक्तितश्च ... निवर्तते	शिक्षितश्च ... निवर्तयेत्
145,	21		This is omitted
146,	25a	त्वेते	ह्येते
147,	26a	गृहे	गृह
	26b	अनाकालभृतो लोके आहितः	अशनादिभृतस्तद्वदाधत्तः
	27a	मोक्षितो महतश्चर्णात् प्राप्तो युद्धात्पणे जितः ॥	ऋणाच्च मोक्षितोऽनल्पा- द्युद्धप्राप्तः पणे जितः ॥
	27b	प्रव्रज्यावसितः	प्रव्रज्यापसृतः
	28a	हृतः	भृतः
	29b	धनिनोऽन्यत्र	स्वामिनोऽन्यत्र
148,	32a	आहितोऽपि	आधत्तोऽथ
	32b	स विक्रीतात्	सोऽपि क्रीतात्

	33a	ऋणं तु सोदयं दत्त्वा . . . प्रमुच्यते ॥	दत्त्वा तु सोदयमृणी . . . विमुच्यते ॥
	33b	व्यपगमात्	भ्युपगमात्
	34a	ध्वजप्राप्तः पणार्जितः ॥	युद्धप्राप्तः पणे जितः ॥
	34b	प्रतिशीर्षप्रदानेन मुच्यते	प्रतिपूरुषदानेन मुच्येरन्
	35a	राज्ञां	राज्ञः
		अपसृतः	अवसितः
	35b	विप्रमोक्षोऽस्ति न विशुद्धिः	प्रति मोक्षोऽस्ति विशुद्धिर्वा
	36b	वडवानां तु . . . हृतः ॥	वडवायाश्च . . . भृतः ॥
149,	37a	विक्रीणीते य आत्मानं स्वतन्त्रः सन्नराधमः ॥	विक्रीणाति स्वतन्त्रः सन् य आत्मानं नराधमः ॥
	37b	स जघन्यतरो नैव दास्यात्	सुजघन्यतमः . . . सोऽपि दास्यान्न
	40a	तवाहमिति चात्मानं यः	तवास्मीति य आत्मानम्
	41b	यस्य ते	यस्यैते
	42b	तस्यासौ	तस्याथ
150,	43a	साक्षताभिः . . . अद्भिः	अक्षताभिः . . . एनम्
	43b		Add after this— ततः प्रभृति वक्तव्यः स्वाम्यनुग्रहपालितः । भोज्यान्नः प्रतिगृह्यश्च भवत्यभिमतश्च सः ॥
151,	2a	भृताय . . . क्रमम्	भृत्याय . . . कृतम्
	4a	क्रियोपकरणं . . . यत्प्रत्युदाहृतम् ॥	कर्मोपकरणं . . . प्रति यदर्पितम् ॥
	4b	तत्स्वभावेन	आप्तभावेन
	6a	आदद्यात् पण्यं	आभाष्य पथि
	6b	सोदयां भृतिमावहेत् ॥	कर्मैवं सोदयां भृतिम् ॥ This verse occurs after verse 8 which is followed by a fresh verse. See later.

	7a भाटयित्वा . . . भाण्डवान्	नादयित्वा . . . भाण्डं वा
	7b समं	सर्वाम् Add after this— कालेऽपूर्णे त्यजन् कर्म भृतिनाशमवाप्नुयात । स्वामिदोषादपक्रामे- द्यावत्कृतकमाल्भेत् ॥ Read after this verse 6 of Jolly
152,	9b स दाप्यो यत्प्रणष्टं स्यात्	दाप्यो यत्तत्र नश्येत्तु
	10b त्वाष्टमे	वाष्टमे
	11a उपानयति या गोपः	उपानयेद्वा गोपाय
	12a सा चेद्दौर्व्यसनं गच्छेत्	स्याच्चेद्दोव्यसनं गोपः
	12b अशक्तस्तूर्णमागत्य	अशक्तावभिपत्यारम्
	13b गोपस्तां . . . चापि राजनि ॥	गोपस्तं . . . चैव राजतः ॥
	14b पालयैव	गोपायैव
	15b या	यत् After this add— तासामनवरुद्धानां चरन्तीनां मिथो वने । याः प्रसह्य वृको हन्या- न्न पालस्तत्र किल्बिषी ॥
153,	16a विघुष्य तु हृतं	विघुष्यापहृतम्
	16b चापि	स्वस्य
	17a अनेन	एतेन
	17b बालशृङ्गादिदर्शनात् ॥	पालस्याङ्कादिदर्शनात् ॥
	18a आप्नुयात्	आवहेत्
	19a वासमाक्रमेत्	क्रमते यस्तु
	19b सोऽष्टगुणं	अष्टगुणं

	20b तृणकाष्ठेष्टकादिकम्	त्यक्त्वा सर्वं सुखोषितः
	21	This is omitted.
	22b चान्यत्र	वान्यत्र
155,	1b विज्ञेयः	स ज्ञेयः
	2a समाप्नुयात्	तदाप्नुयात
	2b प्रकाशविक्रये	प्रकाशं क्रयतः
	4b स्तेयदण्डं च सोऽर्हति	सर्वं तद्दोषमर्हति
	5a क्रेत्रे मूल्यं च तत्समम्	क्रेतुर्मूल्यं च तत्कृतम्
157,	1a क्रेत्रे यत्र प्रदीयते	क्रेतुर्यत्र प्रयच्छति
	3a विधिः स्मृतः	विधिक्रमः
	4a क्रेत्रे यो न	यः क्रेतुर्न
158,	4b उदयं	क्षयम्
	5a चीयेत	हीयेत
	5b स्थायिनां	स्थानिनाम
	6a द्रव्यं	पण्यम्
	7b तु	सः
159,	8a हस्तविक्रीतं सोऽन्यस्मै सं-	हस्ते विक्रीय योऽन्यहस्ते
	8b चैव राजनि	तावदेव च
	9a यः क्रयी	यत क्रयी
	10a एवं	एषः
	10b अदत्तेऽन्यत्र समयात्	अदत्तमूल्ये विक्रीते
	12a समाश्रयेत्	प्रकल्पयेत
	12b जिह्मं च . . . एवं	जिह्मेन . . . एष
160,	3a आहरेत्	आवहेत्
	3b तु	तत्
	4b न भवेत्	नाभवेत
	5b मणिमुक्ताप्रवालानां सप्ताहः	मुक्तावज्रप्रवालानां सप्ताहम्
161,	6b दशाहः . . . एकाहः	दशाहं . . . एकाहम्
	7b न भवेत्	नाभवेत

11b तु	स्यात
12b तद्धातुनां	तद्धेतूनाम्
13b सूत्र	यत्र
162, 14a नेषा	एषा
14b एषा वृद्धिरुदाहृता	अन्त:क्षय उदाहृत:
15a बद्धस्य	विद्धस्य
16a पण्य	पण्ये
16b वृद्धिक्षयौ तु	क्षयवृद्धी च
163, 4a नानुकूलं . . . राजा	प्रतिकूलं . . . राज्ञ:
5b उपघातं	उपतापम्
164, 6a गणांश्च ये भिन्द्यु:	गणान् ये विभिन्द्यु:
165, 1b क्षेत्राधिकारो यस्तु स्यात	क्षेत्राधिकारा यत्र स्यु:
2a विवादेपु	विरोधे तु
3b वनजीविन:	वनगोचरा:
4b कपालैश्च	कपालानां
7a विनिश्चये	विनिर्णये
166, 8a गण . . . दण्डं दाप्या:	गणि . . . दण्डगत्या
9b कार्यस्य	धर्मस्य
10a वासा: समाहित:	वास: समुन्नयेत
11a यदि च	यदात्र
11b उन्नयेत	उद्धरेत
12a एतेनैव	अनेनैव
13–14	These are omitted.
167, 15b रोधयेत्	दूषयेत
16	This is omitted.
17b अल्पबाधश्च	अल्पदोषश्चेत
18a प्रोक्त: खेय:	ज्ञेय: खन्य:
18b तोयप्रवर्तनात् खेय: . . . तन्निवर्तनात् ॥	तोयप्रवर्तने खन्य: . . . स्याद्विनिवर्तने ॥

	19a नश्येदभ्युदकेन तु	नाशोऽप्यत्युदकेन तु
	19b य एव . . . स एवाभ्युदके	यावान् . . . तावानत्युदके
168,	22a अनुदर्शनात्	निदर्शनात्
	24b स्वक्षेत्रं	स्वं क्षेत्रम्
169,	26a तत्	स्यात्
	27a यस्स्यात्	यत्र
169,	28b शास्यः . . . शक्त्या	दण्ड्यः . . . शक्तः
	29a घाते . . . समं	नाशे . . . धान्यं
	30a दशाहं च महोक्षोवाजिकुञ्जरौ ॥	दशाहात्तु महोक्षाजाविकुञ्जराः ॥
	30b स्युः	तु
170,	31b सवत्से तु	न वत्से च
	32a मताः	स्मृतः
	32b आगन्तुकी . . . वाभिसारिणी ॥	गर्भिणी . . . चातिसारिणी ॥
	33	This is omitted
	34a सस्यानां द्विगुणः प्रोक्तो वसतां	प्रोक्तः स द्विगुणः सस्ये वसन्त्यां
	34b नृणाम्	तथा
	35a क्षेत्रं यदाप्नुयुः	क्षेत्रसमाश्रिताः
	35b गोमिनां	गोमिनः
171,	36b वृक्षाद्वा पतितो भवेत्	गिर्यग्रात्पतितोऽपि वा
	37a	This is omitted
	37b दोषः पालस्य न च	पालदोषः स्यान्नैव
	38a प्रति याचते	प्रतिमार्गेति
	38b सामन्तानुमते देयं . . भक्षितम् ॥	सामन्तस्य शवो देयो . . . वापितम् ॥
	39a गावस्तु गोमिना देयाः	गवन्नं गोमिने देयं
	39b	This is omitted
	40b अनावृते . . . पालस्य	अनावृतं . . . गोपस्य
	41	Add after this— खातखातस्य केदार- माहुः शल्यवतो मृगम् ।

			इषवस्तस्य नश्यन्ति यो विद्धमनुविध्यति ॥ अशक्तमेतनष्टेषु क्षेत्रिकेष्वनिवारितः । विक्रुष्यमाणे क्षेत्रे चेत् क्षेत्रिकः पुनराव्रजेत् ॥ बीजापचारं तत्सर्वं दत्त्वा स्वं क्षेत्रमाप्नुयात् ॥
172,	42a	गृहक्षेत्रे च दृष्टे द्वे वासहेतू	गृहं क्षेत्रं च विज्ञेयं वासहेतुः
	42b		This is omitted
173,	1b	नामैतत्	संज्ञं तु
	2a	संबन्धे	संबन्धात्
	3b	मन्त्रश्च	मन्त्राभ्यां
	4a	सजातिः . . . स्वजातिः	स्वजात्या . . . स्वजात्या
	6b	ज्ञेया	अन्या
	7a	वा	च
	8a	परीक्ष्यः पुरुषः	परीक्ष्य पुरुषम्
174,	9a	जान्वस्थिः . . . रुहः	जान्वस्थि . . . घरः
	10a	रेतोऽस्योत्प्लवते . . . ह्रादि	विट्चास्य प्लवते . . . रावि
	11a	षण्ढः	स तु
	13b	आक्षिप्तः	आक्षिप्त
175,	14a	पक्षाख्यः	पक्षाख्यं
	14b	तु यस्य	त्र्यस्य
	15b	त्यक्तव्यास्ते . . . स्त्रिया	सन्त्यक्तव्याः . . . स्त्रियाः
	16a	बीजाभ्यां कृतेऽपि पतिकर्मणि	बीजौ च पत्यावप्रतिकर्मणि
	16b	वत्सरार्धं प्रतीक्ष्य तु	वत्सरं संप्रतीक्ष्य तु
	17b	हीनवेगमन्यस्त्री . . . उपाचरेत्	हीनवेषमतस्त्री . . . उपक्रमेत्
	21b	सनामयः[भयः]	सजातयः
176,	22a	आश्रयेत्	आव्रजेत्

	23a	शील	रूप
	26a	समतीयुः	समतीताः
	27a	प्रवृत्ते	अप्रवृत्ते
	27b	एवं	एष
	28b	सतां सकृत	सकृत् सकृत्
	30a	दत्त	प्राप्त
	30b	संयुक्तः	संयुक्तं
177,	35a	नरः	वरः
	35b	स विनेयस्तु	विनेयः सोऽपि
	36a	मैथुना	मैथुनाः
	36b	दुष्टा . . . भावा	धृष्टा . . . भावाः
	37a	उन्मत्तः पतितः क्लीबो दुर्भगस्त्यक्तबान्धवः ॥	उन्मत्तपतितक्लीब- दुर्भगत्यक्तबान्धवाः ॥
	38a	संस्कारार्थे	संस्काराख्याः
	38b	तथापरः	तथैव च
	39b	अष्टमः स्मृतः	अष्टमोऽधमः
178,	40b	विधिः स्मृतः	विधीयते
	41a	मिथुने दत्वा	मिथुनाभ्यां तु
	42a	इच्छतः . . . गान्धर्वं . . . पञ्चमम्	इच्छते . . . गान्धर्वो . . . पञ्चमः
	43a	तथा	स्मृतः
	43b	प्रमत्तोपगमात् . . . तु	मत्तोपगमनात् . . . च
	44b	अधर्म्यास्ततः	अधर्म्यास्त्वतः
	46b	संस्कारमर्हति	संस्कारकर्मणा
			Add after this verse 52 of Jolly.
	47a	अन्यं पुरुषं श्रिता	अन्यपुरुषाश्रिता
	47b	इयात्	यायात्
			This verse is read after 49 of Jolly.
	48		This is read before the previous i.e. 47 of Jolly text.

179,	49a स्त्रीप्रसूता प्रसूता वा	प्रसूता वाप्रसूता वा
	49b कामाथा संश्रयेत्	कामात् समाश्रयेत्
	50a संप्राप्तान् देवरादीनपास्य या	या प्राप्तान् देवरादीनप्यपास्य तु
	50b द्वितीया	तृतीया
	51a तृतीया	चतुर्थी
	52 See note under 46.	
	52b अन्त्या सा स्वैरिणी स्मृता	सा द्वितीया प्रकीर्तिता
	53a विधिस्त्वेष . . . प्रकीर्तित:	एष विधि: . . . च कीर्तित:
	54b उपनतायां . . . फलम्	उपहृतायां . . . भवेत्
	55a अज्ञातं . . . प्रदीयते	अज्ञानात् . . . प्रकीर्यते
	55b फलम्	भवेत्
	56b क्षेत्री	क्षेत्रम्
180,	58a नुमते . . . समर्प्यते	नुमतं . . . प्रमुच्यते
	59a न स्यात् क्षेत्रं विना सस्यं न वा	नर्ते क्षेत्रं भवेत्सस्यं न च
	60a नाप्यपत्यं	नाथवत्या
	61a अदुष्ट . . . क्षयिकस्य	प्रदुष्ट . . . क्षमकस्य
	61b सेच्छान्...दारान्...साहसे	स्वेच्छै: . . . दारै: . . . साहसो
181,	63b स्त्रीपुंसौ यत्समीयातां तच्च संग्रहणं स्मृतम् ॥	स्त्रीपुमांश्च समेयातां माद्यं संग्रहणं भवेत् ॥
	64a प्रस्थापनैर्वापि	प्रस्थापनैश्चैव
	64b अन्यैश्च विविधैर्दोषै: प्राद्यं संग्रहणं बुधै: ॥	अन्यैरपि व्यतीचारै· सर्वं संग्रहणं स्मृतम् ॥
	65b सर्वं	तच्च After this add verse 68 Jolly. For readings see below.
	66a उपचार	उपकार After this is read verse 69 of Jolly. For readings see later.

	67a	यश्च . . . वस्त्राञ्चले	यश्च . . . वस्त्रान्तर
	68a	वस्त्रैराभरणैर्माल्यैः पानैर्भक्ष्यैस्तथैव च ॥	भक्ष्यैर्वा यदि वा भोज्यैः वस्त्रैर्माल्यैस्तथैव च ॥
	68b	वेद्यं संग्रहणं बुधैः	सर्वं संग्रहणं भवेत्
182,	69b	तच्च	सर्वं
	70a	सजात्यतिशये पुंसां दण्ड उत्तमसाहसः	स्वाजात्यतिक्रमे पुंसा-मुक्तमुत्तमसाहसम्
	70b	मध्यमस्त्वानुलोम्येन प्रातिलोम्ये प्रमापणम्	विपर्यये मध्यमस्तु प्रतिलोमे प्रमापणम्
	72a	संगमे	सवर्णे
	75b	तस्य नान्यो दण्डः	दण्डो नान्यस्तत्र
	76a	योनौ . . . क्रम्य . . . स दमं	योन्यां . . . कामन् . . . स दशं
183,	77a	चास्ति	शास्ति
	77b	विधानं तु पापानं स्यात्	विधावत्र प्रायश्चित्तं
	78b	प्रतिलोमतः	प्रातिलोम्यतः
	79b	यत्ताः परपरिग्रहाः	ताश्चेदन्यपरिग्रहाः
184,	83a		This ardha is added after 86a of Jolly.
	83b	स्त्रियं पुत्रवतीं वन्ध्यां नीरजस्कामनिच्छन्तीम् ॥	नीरजस्कामनिच्छन्तीं वन्ध्यां पुत्रवतीं स्त्रियम् ॥
	86a	See note under 83a.	
	86b	अनुशिष्यात् स्त्रियं च सः ॥	भ्रातृभार्यां यवीयसः ॥ Add after this— ज्येष्ठभार्यां कनिष्ठो वा गच्छेद्गुरुनियोगतः । कुलसन्तानरक्षा तु फलं समधिगच्छतः ॥ अविद्यमाने तु गुरौ राज्ञो वाच्यः कुलक्षयः ।

		ततस्तद्वचनाद्गच्छे- दनुशिष्यं स्त्रियं च सः ॥
	87a स्नुषा	ज्ञाता
	87b तथैव सा	स्नुषैव सा
185,	88b विप्लवः स्यादतोऽन्यथा ॥	किल्बिषी स्यादनिग्रहे ॥
	89a संबन्धे	संरम्भे
	89b विवदीयातां	विवदेयाता
	90a आगः	नागः
	91b अवस्करोज्झनम्	अवस्करोञ्छनम्
	92a विस्रंसिनीं	विस्राविणीं
	92b पुरात्	गृहात्
	93b क्षिप्रं . . . गृहात्	स्त्रियं . . . बुधः
186,	94b कामतः	कामां ताम्
	95a अनुकूलां	अनुरूपां
	96a दोषेणोढा . . . निर्दोषा	दोषा दुष्टा . . . निर्गता
	96b साभियोक्तव्या	सा नियोक्तव्या
	97a नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे च पतिते पतौ ॥	पत्यौ प्रव्रजिते नष्टे क्लीबेऽथ पतिते मृते ॥
	99b द्वे वर्षा त्वितरा वसेत्	द्वे समे अप्रजा वसेत्
	100–1 न शूद्रायाः स्मृतः काल एष प्रोषितयोषिताम् । जीवति श्रूयमाणे तु स्यादेष द्विगुणो विधिः ॥ अप्रवृत्तौ तु भूतानां दृष्टिरेषा प्रजापतेः । अतोऽन्यगमने स्त्रीणा- मेष दोषो न विद्यते ॥	न शूद्रायाः स्मृतः कालो न च धर्मव्यतिक्रमः । विशेषतोऽप्रसूतायाः संवत्सरपरा स्थितिः ॥ अप्रवृत्तौ स्मृतो धर्म एष प्रोषितयोषिताम् । जीवति श्रूयमाणे तु स्यादेष द्विगुणो विधिः ॥ प्रजाप्रवृत्तौ भूतानां सृष्टिरेषा प्रजापतेः ।

			अतोऽन्यथागमे स्त्रीणा- मेवं दोषो न विद्यते ॥
187,	104a		Add after this— उत्तमेभ्यस्त्रयस्त्रिभ्यः शूद्रापुत्राः प्रकीर्तिता. । ब्राह्मण्यामपि चण्डाल- सूतवैदेहका अपि । अपरेभ्यस्त्रयस्त्रिभ्यो विज्ञेयाः प्रतिलोमतः ॥
	104b	क्षत्रियात्मजः	क्षत्रियासुतः
	105b	क्षत्त्राद्याः प्रतिलोमाः स्युः आनुलोम्यास्त्विमे स्मृताः ॥	Instead of this read the following— वैश्यापुत्रास्तु दौष्यन्त- यवनायोगवा अपि । प्रातिलोम्येन तत्रैको द्वौ ज्ञेयावनुलोमजौ । सूताद्याः प्रतिलोमास्तु ज्ञेयावप्रतिलोमजौ ॥
	106a	संस्काराश्वरुपाकाद्याः . . . सप्त वै मताः ॥	ससंकराः श्वपाकाद्याः . . . सप्तको गुणाः ॥
	107b	चाम्बष्ठः	दौष्यन्तः
	108b	ब्राह्मणादुत्तरं	ब्राह्मणाद्व्यन्तरं
	109a	ह्येते	एते
188,	109b	मागधश्चैव	मागधश्चोभौ
	110a	क्षत्तृवैदेहका अपि	तद्वदेतेऽप्यनन्तराः
	110b		This is omitted.
	111a		This is omitted.
188,	113a		Add after this— राज्ञा परीक्ष्यं न यथा जायते वर्णसंकरः ।

	113b	स्त्रियो रक्ष्याः	त्रयी रक्ष्या
189,	2a	पितर्यूर्ध्वं गते पुत्रा विभजेरन् धनं क्रमात् ।	पितर्युपरते पुत्रा विभजेयुर्धनं पितुः ।
	3b	निवृत्ते वापि रमणे . . . रतस्पृहे ।	निरिष्टे वाप्यरमणे . . . रतेऽस्पृहे ।
190,	4b	वा श्रेष्ठभागेन . . . वास्य मतिः	श्रेष्ठविभागेन . . . वा स्वमतिः
	5b	शक्त्यपेक्षाः कुले श्रियः	शक्त्यपेक्षं कुले क्रिया
	6a	चोभे	हित्वा
191,	7b	मातापि हि	मातापीष्टे
	8b	भ्रातृमातृपितृप्राप्तं	भ्रात्रा दत्तं पितृभ्यां च
	10a	गच्छतः	गच्छति
192,	11b	पित्र्यं द्रव्यं समाश्रित्य	पितृद्रव्यं तदाश्रित्य
	12b	पतौ	धवे
	13a	ज्ञेयः कनिष्ठायावरः	देयो ज्येष्ठाय तु वरः
193,	14b	ऊढ	गूढ
	15b	धर्मः	भागः
194,	16		This is omitted.
	18a	यश्च . . . अनूढमातृकः ॥	यस्तु . . . गूढमातृकः ॥
	18b	सः	च
	19b	सर्वे स्युः . . . सुताः	ते सर्वे . . . स्मृताः
	20a	बीजिने	बीजिनः
195,	20b	गतायां	नतायाम्
	21a	षण्ढः	पण्डः
	22b	कुले चैते	कुटुम्ब्यास्ते
196,	23b	अर्धं समादद्युः	अर्धांशमादद्युः
	24a	संसृष्टानां	संसृष्टिनाम्
	24b	अनपत्योऽशभाग्योऽपि	अतोऽन्यथांशभाजो हि
	25a	तु वा	तथा
	25b	विभजेरन् . . . तु स्त्रीधनं	विभजेयुः . . . ते स्त्रीधनात्
	27a	यातस्य . . . पित्र्योऽशः	स्याद्यस्य . . . पित्रंशः

	27b आ संस्कारं भजेरंस्तां	आ संस्काराद्भरेतैना
197,	29b वासस्तु	चासस्तु
		Here add—
		पक्षद्वयावसाने तु राजा भर्ता स्मृतः स्त्रियाः । स तस्या भरणं कुर्या- न्निगृह्णीयात्पथश्च्युतात् ॥
198,	31b पुत्रास्तु स्थविरे भावे	रक्षन्ति वार्धके पुत्राः
	33b ते धनात्	तद्धनात्
	34a पित्र्येऽथ	पित्रर्थे
199,	35b भ्रातृभिर्भरणीयोऽसौ . . . वाहनैः	स भ्रातृभिर्बृंहणीयः . . . भोजनैः
200,	36a विनिर्णयः	विनिर्णये
	36b पृथक्कार्यप्रवर्तनात्	पृथक्कार्या प्रकल्पना
	37b तेषां भवेत्	भवेदेषाम्
	40a एताः	द्विधा
201,	41	This is omitted.
	43a स्वभागान् . . . क्रीणीरन्	स्वानंशान् . . . क्रीणीयुः
	43b ईशास्ते . . . तु	ईशते . . . ते
	44	This is omitted.
202,	47a एषां	तेषु
	47b श्रेयान्	श्रेष्ठः
	48	This is omitted
	49a क्षेते . . . वा धनम्	एते . . . तद्धनम्
	49b अलाभे कनीयान् रिक्थमर्हति	अभावे जघन्यस्तदवाप्नुयात्
	50a कारणात्	दर्शनात्
	50b उभौ	उक्तौ
	51a ततः	तथा
	51b सजातिः	सजात्याः
203,	52a अन्यत्र ब्राह्मणेभ्यः स्यात्	अन्यत्तु ब्राह्मणात्तु

	52b तत्स्त्रीभ्यः	तत्स्त्रीणा
204,	2	This is omitted.
	4b उपमर्दं	अवमर्दं
	6a परदाराभिमर्शनम्	परदारप्रधर्षणम्
205,	8a	This is omitted
	10b प्रयाणं	निर्याणं
	11b असंभाष्यः	असंभोज्यः
	12a दृश्यते	चोच्यते
206,	12b आधिः	आधेः
	13a मनीषिभिः	महर्षिभिः
	14b शमी धान्यं	फलं चान्य
	15a च	यत्
	16a वाजिनः	वाजिनाम्
	17a सर्वैः कल्पयित्वा	एषां छलयित्वा
	18a ह्रोढमत्युपभोगतः	ह्रोढेऽसत्यतिभोगतः
	18b जनैकत्वादन्याय	जनैकार्थ्यादनाय
207,	19b शक्ताश्च	शक्तौ च
	20a तथा	अपि च
	23a विविक्ते	विवीते
	25a तेन प्रायः	स्तेयप्रायः
	25b पूर्वापवादैर्दुष्टो वा	पूर्वापदानैर्दुष्टो वा
208,	27a गृहात्	धनात्
209,	1a संयुतम्	संहितम्
	2b तस्य दण्डोऽप्यत्र क्रमाद्गुरुः ॥	अस्य दण्डोऽपि त्रिविधः स्मृतः ॥
	4b दीनाशुपक्षेपैः	द्विभिश्चोपघातः
	5a तस्यापि . . . समं	तत्रापि . . . सम
	5b अवगोरणनिःशङ्क	अवगूरणनिःसङ्ग
210,	6a अपकर्षणात्	समतिक्रमात्
	6b तत्र	प्रोक्तम्

	7		Add after this— पारुष्ये सति संरम्भा- दुत्पन्ने क्षुद्रयोर्द्वयोः । स मान्यते यः क्षमते दण्डभाग्योऽतिवर्तते ॥
	8a	वृतयोः	धुतयोः
	10b	उत्तरः	इतरः
	11–12		The text of these two verses is missing but the readings as conjectured differ thus—
	11a	मेद	षण्ड
	11b	दासेषु . . . अतिगेषु	दारेषु . . . अन्तगेषु
	13a	अतिवर्तेत	अतिवर्तेरन्
	14b	अपि	अतः
	16a	पञ्चाशद्ब्राह्मणः	विप्रः पञ्चाशतं
	16b	वैश्ये स्यादर्धपञ्चाशच्छूद्रे	वैश्यं चैवार्धपञ्चाशच्छूद्रम्
	17a	समवर्णैः	समवर्ण
	18a	काणमप्यथ वा	काणं वा यदि वा
212,	18b	दण्ड्यो राज्ञा कार्षापणावरम्	दाप्यो दण्डं कार्षापणात्परम्
	19b	दण्डभाक्तद्व्यतिक्रमात्	दण्डयेत्तद्व्यतिक्रमे
	20a	अवध्यौ	अदण्ड्यौ
	21b	दोषतां व्रजेत्	दोषभाग्भवेत्
	22		This is omitted.
	23b	ज्वलच्छास्ये दशाङ्गुलः	शूद्रस्याष्टादशाङ्गुलः
	25b	तस्य	एव
	26a	अवकृष्टजः	अपकृष्टजः
213,	26b	कट्यां कृताङ्कः स्फिचौ वास्याव	कटिदेशेऽङ्कय स्फिग्देशं वास्य
	28b	तु	वा

	29		This is omitted.
	30a	कर्मणि	वर्त्मनि
	32a	नाश्वे न शुनि	न श्ववान् शुनि
214,	1a	अक्षब्रध्न	अक्षवर्ध्रे
	2b	च शतं . . . कारिण:	तु शतात् . . . कारिता
	3a	ग्लहे यद्यक्षवेदिन:	गेहे यस्याक्षवेदिन:
	4a	तिष्ठेरन्	तिष्ठेयु:
	4b	त एव स्युस्तु	स्युस्त एव च
	5b	सभिकं दापयेत्तत्स्वं	सभिको दापयन्तं स्वं
215,	7–8		These are omitted.
216,	1a	ज्ञेयो व्यवहारो . . . श्रय:	ज्ञेया व्यवहारा . . . श्रया:
	2a	पुरप्रदानं	पुरप्रधान
	2b	विपर्यय:	विपर्यया:
	3a	पितापुत्र	पितृपुत्र
	5b	प्रकृती:	प्रकृतै:
	6a	यो य उद्रेकमाप्नुयात्	यो वोद्रेकमनुव्रजेत्
217,	7a	आत्मन:	आत्मना
	8a	विरुद्धं यद्भूतानां	विरुद्धं च जनानां
	9a	वृते भवेत्	कृतं च यत्
	9b		After this read verses 13, 10 and 11 of Jolly in the order indicated.
	10a	शिल्पद्रव्याणि शिल्पिनाम्	वाद्यादीन् वाद्यजीविनाम्
	10b	वेश्या . . . कारं वाद्यातोद्यादि	वेश . . . कारान् वाद्यातोद्यानि
	11a	कारव:	कारका:
	12a	अनिर्देश्यावनिन्द्यौ च राजा ब्राह्मण एव च ।	अनादिश्चाप्यनन्तश्च द्विपदां पृथिवीपति: ।
	13b	दण्ड्य:	नद्य:
	14a	वर्णानां	नियतं
218,	15a	जह्यात्	हन्यात्

	15b	This is 16b here.
	अश्नीयुः	अपश्यन्
	16	This is made up by 15b and 16a
	16a तु शूद्रः सर्वं	च शूद्रः सर्वान्
218,	16b नाकरिष्यन् प्रजानां दण्डधारणम् ।	नाभविष्यन् पृथिव्या दण्डधारणे ।
	17b अर्थश्चामित्रपीडनात् ।	अर्थश्चापीडयन् प्रजाः ।
	18a अपि	इमाः
	19a प्रज्ञा	आज्ञा
	22a निर्बलोऽपि	विगुणोऽपि
	22b प्रजापतिः	नराधिपः
219,	23–4	These are omitted.
	25a आसां	आसीत्
	25b ततः	तस्मात्
	27a अनिमित्तं	निर्निमित्तं
	28b स उदाहृतः	समुदाहृतः
	30b स्मृतः	यमः
	31a अर्थि . . . पृथिवीपतिः	अतिथि . . . अवनीपतिः
220,	32a नाक्रोशेच्च विशेषतः	नाक्रोशेच्च विशेषयेत्
	32b क्रमात्	क्रमे
	33a धर्मः	धृतिः
	33b उत्थानं च स्वकर्मसु	आत्मनश्चाभिरक्षणम्
	34b लोकाभिवृद्धये	लोकाभिरक्षणे
	35a राजन्यासनं	अधन्यासनं
	35b सर्वेभ्यश्च	सर्वेषां च
	36a सस्सभ्यः	सस्येभ्यः
	37a उदकादीनां हि	उदकादानेषु
	37b अनपेक्षः	अनाक्षेपः
	38a उत्तारणं	उत्तरणं

	38b	तरेषु . . . वणिज्यायां भयेरिस्थतिः।	करेषु . . . न चेद्वाणिज्यमस्य तत् ।
	39a	अनशनः	एकाशनः
	39b	नापराधी स्यात् . . . द्वे च मूलके ।	नापराध्नोति . . . पञ्च मूलिकान् ।
221,	40b	नोपसन्नान्निर्निमित्तं	न सोपधान्नानिमित्तं
	41a	अर्थिनां	अर्थानां
	41b	सर्वेषा	अन्येभ्यः
	42a	दृढव्रतौ	धृतव्रतौ
	42b	नानयोः . . . धर्मेण रक्षतोः ॥	न तयोः . . धर्माभिरक्षणात् ॥
	44		This is part of the commentary here.
	45b	समुद्रे . . . राज्ञां	स तत्र . . . राज्ञः
	47a	य एव	यदा च
	48a	अन्यप्रकारात्	अन्यत्र कारात्
222,	49a	आहर्तुं यश्च ब्राह्मण	आदातुं यद्ब्राह्मण
	49b	ब्राह्मणेभ्यः	ब्राह्मणाय
	51a	स्वधर्मे ब्राह्मणः . . . नृपात् ॥	स्वकर्मणि द्विजः . . . कृताम् ॥
	52a	मानवः	पुरुषः
	52b	सम्यक्	सद्यः
	53a	य एव	यस्यैव
	55a	स्वयम्	तान्
	55b	प्रवर्धते	न हीयते
223,	2a	तु ते	तत्र
	2b	साहसिकाः	सोपधिकाः
	3b	लोकतस्कराः	लोकवञ्चकाः
	4b	सुप्त्यां प्रसक्ताश्च नराः . . . ते ॥	सुप्तान् मत्तान् प्रमत्तांश्च . . . ये ॥
	5a	यज्ञघ्नाः	पथिघ्नाः
	5b		After this add the following 8 verses:— तान्विदित्वा सुनिपुणै- श्चोरैस्तत्कर्मकारिभिः ।

अनुसृत्य ग्रहीतव्या
गूढैः प्रणिहितैर्नरैः ॥
सभाप्रपापूपशाला-
वेशमद्यान्नविक्रयाः ।
चतुष्पथाश्चैत्यवृक्षाः
समाजप्रेक्षणानि च ॥
शून्यागाराण्यरण्यानि
देवतायतनानि च ।
चारैर्विचेयान्येतानि
चोरग्रहणतत्परैः ॥
तथैवान्ये प्रणिहिताः
श्रद्धेयाश्चित्रवादिनः ।
चोरा ह्युत्साहयेयुस्तां-
स्तस्करान् पूर्वतस्कराः ॥
अन्नपानमहादानैः
समाजोत्सवदर्शनैः ।
तथा चौर्यापदेशैश्च
कुर्युस्तेषां प्रसर्पणम् ॥
ये तत्र नोपसर्पन्ति
सृताः प्रणिहिता अपि ।
तेऽभिसृत्य ग्रहीतव्याः
सपुत्रपशुबान्धवाः ॥
अचोरा अपि दृश्यन्ते
चोरैः सह समागताः ।
यादृच्छिकान् नैव तु तान्
राजा दण्डेन शासयेत् ॥
यांस्तत्र चोरान् गृह्णीयात्
तानाताड्य निबध्य च ।
अवघुष्य च सर्वत्र
वध्याश्चित्रवधेन ते ॥

	6	न त्वहोढान्विताश्चौरा वध्या राज्ञा अनागसः । सहोढान् स्तेयकारणात् क्षिप्रं चोरान् प्रशासयेत ॥	कोप्त्रादिरहिताश्चोराः राज्ञा वध्या ह्यनागमम् । सहोढान् सोपकरणान् चोरान् क्षिप्रं निवासयेत् ॥
224,	7a	यज्ञावरोधिनः	मार्गोपरोधिनः
	7b	प्रकल्पयेत्	प्रवर्तयेत्
	8a	अहोढान् . . . गृहीतान् यदि शङ्कया ॥	सहोढान् . . . गृहीत्वा परिशङ्कया ॥
	8b	चिन्ताभिर्ब्रूयुस्तथा यथा कृतम ॥	चिन्ताभिर्ब्रूयुस्सत्यं यथा हि ते ॥
	9a	दिशं . . . वा संप्रति	तथा . . . रूपं प्रति
	9b	कृत्यं कर्मकरा वा स्युः प्रष्टव्यास्ते विनिग्रहे ॥	कृत्यं कर्म सहायांश्च प्रष्टव्याः स्युर्निगृह्य ते ॥
	10a	संसदि त्वनिवेदनात् ॥	ससन्दिग्धनिवेदनात् ॥
	11b	लेख्यैः	लेशैः
	12a	अपि	न
	12b	ततः	नरः
	13a	तथाम्न्युदक	तथाप्युदक
	13b	देशिकाश्च तथैवोत्तर	देशिकदास्तथैवान्तर
	14b	स्मृतास्तु ते	स्मृताः सर्वे
	15b	घाते तु मध्यस्थाः	घातेषु विज्ञेयाः
225,	16a	मुष्येत	मुषितं
	16b	मृग्याः	गृह्य
	17a	यदा यस्मिन् . . . न पातयेत्	पदे तस्मात् . . . निपातिते ॥
	18a	चौरग्राहांस्तु दापयेत्	दापयेद्दण्डवासिकान्
	18b	राष्ट्रिकांश्च	बाह्यिकांश्च
	19a	दोषकर्तैव . . . तु संशयः ॥	दाप्यमानानां . . . ससंशये ॥
	19b	शाप्यः . . . शुद्धि	कार्यः . . . शोध्य
	20	अचौरो बोधितो मोषं चौरो वै शुद्धिकारणात् ।	अचोरो दापिते तोषे चोरान्वेषणकारणात् ।

	चौरे लब्धे लभेयुस्ते द्विगुणं प्रतिपादितः ॥	उपलब्धे लभेरंस्ते द्विगुणं तत्र दापितात् ॥
	21a चौरहृतं प्रपद्यैव	चौरैर्हृतं प्रत्यक्षेन
	22b	This is omitted.
226,	25a सर्वतः	सर्वेशः
	25b अष्टगुणः	दशगुणः
	28a पात्यो दण्डः	वासो दण्डस्तु
	28b हरतो वधः	वध एव च
	29	This is missing.
	30a परश्चर्णवति	परः षण्णवतिः
	30b चतुश्शतपरो यश्च	शतानि पञ्च तु
	32b तज्ज्ञेयं	यच्छेपं
	33b विकर्तनम्	अवकर्तनम्
	36b ब्राह्मण अक्षतः सदा	अक्षतो ब्राह्मणो व्रजेत्
	37b धनं	स्तनौ
	38b आलोक्य दण्डानेतान्प्रकल्पयेत् ॥	आलोच्य दण्डं दण्डयेषु पातयेत् ॥
	39a राज्ञा	राज्ञः
	39b त्यक्तात्मा मनुरब्रवीत् ॥	तस्करा लोकवञ्चकाः ॥
	41b निर्वास्यं . . . इति धर्मो व्यवस्थितः ॥	निर्वासं . . . समग्र-धनमक्षतम् ॥
227,	42a सर्वस्वं वा	सर्वं वापि
	42b एतेभ्यः	विप्रेभ्यः
228,	43a चतुःस्वङ्कः	चतुर्ष्वङ्कः
	44a ध्वजः स्मृतः	सुराध्वजः
	44b	शिखिपिच्छेन मूरयेत्
	45a अशिराः	विशिराः
	46a भावता	धीमता
	47a तेन . . . पादनात्	स्तेनः . . . वेदनात्
	47b राजा ततः स्पृशेदेन-मुत्सृजेत्तु चाकिल्बिषम् ॥	राजानं तत्स्पृशेदेन उत्सृजन्सं सकिल्बिषम् ॥

	49a	वा विमोक्षात . . . मुच्यति	वापि मोक्षात् . . . मुच्येत
	49b	अशासनात्तु तद्राजा	अशासत्तमसौ राजा
	50b	अतः	अथ
	51b	द्विरष्टापाद्यं	द्व्यष्टापाद्यं
229,	52a	इत्येवं	मनुः
	53b	शारीरं दशधा प्रोक्तमर्थे	शारीरो द्विविधः प्रोक्तो ह्यर्थे
	54b	सन्निरोधादिः . . . तथैव च ॥	अवरोधादिः . . . तथा स्मृतः ॥
	55a	माषावरः	माषापरः
	55b	माषावराद्योऽयं	माषापरार्धो यः
	56a	पणावरार्धस्तु . . . पणावरः ॥	पणापरार्धस्तु . . . पणोत्तरः ॥
	56b		Add after this— कार्षापणाद्या ये प्रोक्ताः सर्वे ते स्युश्चतुर्गुणाः । एवमन्येऽपि बोद्धव्याः प्राक् च ते पूर्वसाहसात् ॥
	57a	रौप्यः	रूढः
	57b	विंशतिस्तु	षोडशैव
	58		This is missing.
	59a	पाञ्चनद्याः	पञ्चनद्याः
	59b	नैतया	वैतया
	60a	कार्षापणोऽण्डिका गेया	कार्षापणोऽण्डिका ज्ञेयः
	60b	तद्द्वादश सुवर्णस्तु दीनाराख्यः स एव च ॥	ते द्वादश सुवर्णं स्यात् दीनारः चित्रकः स्मृतः ॥
230,	61a	तु यां . . . वर्तेन्मततामप्रमत्तः ॥	त्रयीं . . . वर्तेत सदाप्रमत्तः ॥
	61b	निपुणैर्गृहीतान् तथैव शास्तेव निगृह्य पापान् ॥	विविधैर्गृहीत्वा पुरे च राष्ट्रे च विघुष्य चोरान् ॥

The full text of the second appendix in the Nepalese manuscript, regarded as spurious by Jolly, is contained in the following version of Bhavasvāmin at the end of Prakīrṇaka. The verses read thus :

संशयस्थास्तु ये केचिन्महापातकिनश्च ये ।
अभिशस्ताः परैश्चापि ते शोध्याः संशयैरिह ॥ १ ॥

घटोऽग्निरुदकं चैव विषं कोशश्च पञ्चमः ।
पञ्चैतान्याह दिव्यानि दूषितानां विशोधने ॥ २ ॥
सन्निधग्भेऽर्थेऽभिशस्तानां परीक्षार्थं महात्मना ।
नारदेन पुरा प्रोक्ताः सत्यानृतविभाजिकाः ॥ ३ ॥
कारयेत चतुर्हस्तां रामां लक्षणलक्षिताम् ।
तुलां काष्ठमयीं राजा शिक्यमान्तावलम्बिनीम् ॥ ४ ॥
दक्षिणोत्तरसंस्थानावुभावेकत्र संगतौ ।
स्तम्भौ कृत्वा समे देशे तयोः संस्थापयेत्तुलाम् ॥ ५ ॥
आयसेन तु पाशेन मध्ये संगृह्य धर्मवित ।
योजयेत सुसंयत्तां तुलां प्रागपरायताम् ॥ ६ ॥
वादिनोऽनुमतेनैनां कारयेन्नान्यथा नृपः ।
तोलयित्वान्तरं पूर्वं चिह्नं कृत्वा घटस्य तु ॥ ७ ॥
तुलितो यदि वर्धेत स विशुद्धो हि धर्मतः ।
समो वा हीयमानो वा न विशुद्धो भवेन्नरः ॥ ८ ॥
धर्मपर्यायवचनैर्धट इत्यभिधीयते ।
त्वं वेत्सि सर्वभूतानां पापानि सुकृतानि च ॥ ९ ॥
त्वमेव देव जानीषे न विदुर्यानि मानवाः ।
व्यवहाराभिशस्तोऽयं मानुषः शुद्धिमिच्छति ॥ १० ॥
तदेनं संशयारूढं धर्मतस्त्रातुमर्हसि ।
अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि लोहस्य विधिमुत्तमम् ।
द्वात्रिंशदङ्गुलाख्यं तु मण्डलान्मण्डलान्तरम् ॥ ११ ॥
मण्डलस्य प्रमाणं तु कुर्यात्तद्घटसंमितम् ।
अष्टाभिर्मण्डलैरेवमङ्गुलानां शतद्वयम् ॥ १२ ॥
चतुर्विंशत्समाख्यातं भूमेस्तु परिकल्पनम् ।
मण्डलैस्तु ततः क्लृप्तैः सोपवासः शुचिर्नरः ॥ १३ ॥
सवासा जलमाप्लुत्य त्वार्द्रकेशः समाहितः ।
सप्ताश्वत्थस्य पत्राणि तथा सौत्राणि तन्तवः ॥ १४ ॥
हुताशतप्तं लोहस्य पञ्चाशत्पलिकं समम् ।
हस्ताभ्यां पिण्डमादाय व्रजेत्सप्त शनैः शनैः ॥ १५ ॥
न मण्डलमतिक्रामेत् नाप्यर्वाक् स्थापयेत्पदम् ।

न पातयेत्तामप्राप्तो यावद्भूः परिकल्पिता ॥ १६ ॥
भयात्पातयने यस्तु दग्धो वा न विभाव्यते ।
पुनस्तं हारयेल्लोहं स्थितिरेवं दृढीकृता ॥ १७ ॥
तीर्त्वानेन विधानेन मण्डलानि कृतानि तु ।
न दग्धः सर्वथा यस्तु सविशुद्धो भवेदिह ॥ १८ ॥
अनेन विधिना कार्यो हुताशसमयः सदा ।
त्वमेव सर्वभूतानामन्तश्चरसि नित्यशः ॥ १९ ॥
प्रच्छन्नानि मनुष्याणां पापानि सुकृतानि च ।
त्वमेव देव जानीषे न विदुर्यानि मानवाः ॥ २० ॥
व्यवहाराभिशस्तोऽयं मानुषः शुद्धिमिच्छति ।
तदेनं संशयारूढं धर्मतस्त्रातुमर्हसि ॥ २१ ॥
अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि पानीयविधिमुत्तमम् ।
नातिक्रूरेण धनुषा प्रेरयित्वाशरत्रयम् ॥ २२ ॥
पानीयं मज्जयेद्यस्तु शङ्कायां प्रतिवर्तते ।
मध्यमस्तु शरो यः स्यात् पुरुषेण बलीयसा ॥ २३ ॥
प्रत्यानीते तु तेनाथ तस्य शुद्धिर्भविष्यति ॥ २४ ॥
स्त्रियस्तु न बलात्कार्या न पुमांसोऽतिदुर्बलाः ।
भीरुत्वाद्योषितो मृत्युः निरुत्साहतया कृशः ॥ २५ ॥
वारिमध्ये मनुष्यस्य अङ्गं यदि न दृश्यते ।
अतोऽन्यथा न शुद्धः स्यादेकाङ्गमपि दर्शयन् ॥ २६ ॥
स्थानादन्यत्र वा गच्छन् यस्मिन्पूर्वं निवेशितः ।
तोयमध्ये मनुष्यस्य गृहीत्वोरुं सुसंयतः ॥ २७ ॥
लग्नस्तु निश्चलस्तिष्ठेत यावत्प्राप्तस्तु सायकः ।
आनीतं तु शरं दृष्ट्वा जलादुत्थाय प्राङ्मुखः ।
प्रणिपत्य नृपं गच्छेत् सर्वांश्चैव सभासदः ॥ २८ ॥
त्वमम्भः सर्वभूतानामन्तश्चरसि नित्यशः ।
प्रच्छन्नानि मनुष्याणां पापानि सुकृतानि च ॥ २९ ॥
त्वमेव देव जानीषे न विदुर्यानि मानवाः ।
व्यवहाराभिशस्तोऽयं मानुषः शुद्धिमिच्छति ॥ ३० ॥
तदेनं संशयारूढं धर्मतस्त्रातुमर्हसि ॥ ३१ ॥

अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि विषस्य विधिमुत्तमम् ।
अपराह्णे न मध्याह्ने न सन्ध्यायां तु धर्मवित् ।
शरद्ग्रीष्मवसन्तेषु वर्षासु च विवर्जयेत् ॥ ३२ ॥
भग्नं च वारितं चैव धूपितं मिश्रितं तथा ।
कालकूटं मलं चैव विषं यत्नेन वर्जयेत् ॥ ३३ ॥
शार्ङ्गं हैमवतं शस्तं रूपवर्णरसान्वितम् ।
महादोषवते दद्यात् राजा तत्त्वबुभुत्सया ॥ ३४ ॥
न वृद्धातुरबालेषु न च स्वल्पापराधिषु ॥ ३५ ॥
विषस्य पलषड्भागः भागो विंशतिमस्तु यः ।
तदष्टभागशुद्धं तु शोध्ये दद्याद्घृताप्लुतम् ॥ ३६ ॥
यथोक्तेन विधानेन विद्वान् स्पृष्टानुमोदितः ।
सोपवासस्तु खादेत देवब्राह्मणसन्निधौ ॥ ३७ ॥
विषवेगक्रमापेतं सुखेन यदि जीवति ।
विशुद्धमिति तं ज्ञात्वा राजा सत्कृत्य मोक्षयेत् ॥ ३८ ॥
अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि कोशस्य विधिमुत्तमम् ।
मध्याह्ने[पूर्वाह्णे]सोपवासस्य स्नातस्यार्द्राम्बरस्य च ॥ ३९ ॥
न शूद्रस्याव्यसनिनः कोशपानं विधीयते ।
यद्भक्तः सोऽभियुक्तः स्यात् तद्दैवत्यं तु प्राङ्मुखः ॥ ४० ॥
प्रत्युच्चार्य ततोर्ध्वास्यं पाययेत्प्रसृतित्रयम् ।
द्विसप्ताहान्तरात्तस्य त्रिसप्ताहेन वा शुभः ॥ ४१ ॥
प्रत्यात्मिकं तु दृश्येत सैव तस्य विभावना ।
ऊर्ध्वं त्रिसप्तदिवसात् वैकृतं सुमहद्यदि ॥ ४२ ॥
नाभियोज्यः स विदुषा कृतकालव्यतिक्रमात् ।
महापराधे निर्दोषे कृतघ्ने क्लीबकुत्सिते ।
नास्तिकमात्यबालेषु कोशपानं विवर्जितम् ॥ ४३ ॥
चराचरस्य जगतो जलेश प्राणधारणम् ।
मानुषोऽयं त्वया देव धर्मतः शुद्धिमिच्छति ॥ ४४ ॥
अद्भ्यश्चाग्निरभूद्यस्मादतस्तोये विशेषतः ।
तस्मात्सत्येन भगवन् जलेश त्रातुमर्हसि ॥ ४५ ॥
यथोक्तेन विधानेन पञ्च दिव्यानि धर्मवित् ।
दद्याद्राजाभिशस्तेभ्यः प्रेत्य चेह च नन्दति ॥ ४६ ॥

ĀTATĀYIVADHA

THE RIGHT OF PRIVATE DEFENCE IN HINDU DHARMAŚĀSTRA

BY

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ALL advanced systems of law confer the right of private defence on every individual against an assailant; even to the extent, in the exercise of the right, of causing the death of the assailant. An instance of the kind is treated as a case of justifiable homicide. The slaying of an enemy in battle is, of course, a well-understood right of the soldier, and the members of the opposed forces are potential assailants and defenders. The state admits the right of every one to the inviolability of his person, *i.e.*, to defend himself against attack which may cause bodily harm, death or loss of personal liberty. It also recognizes in every citizen the right to intervene to protect every other person against any offence against his body or life. The power is extended to the defence of property and possessions as against the robber, the incendiary, the maker of criminal mischief and of criminal trespass. Resistance of an assailant extends to *reasonable* limits. The right of the defence of the body extends to the use of force against assaults which cause a *reasonable* apprehension of death or grievous hurt, the gratification of unnatural lust by the assailant, rape, abduction and unlawful confinement. The invasion of property may be resisted even to the extent of causing serious harm to the assailant's body or of killing him, if there is reasonable ground

to fear that unless so resisted the property will be forcibly taken or destroyed, and grave harm or even the death of the owner or others may result. The right of defence commences as soon as there is a reasonable apprehension of danger to person or property, and it continues as long as the risk lasts. It is immaterial if the assailant is one who may not be adjudged as responsible for his actions *e.g.* a child or a lunatic, or one of immature faculties, or under the influence of intoxicants. A reasonable apprehension of danger from an assailant should be coupled with the use of reasonable means of defence to ward off the danger. The injury inflicted or aimed at the assailant should not be more than what is needed to secure protection or overcome the risk. The right of defence ends with the necessity for it. As already stated, it depends not on the criminality of the assailant but on the character of the act attempted. In modern law if a person is unable, when he is subjected to a murderous assault, to defend himself effectually without causing risk or harm to an innocent person, the right of private defence extends to running [illegible] risk. (*Indian Penal Code*, section 106.)

The brief statement of the modern position [1] in regard to private defence is to enable a comparison with the principles laid down in Hindu Dharmaśāstra to regulate the exercise of the right.

The technical term for a desperado in Dharmaśāstra is *ātatāyin*. Literally, "one who has his bow strung and is ready to shoot" is an *ātatāyin*. In battle a soldier's foe is an *ātatāyin*, and it is in this sense that Arjuna uses the word to describe the armed foes he has to fight.[2] Strictly construed, an *ātatāyin* must be one who is armed and whose

[1] See *Indian Penal Code*, sections 96 to 106; J. D. Mayne, *Criminal Law of India*, 1914, Part II, pp. 204-225; C. S. Kenny, *Outlines of Criminal Law*, 1917, pp. 104-107.

[2] पापमेवाश्रयेदस्मान् हत्वैतानाततायिनः (भगवद्गीता, १, ३६); 'संनद्धे तु आततायी वधोद्यते' (अमरः, ३, ४४.)

appearance and demeanour cause a reasonable fear of his readiness to attack, and kill. A 'manifest assassin' will be a rough equivalent for the term. But the 'assault' or 'attack' which may cause death or grievous hurt may be open (*prakāśa*) or covert (*aprakāśa*). In an age in which every one believes in the potency of witchcraft or incantations or of the curse (*śāpa*), preparations for a witchcraft rite or the raising of the uplifted arm to sprinkle the water which should accompany the invocation of a curse, will be seen to correspond to the uplifted sword or the strung bow of the desperado, whose attack is to be resisted. In Dharmaśāstra offences are brought under a well-known category if they are similar in form or effect, or if the penalties provided for them are the same. In accordance with this usage, *six* classes of *ātatāyins* are mentioned in the law-books. The idea is that the duty of defence, along with the immunity adhering to the discharge of the duty, will attach to each of these six.

This number appears to have been traditional, though gradually additions were suggested to the list of *ātatāyins*. According to an old verse cited by Vasiṣṭha (III, 16)[1] these are the incendiary, the poisoner, the manifest killer who holds a sword in his hand, the robber, the forcible trespasser into one's land, and the abductor of another man's wife. This list is given, in a slightly different form, by Viṣṇu (V. 191-192): *Ātatāyins* are of *seven* kinds: those who try to kill with an uplifted sword, or with fire, or with poison; those who raise their arms for implementing a curse they pronounce; those who pronounce an incantation of the Atharva Veda to cause another's death; those who spread false news to the king or poison his ears against others; those who violate the wives of others; and those who seek to destroy the religious merit (*dharma*) of others by destroying public works constructed

[1] षड्विधा आततायिनः । अथाप्युदाहरन्ति—
अग्निदो गरदश्चैव शस्त्रपाणिर्धनापहः ।
क्षेत्रदारहरश्चैव षडेते आततायिनः ॥ (वसिष्ठ, ३, १६).

by them like tanks etc., or the reputation, wealth or property of others."[1] Bṛhad-Viṣṇu will bring within the category the manifest-killer, the ravisher, the robber, the poisoner, the destroyer of property or wealth, and of fame and spiritual merit.[2] The *Matsyapurāṇa* adds the seducer of the queen to the list.[3] The common elements are gravity of the offence, violence and probable death of the person attacked or aimed at. It is declared that the list is not exhaustive and could be added to.[4] From the standpoint of expiation (*prāyaścitta*) the offences which come within the class correspond to the five major sins (*pañcamahāpātaka*),[5] and from the standpoint of gravity to offences and the award of punishment to the major offences under *sāhasa*.[6]

The common feature of the offences which constitute the *ātatāyin* is the exasperation that the attempt causes in the intended victim or in others. The feeling, which is roughly described as *manyuḥ* in the smṛtis is a mixture of anger, fear and uncontrollable excitement. The *ātatāyin* himself is often

[1] उद्यतासिविषाग्निं च शापोद्यतकरं तथा ।
आथर्वणेन हन्तारं पिशुनं चैव राजसु ॥
भार्यातिक्रमिणं चैव विद्यात्सप्ताततायिनः ।
यशोवित्तहरानन्यानाहुर्धर्मार्थहारकान् ॥ (विष्णुस्मृति, ५, १९१-१९२).

[2] उद्यतासिः त्रिशापवर्षी धनहर्ता गरप्रदः ।
अथर्वहन्ता तेजोघ्नः षडेते आततायिनः ॥ (बृहद्विष्णुः)

[3] गृहक्षेत्रापहर्तारं तथा पत्न्यभिगामिनम् ।
अग्निदं गरदं चैव तथा अभ्युद्यतायुधम् ॥
अभिचारं च कुर्वाणं राजगामि च पैशुनम् ।
एतान्हि लोके धर्मज्ञाः कथयन्त्याततायिनः ॥
(cited in *Daṇḍaviveka*, p. 234).

[4] उदाहरणभूतानां षड्विधानामत्यन्तप्रसिद्धानां षड्विधत्वात् उभयत्र षड्ग्रहणं न पुनः परिसंख्यार्थम् । विधान्तरेणाततायिनां लोके विद्यमानत्वात् । (स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, व्यव, p. 730, Mysore ed.)

[5] ब्रह्महत्या सुरापानं स्तेयं गुर्वङ्गनागमः ।
महान्ति पातकान्याहुः संसर्गश्चापि तैः सह ॥ (मनु, ११, ५४).

[6] मनुष्यमारणं चौर्यं परदाराभिमर्शनम् । (बृहस्पति, व्य, २२, २;) व्यापादो विषशस्त्राद्यैः परदाराभिमर्शनम् । प्राणोपरोधि यच्चान्यदुक्तमुत्तमसाहसम् ॥ (नारद., १७, ६).

one who seeks to kill under the influence of passionate anger or rage. The rage of the defender is generated and justified by the threatening approach of the armed desperado, and is a case of rage confronting rage, and of being overcome by it.[1] Ordinarily a felon will be handed over for punishment to the person who alone is competent to award the proper sentence and carry it out. In the case of some offences, however, prompt self-defence alone can prevent the accomplishment of the grave crime that is attempted, and in the course of resistance, the assailant might receive serious injury to his person or might even be killed. In some cases the death of the assailant alone can prevent the accomplishment of his fell object. It is this aspect that arms the assailed person with the power to resist the assailant even to death. Permitting the assailed person to resist the assailant even to the point of killing him is not the same as enjoining the person assailed to kill the desperado, as a kind of rough justice. As far as possible, the death of the assailant should be avoided, and when it is unavoidable, and occurs the resister who causes it, is held blameless and excused. The emotional condition of the assailed person furnishes an additional justification of the homicide. Two questions are therefore raised in Dharmaśāstra. If the desperado accomplishes his object, kills, ravishes etc., is he to be pursued and killed, instead of being handed over to justice? If he flees, when resisted, and the intended crime is not committed, can he be pursued and killed by the assailed party or by the person who has intervened to prevent the grave crime? Medhātıthi holds that one cannot discriminate between the desperado (*ātatāyin*) who has accomplished his fell purpose and he who is making the attempt, and that both *oan* be summarily killed. The expression "*āyāntam*" in Manu's dictum, as applied to the

[1] 'मन्युस्तं मन्युमृच्छति'। (मनु, ८, ३५१)। 'मन्युः क्रोधाभिमानिनी देवता। स मन्युमृच्छति। नात्र हन्तृहन्तव्यभावोऽस्ति पुरुषयोः। आततायिक्रोधः इतरेण क्रोधेन हन्तव्य इत्यर्थः। (मेधातिथिः)

'*ātatāyin*' is merely descriptive, and his character as an *ātatāyin* is not lost by a desperado, merely because he has succeeded in his object.[1] Aparārka attaches importance to the condition of the mind when mortal retaliation is attempted, and he therefore holds that though the *ātatāyin* can be killed when he is actually attempting the outrage, he cannot be killed subsequently.[2] If a blow will ward off the attack or subdue the assailant, to kill him will be wrong though, if in uncontrollable excitement, the desperado is killed After he is overcome and rendered powerless the attacked person will be held excused, at least as far as *state* punishment for homicide is concerned.

The ancient Hindu law, governing the duty of defence against a desperado, who attempts to rob, murder or ravish, seems so far to be in accord with modern views. Some smṛtis, however, make the slaying of the desperado obligatory and not permissive. In Dharmaśāstra failure to punish one worthy of punishment is held to be a grave royal dereliction of duty, involving expiatory rites.[3] A person exercising the right of private defence cannot reasonably be supposed to be invested with the duty to kill a manifest assassin. But, we have a dictum of Gālava, which lays down that he who slays a desperado (*ātatāyin*), who happens to be also a learned Brāhmaṇa (*Bhrūṇa*), is not guilty of the offence of killing a Bhrūṇa (*Bhrūṇahā*); but, if he fails to kill him, he will be a Bhrūṇa-slayer.[4] That is to say, a desperado caught in the act

[1] आयान्तमिति वचनादागतको हन्तुमभिधावन् दारान् वा जिहीर्षन् हन्तव्यः । कृते तु दोषे किमन्यत् करिष्यतीति उपेक्षा इति श्रुयते । तदयुक्तम् । यतः 'प्रकाशं अप्रकाशं वा' इति वक्ष्यति । समाप्तौ दोषौ करिष्यन्—कृतवांश्च ॥ मेधातिथिः, ८, ३५०).

[2] अत्र च वर्तमानाभिद्रावाक्रियाव्यापार एव आततायिन उच्यन्ते । तद्व्यापारनिवारणं च यत्र वधमन्तरेण न संभवति तत्रैव तद्वधानुज्ञा । यत्र तु दण्डताडनादिप्रहारमात्रेणैव शक्यो निवारयितुं तत्र तद्वधो दोषनिमित्तमेव । [अपरार्कभाष्य, याज्ञ., ३, २२७]

[3] Cf. मनु., ८, १२८—अदण्ड्यान् दण्डयन्राजा दण्ड्यांश्चैवाप्यदण्डयन् । अयशो महदाप्नोति नरकं चैव गच्छति ॥

[4] उद्यम्य शस्त्रमायान्तं भ्रूणमप्याततायिनम् । निहत्य भ्रूणहा न स्यात् अहत्वा भ्रूणहा भवेत् ॥ (गालवः).

must be killed, irrespective of his status and spiritual equipment, and one who fails to kill is guilty. This dictum is also repeated by Devala in the same words.[1] By killing such a desperado, one might rid the world of a dangerous character, but the duty is cast in modern society upon the police or the state, and not upon the person who is attacked

There are two points in which the old and new systems differ in this matter. Dharmaśāstra records the view that when a desperado has been *hired* to kill a person and attacks him, the real offender is the instigator and not the instrument, and that the former *alone* should be punished.[2] No clear rule of Dharmaśāstra can be found which corresponds to section 106 of the Indian Penal Code holding a person to be covered, when in resisting a murderous assault he is unable to make the resistance without grave danger to third parties.

We may now pass on to features of the duty of private defence against a desperado, which are peculiar to Hindu law. In order that the position may be properly grasped, the background against which crime and punishment are viewed in Dharmaśāstra must be understood. In the Hindu (and more widely the Indian) view, life and death imply misery *duḥkha*) and there cannot conceivably be anything more miserable than the perpetuation of suffering through milliards of births.[3] Such reincarnation is inevitable so long as the *karma* of a person continues to furnish the momentum for rebirth. Action has a permanency comparable to that of matter and force. The Law of Karma, which makes every person, throughout time, responsible for all that

[1] *Ibid.*
निहत्य भ्रूणहा न स्यात् अहत्वा भ्रूणहा भवेत् ॥ (देवलः)

[2] यथा विश्वरूपभाष्ये—यस्तु धनक्रीतः परप्रयुक्तो हन्यात्, तस्य स्वामिगामित्वात् क्रियाफलानामृत्विजामिव ब्रह्महत्याजन्यफलसम्भवो नास्त्येव । ननु च 'ब्राह्मणो न हन्तव्यः' इत्याम्नायवचनात् धनाविक्रीतस्यापि ब्रह्महत्यास्त्येव । श्येनादिवदेतद् द्रष्टव्यम् । यथैव श्येनादिजन्ये वधे नर्त्विजां दोषः, तथाऽत्रापि । यथाग्नीषोमीयवधे 'न हिंस्यात् सर्वाणि भूतानि' इति नर्त्विजां न प्रतिषेधो भवति, तथात्रापि । (१, २२२)

[3] See chapter 8 of the *Mokṣakāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru*, passim.

he does (including all he thinks and feels), is in effect a law of the conservation of moral energy. Bad *karma* must be neutralized or overcome by good *karma* Responsibility for action (in the wider sense) lies on the doer, and none else. Man makes or unmakes himself. He carries with him the permanent impression of his actions (*karma*) through countless incarnations. The range of lives or forms into which one might be precipitated by his *karma* is limitless. Within its boundless sweep come men, gods, animals, plants and apparently inanimate objects. In the evaluation of action, looked at from the standpoint of its redemptive power, self-regarding work is lower than the altruistic and unselfish. It is disinterested *karma* that lifts one up. The moral constitution of the universe reflects a benign aspect, and it is part of this that ways of liberation are provided for one who is in the bonds of action (*karmapāśa*). In the time-less social organization, which is repeated in every creation, after every *kalpa*, the means of redemption are provided, in a scheme of social equipoise, which results from every human being discharging his or her appointed duty (*svadharma*). While the evil that a man does survives his mortal dissolution and clings to the self, he may get rid of much of it, before he dies, by resort to suitable means. He who has done evil can expiate his action in two ways, *both* of which must be followed. He can voluntarily or involuntarily undergo at the hands of the king the punishment appointed for his transgression ;—*i.e.* undergo "civil" expiation. He can undergo the prescribed rites of purification (*śuddhi*, *śānti*, *prāyaścitta*) and reduce thereby the burden of evil that clings to him from his evil deed. In accordance with this principle, for *every* civil offence or crime, there is besides its appointed penalty in law, an appropriate ceremonial expiation ; and for ceremonial and spiritual derelictions there are civil penalties appointed, which the king will impose. The distinction between secular and religious aspects of life does not exist in Dharmaśāstra, and it is a mistake to import the distinction into any branch of ancient Hindu thought *e.g.* Arthaśāstra. The distinction

between 'sin' and 'crime' is not real in ancient Indian thought and literature. Thus, in the *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa*[1] we find descriptions of rites which are intended as expiations, not merely for sins, but for crimes such as murder. Among the offences for which we find expiations provided in this work are teaching the Veda to a person to whom it should not be taught, (1, 5-10), sacrificing for a person for whom one should not sacrifice (I, 5, 11), seeing or smelling or eating unclean things (I, 5, 12-13), committing minor sins (*upapātaka*), drinking spirits, accepting presents from a king and accepting forbidden presents generally, killing a cow (I, 7, 7), breach of chastity by a Brahmacārin (I, 7, 9) etc. We find expiations provided for what would now be regarded as crimes, such as murder, rape, seduction, adultery with the wife of the preceptor, assault, abuse, theft, and cheating.[2] The interconnection between what will now be termed sins and crimes is shown by the large space devoted to expiation in the smṛtis.[3] The social balance is sacrosanct, because on its proper maintenance depend not only individual but collective welfare and the advance to the goal of freedom from rebirth (*mokṣa*). *Mokṣa* or *Mukti*, *i.e.* release, is freeing the self from the trammels of *karma* and liability to rebirth and consequential endless suffering. Looked at from this standpoint, the entire system of Hindu social organization is one-pointed. It looks to freedom in the only real and final sense, *i.e.* to *mokṣa*. To ensure the efficiency of the organization to help every one within its sweep to achieve this freedom ultimately and within as short a period as may be possible, a duty devolves on every one to maintain the organization and guard its integrity. Since the *varṇa* in which one is born and the functions he has to discharge in society are not the consequences of what he does in this life, but are consequential on past *karma*, it is

[1] ed. A. C. Burnell, 1873.

[2] See the references in Burnell's Introduction, *supra*, and the *Brāhmaṇa*, I. 6.

[3] Out of 1009 ślokas of याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति, over 300 are devoted to expiations.

impossible to escape from one's station in society and its duties by mere volition or effort.

Where an organization exists, or claims to exist, for subserving the highest common and individual purposes of its members or of those for whose benefit it claims to exist, any one who questions the authority of the organization or who attempts to abolish or change it, will be regarded as a revolutionary, who must be restrained as much in the common interest as of his own misguided self. The concept underlies any organization, call it Church, or State or Empire, which calls for the submission of individual to the imperatives of the common will. Viewed in this way, the postulates of Dharmaśāstra—its foundation in Dharma, and the eternal Vedic sanction behind Dharma—will not appear as illogical and irrational as they are often represented as being In rules which claim to be derived from an infallible and unchallengeable authority, there must *ex hypothesi* be internal consistency and moral integrity, however much they may seem to be absent to a superficial view. Revealed systems have no place for a hypothesis of evolutionary change. In this background, apparently contradictory dicta in Dharmaśāstra must be deemed capable of harmonization, because they really do not conflict; and apparently unfair discriminations must be seen to be grounded on sound ethics, because they *cannot* be otherwise.

A perception of the fundamental basis of Hindu life—or to put it differently—of the basic assumptions of the Hindu scheme of life, is needed for the correct apprehension of every branch of Hindu thought, including Dharmaśāstra. It is particularly needed for a just appraisal of the social, political, economic and legal institutions that find their springs in the primary scheme. It is specially so in criminal jurisprudence. Much of modern caustic denunciation of ancient Hindu penal law, and attempts to compare *Artha* and *Dharma* penal laws, to the advantage of the former, (as by the late K. P. Jayaswal) spring from the failure to start the

study from this angle. Such critics, forget that Arthaśāstra is not a rejected branch of Hindu thought, that it too has "canonical" sanction behind it, that, as the *Mitākṣarā* pointedly observes:[1] "There is no distinction between Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra as the authors of both are of equal authority (*samānakartṛkatā*). Nevertheless, the chief subject of consideration being law (*dharma*), while matters of polity (*artha*) are of subsidiary importance, the rules of the former have more force."

A fuller exposition of the background of Hindu Dharmaśāstra, of which more salient features have been indicated above, is not possible here. But, in the light of what has been stated, it may be possible to proceed to the consideration of some aspects of the application of the doctrine of private defence against a desperado, which might puzzle modern students, unfamiliar with the context in which the rules and their interpretations have been made.

The general rule that a desperado may be resisted, and that he should be resisted, even to the point of causing his death, is of universal applicability, along with the conditions that govern the exercise of the 'right' (according to modern notions) or 'duty' (according to Hindu ideas). They are in line with modern criminal law. But, from the standpoint of Hindu thought, certain difficulties arise which seem to be reflected in dicta that contradict those laying down the duty. The interpretation of the conflicting rules so as to harmonize them, in strict accordance with the hypothesis that there cannot be any internal discord in a law based on the eternal Veda, has exercised the minds of commentators and writers of digests. They have now to be dealt with.

Ahimsā, not causing harm, is a universal precept which finds its source in Vedic sayings like *na himsyāt sarvāṇi bhūtāni* (one should not hurt any living being). It

[1] यद्यपि समानकर्तृकतया अर्थशास्त्रधर्मशास्त्रयोः स्वरूपगतो विशेषो नास्ति तथापि प्रमेयस्य धर्मस्य प्राधान्यादर्थस्य चाप्राधान्याद्धर्मशास्त्रं बलवदित्यभिप्रायः ॥ (मिताक्षरा, २, २१.)

The duty for *all* varṇas to intervene in resisting the desperado having thus been made clear, we may proceed next to a more difficult question, in which opposed texts have to be reconciled. From ancient times it has been laid down as a principle that the *ātatāyin* might be resisted whatever be his status or eminence. Baudhāyana for instance lays down: "He who slays his own Vedic teacher, when the teacher becomes an *ātatāyin*, does not become the slayer of a Bhrūṇa."[1] (Bhrūṇahā—slayer of an embryo, or slayer of a learned Brāhman).[2] Manu makes the rule even clearer:[3] "One may slay without hesitation an *ātatāyin*, who advances with murderous intent, even if he be one's own teacher, a child, a man of advanced age, or a Brāhmaṇa deeply learned in the Vedas. By killing an *ātatāyin*, open or covert, he incurs no guilt; for in that case fury recoils on fury." With small variations this rule is repeated by Viṣṇu, Bṛhaspati, Kātyāyana, Devala, Uśanas and Gālava.[4]

The emphatic form in which this principle is stated, as if no exceptions to it will be allowable, raises difficulties, since it

[1] अध्यापकं कुले जातं यो हन्यादाततायिनम् ।
न तेन भ्रूणहा भवति मन्युस्तं मन्युमृच्छति ॥ (बौ. ध. सू., १, १८, १२).

[2] सूत्रप्रवचनाध्यायी भ्रूणः [बौ. ध. सू., १, ७, ८]

[3] गुरुं वा बालवृद्धौ वा ब्राह्मणं वा बहुश्रुतम् ।
आततायिनमायान्तं हन्यादेवाविचारयन् ॥
नाततायिवधे दोषो हन्तुर्भवति कश्चन ।
प्रकाशं वाऽप्रकाशं वा मन्युस्तं मन्युमृच्छति ॥ (मनु, ८, ३५०–३५१).

[4] गुरुं वा बालवृद्धौ वा ब्राह्मणं वा बहुश्रुतम् ।
आततायिनमायान्तं हन्यादेवाविचारयन् ॥
नाततायिवधे दोषो हन्तुर्भवति कश्चन ।
प्रकाशं वाप्रकाशं वा मन्युस्तं मन्युमृच्छति ॥ विष्णुः (६, १८९-१९०).

स्वाध्यायिनं कुले जातं यो हन्यादाततायिनम् । अहत्वा भ्रूणहा स स्यात् न हत्वा भ्रूणहा भवेत् ॥ नाततायिवधे हन्ता किल्बिषं प्राप्नुयात् क्वचित् । विनाशार्थिनमायान्तं घातयन्नापराध्नुयात् ॥ (बृहस्पतिः : १३, १९, १७); आततायिनमायान्तमपि वेदान्तपारगम् । जिघांसन्तं जिघांसीयात् न तेन भ्रूणहा भवेत् ॥ आततायिनि चोत्कृष्टे तपस्स्वाध्यायजन्मतः । वधस्तत्र तु नैव स्यात् पापे हीने वधो भृगुः ॥ (कात्यायनः) ; for गालव and देवल see footnotes 14 and 15.

runs against clear injunctions (*vidhi*) or prohibitions (*nisedha*) which guarantee immunity from harm to one's parents, teachers, holy persons (*tapasvinah*) and such persons from even minor molestations.[1] A man of advanced years is entitled to veneration, while a child is not to be held responsible for his acts. If the rule of Manu, making no exceptions even in such cases, are mandatory (*vidhi*) there is a conflict of mandate and mandate, *vidhi* against *vidhi*, and a *via media*, in the way of an option (*vikalpa*) will not be open in such a case, as both causing death and harm to such persons and overlooking their offence, if they become *ātatāyins*, are stigmatized.

These have to be construed with the dicta of Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana[2], who after laying down that even such persons should be killed if they are desperadoes, *add* that if one overlooks the crime, and refrains from killing an *ātatāyin*, of Brāhmaṇa birth and superior attainments, when he could be easily killed, he acquires great merit, literally the fruits of horse sacrifice (*aśvamedhaphala*). There are two prose passages ascribed respectively to Saṁvarta and Sumantu, which agree in ruling that there is *doṣa* (sin) in killing an *ātatāyin* Brahmaṇa or cow.[3] The implication is that there is no *judicial* punishment even in such a case for a Brāhmaṇa, while in the case of non-Brāhmaṇa desperadoes, there is liability neither to state punishment for homicide nor penance if they are slain in self-defence.

It is noteworthy that neither Yājñavalkya nor Nārada has any dicta on the subject. The *Mitākṣarā* brings in the

[1] आचार्यं च प्रवक्तारं पितरं मातरं गुरुम् ।
न हिंस्याद् ब्राह्मणान्गाश्च सर्वांश्चैव तपस्विनः ॥ (मनु, ४, १६२).

[2] आततायिनमुत्कृष्टं वृत्तस्वाध्यायसंयुतम् । यो न हन्याद्वधप्राप्तं सोऽश्वमेधफलं लभेत् ॥ (बृहस्पतिः) आततायिनमायान्तमपि वेदान्तपारगम् । जिघांसन्तं जिघांसीयात् न तेन भ्रूणहा भवेत् ॥ (कात्यायनः)

[3] आततायिन्यदोषोऽन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणात् । गोब्राह्मणं यदा हन्यात्तदा प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यात् । (संवर्तः) । नाततायिवधे दोषोऽन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणात्, यथा हतः प्रायश्चित्तं स्यात् । (सुमन्तुः).

topic for discussion, *as an illustration*, in commenting on the dictum[1] that a rule of Dharmas'āstra will supersede one of Arthas'āstra, where the two conflict. Vis'varupa and Aparārka discuss the question under the enumeration of the five *mahā-pātakins*[2] though the section dealing with *sāhasa* is the natural place for the discussion of the topic.

We may now proceed to summarize the views of the chief commentators or *nibandhakāras* in the order of their respective dates.

Let us begin with Medhātithi (*c* 825 A.D.). He holds that Manu, VIII, 348[3] enjoins all twice-born men to carry arms, and to use them in the traditional six cases in which every twice-born has an obligation to intervene with arms. Manu's rule about unhesitating killing of a desperado, even if he be a preceptor, a child or an aged person,[4] is mere commendatory declamation. What is intended is that the duty to resist the desperado is coupled with freedom to kill him, even in extreme cases; it does not mean that in those extreme cases it would justify killing. The text sanctions not only resistance of the desperado but attack on him in such cases as abduction of one's wife etc. whether attempted or accomplished. The unresisted desperado is the worst kind of offender and has his special punishment from the king.[5]

Vis'varūpa, whose commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* is the oldest extant, is not inferior to Medhātithi either

[1] स्मृत्योर्विरोधे न्यायस्तु बलवान् व्यवहारतः ।
अर्थशास्त्रात्तु बलवद्धर्मशास्त्रमिति स्थितिः ॥ (याज्ञवल्क्य, २, २१).

[2] ब्रह्महा मद्यपस्स्तेनस्तथैव गुरुतल्पगः ।
एते महापातकिनो यश्च तैः सह संवसेत् ॥
(याज्ञ. ३, २२२ in विश्वरूप, and ३, २२७ in अपरार्क and मिताक्षरा).

[3] See n. 28 *supra*.

[4] Manu, VIII, 350.—गुर्वादिग्रहणमर्थवादः (मेधातिथिः).

[5] इह साहसिके दण्डो नाम्नातः । स दण्डपारुष्ये द्रष्टव्यः । इह त्वधिकतरः यत उक्तं 'विशेषः पापकृत्तम' इति (मेधा, ८, ३५१).

in subtlety or analytical power, or in taking independent views. He belongs roughly to the same period as the great commentator on *Manusmṛti*. Since Yājñavalkya has no text dealing directly with *ātatāyivadha*, commentators on his smṛti, who discuss the topic, bring up the question indirectly. Viśvarūpa takes up the matter in his discussion of the enumeration (III, 222) of the five cardinal sinners (*pañca-mahāpātakinaḥ*) and the determination of their turpitude.[1] Vijñāneśvara brings up the question as an illustration of conflict of authority, under a dictum (II, 21) laying down the superior force of a Dharma text over an Artha text.[2] Viśvarūpa differentiates between types of Brāhmaṇa assailants in cases of homicide and of Brāhmaṇa victims in such cases. The person killed may be one of two types of *ātatāyins* . the enemy in battle, and the desperado who makes a threatening advance. In both cases no *moral* turpitude will attach if the assailant or foe (even if he be a Brāhmaṇa) is killed ; and of course there will no criminal liability in either case. If the person killed is not an assailant of either of these types, it is plain murder, which makes the slayer culpable both legally and morally.[3] Viśvarūpa makes a curious distinction here from the standpoint of agency in the perpetration of the murder. If one is hired to murder another person, the turpitude adheres to the hirer, and not to the assassin who actually kills, on the analogy of the merits accruing from a sacrifice, performed for a man by *ṛtviks* (priests) engaged for the purpose accruing to the hirer

[1] See f. n. 39 *supra.*

[2] See f. n. 38 *supra.*

[3] यो ब्राह्मणं स्वातन्त्र्येण प्रयोजकत्वेन वा हन्ति घातयति वा, स ब्रह्महा। ब्रह्महा चैव पतन्ति चत्वार इत्यत्र आततायिसङ्ग्रामव्यतिरेकेण यो ब्राह्मणमन्येनाप्रयुक्तः स्वातन्त्र्येण हन्यादन्यं वा द्रव्यदानादिना वशीकृत्य घातयति स प्रत्येतव्यः। कुत एतत्। 'आततायिनं हत्वा नास्य प्राणानाच्छेत्तुः किल्बिषमाहुः' इति वचनात्। आततायिनमायान्तमिति वचनात् सङ्ग्रामाभ्यनुज्ञा। (विश्वरूपः, ३, २२२).

rather than to the actual performer of the sacrifice.[1] The context in which this conclusion is reached relates only to the *spiritual* turpitude or liability, *i.e.*, the offence considered as a sin which is capable or not of being expiated. If it was made general, it will be in open conflict with modern ideas of abetment of murder, in which the abettor is punishable in the same way and to the same degree as the actual perpetrator.[2]

It is noteworthy that Lakṣmīdhara ignores the contentious topic, and is followed in this respect by his imitators Caṇḍeśvara and Vācaspatimiśra. It cannot be construed as oversight. He upholds the rules which prohibit the infliction of capital punishment on members of the first *varṇa* and of the consideration due to Brāhmaṇas and men of rectitude and learning. But as he makes no reference to the inhibitions of the Kaliyuga (*Kalivarjya*) anywhere in his digest, the interpretation of Manu's dictum (that the *ātatāyin* may be slain without hesitation, even if he be a preceptor, child, aged person or a highly learned Brāhmaṇa) that it applies not to this age but to former ages, will not be endorsed by him. It is possible that, like his contemporaries, Govindarāja (the commentator on *Manusmṛti*) and Vijñāneśvara, he construed the verse as declamatory and as merely intended as an argument *a fortiori*, since manifestly the instances imagined in the verse are most unlikely. A venerated preceptor or a highly learned *vipra* is as unlikely to become a desperado as a child or a man over eighty.

The *Mitākṣarā* attempts to meet the conflict of authority thus. The rule that a person who intentionally kills a Brāhmaṇa must atone for it is Dharmaśāstra text, while the rules which declare that a Brāhmaṇa desperado may be killed or

[1] See page 7, n. 2.

[2] See *Indian Penal Code*, Sec. 109; and for the English Law of accessory liability, Kenny, *op. cit.*, pp. 86—90. कात्यायन (ed. Kane), ८१२-८१४ describes different types of aiders and accessories; holds them to be as much perpetrators as the principals, but leaves discretion as to their punishment to the King: यथाशक्त्यनुरूपं तु दण्डमेषां प्रकल्पयेत् ।

even a child or aged person, who is an *ātatāyin*, are Artha-śāstra texts which are over-ruled by the former under Yājña-valkya's decision. Manu's dictum is not a *vidhi*, *i.e.* it is not mandatory. The sentences constitute an *arthavāda* (glorificatory or declamatory statement) and embody no injunction (*vidhi*). There *is* guilt even in accidentally killing a Brāhmaṇa *ātatāyin* in self-defence, when the death has been caused by pure inadvertence and with every intention of avoiding the slaughter of the assailant. But, this guilt will be deemed slight, will not entail state-punishment and will need only a mild expiation. The *Mitākṣarā* appears to imply that the dictum really refers to desperadoes other than Brāhmaṇas, and that the latter have been brought in solely to stress the right of defence against the others.[1]

Govindarāja, who also belongs to the first half of the twelfth century, considers that the statement that even children, old men and learned Brāhmaṇas can be killed if they are *ātatāyins* is an *arthavāda* and argument *a fortiori* (*kaimutika*), while the general rule is contained in the two preceding verses (Manu, VIII, 348-349) holding a person blameless when he kills an enemy in self-defence or in one or other of the stated circumstances in which even non-Kṣatriyas are enjoined to take up arms. He takes the same view as Medhātithi (though he does not mention the name of that authority) as regards the general permission to all *dvijas* 'and others' to bear arms, contained in the first quarter of verse VIII, 346. He who hurts or kills an enemy in one of the stated occasions, with the arms he bears, is not liable for punishment for *sāhasa*. There is no culpability, and no liability to either punishment for *sāhasa* or for the expiation prescribed for it, in cases of killing an *ātatāyin* of any of the

[1] 'नाततायिवधे दोषो हन्तुर्भवति कश्चन' इत्येतदपि ब्राह्मणादिव्यतिरिक्तविषयमेव । ब्राह्मणादय आततायिनश्च आत्मादित्राणार्थं हिंसानभिसंधिना निवार्यमाणाः प्रमादाद्यदि विपद्येरन् तत्र लघुप्रायश्चित्तं राजदण्डाभावश्चेति निश्चयः । (मिताक्षरा, २, २१).

six types mentioned by Vasiṣṭha, when the killing is effected by open or covert means.[1]

Aparārka, who also belongs to the twelfth century, considers the liability to the sin of slaying a Brāhmaṇa under Yājñavalkya's enumeration of the five cardinal sinners (III, 227). He cites the dictum of Vasiṣṭha (wrongly ascribing it to Vyāsa) as authority for the rule that there is no *brahmahatyā* when the person killed is an *ātatāyin*,[2] but further on he *limits* the exemption to cases in which the assailant is killed when he is actually making the attack or in the course of the struggle, and when it is impossible for the defender to save himself by the application of any force short of that which kills the assailant.[3] The pursuit and slaying of assailant vanquished, is by implication forbidden.[4] As far as possible an attempt should be made, when warding off the attack of the *ātatāyin*, not to kill him. Otherwise, there will accrue liability to expiation for the sin of *brahmahatyā*[5] Aparārka's deliberate omission to quote *Manusmṛti*, VIII, 351,[6] and the drift of his remarks, justify the conclusion that the destruction of an *ātatāyin* by *secret* means such as sorcery (*abhicāra*) is not regarded by him as allowable, though to commentators

[1] ब्राह्मणादिभिश्च खड्गादि आयुधं ग्रहीतव्यम्। यस्मिन् काले वर्णाश्रमिणां धर्मं कर्तुं न दीयते चौरादिभिः, तत्र तथा द्विजादीनां राजाभावपरचक्राक्षेपकारादिभिः कालकृते वर्णानां सङ्करे, तथा आत्मनश्च शरीरदारादिरक्षायां, दक्षिणासंबन्धिनि धने अपहारनिमित्तसंग्रामे, स्त्रीब्राह्मणरक्षायां च, कूटयुद्धेन तेन शस्त्रेण अन्यायगतिकः परां हिंसया प्रत्यवैति। एवं चात्र साहसदण्डो न कार्यः। वसिष्ठोक्ता गुरुबालवृद्धब्राह्मणानामप्यन्यतमं आततायिनं अविलम्बमानो हन्यादेव किमुतान्यमपि पूर्वार्धवाक्यमायस्यात्। प्रकाशं युद्धेन अप्रकाशं चाभिचारेण च आततायिमरणे हन्तुर्न कश्चिदपि अधमदण्डप्रायश्चित्ताख्यो दोषो भवति।

[2] आततायिनं तु ब्राह्मणमपि हतवतो न ब्रह्महत्यं इति व्यास आह। (पृ. १०४२).

[3] तद् व्यापारनिवारणं च यत्र वधमन्तरेण न संभवति तत्रैव तद्वधानुज्ञा। यत्र तु दण्डशस्त्रादिप्रहारमात्रेणैव शक्यो निवारयितुं तत्र तु तद्वधो दोषनिमित्तमेव। (पृ. १०४३).

[4] अत्र च वर्तमानाभिधानाद्विव्यापार एव आततायिन उच्यन्ते। (पृ. १०४१).

[5] यत्र गोब्राह्मणवधादौ तत्प्रहारमात्राद्विना शक्य आत्मा त्रातुं तत्र तद्वधकारी ब्रह्महत्यादिपातकवान् भवत्येव। (पृ. १०४४).

[6] नाततायिवधे दोषो हन्तुर्भवति कश्चन। प्रकाशं वाप्रकाशं वा—[८, ३५१].

like Govindarāja, the words "*prakāśaṁ vā aprakāśam*" refer to the mode of removal of the assailant, and not to the mode of his attack on the offender. Consideration for even a manifest offender is an emphatic recognition of the right to freedom from molestation and loss of life and liberty of every individual, and it is significant that the writer who upholds the right was a king.

Aparārka's strong commonsense is shown by his observations on the well-known dicta in smṛtis[1] which refer to giving food, shelter and fire to thieves as themselves equal to thieves and punishable as such, and which roughly correspond to the rule in modern law about harbouring offenders.[2] Aparārka brings the topic up in his discussion of what constitutes a *mahāpātaka*. If one gives food (*bhaktadāyakaḥ*) to a criminal, with the object of encompassing some one's murder, then the giver of food is as guilty as the actual perpetrator, but not otherwise. If the gravamen of the offence of "harbouring" (to use the modern expression) lies in merely giving food or necessaries to a person, who manifestly needs them, then, by analogy, a father is culpable for giving birth to a son, who turns out a criminal, and a person who, as an act of charity, digs a well into which a Brāhmana accidentally falls is guilty of the offence of *brahmahatyā*.[3] If a Brāhmaṇa who has been assaulted, or robbed of all his belongings by another person, wishes to make him suffer the sin of his death, and with that end

[1] अग्निदान् भक्तदांश्चैव तथा शस्त्रावकाशदान्।
संनिधातॄंश्च मोषस्य हन्याच्चौरमिवेश्वरः॥

(मनु, ९, २८८); भक्तावकाशाग्न्युदकमन्त्रोपकरणव्ययान्। दत्त्वा चौरस्य वा हन्तुर्जानतो दम उत्तमः। (याज्ञ., २, २७६).

[2] Cf. *Indian Penal Code*, Section 212.

[3] भक्तदायकादयः परमरणमभिसंधाय यदि भक्तादि प्रयच्छन्ति तदा वधहेतवो न भक्तादिदानमात्रेण। यदि तन्मात्रेण हेतुता स्यात् तदा पित्रोरपि पुत्रं जनयितोः तत्कर्तृकासु कुशलाकुशलक्रियासु हेतुता स्यात्। धर्मार्थनिर्मितकूपादौ च प्रमादपातिब्राह्मणमृत्युहेतुता कूपकर्तुरापद्येत। न चैवमस्ति कारणकारणत्वेनाकारणत्वात्। (पृ. १०४२).

commits suicide by throwing himself into the above well, it is the person aimed at (*utkṛṣṭaḥ*) who becomes a *brahmaghātaka*—and not the well-meaning provider of the well.[1] Aparārka envisages here a case of conflict between ethics and law, when one is called upon to decide between his humane feeling to give food to a starving wretch, or abstain from doing so from suspicion or even knowledge that the famished person is a thief or criminal.[2]

Kullūka (*c.* 1225 A.D.) quotes with approval the opinion of Medhātithi and Govindarāja that the mention of assailants like learned Brāhmanas is merely to emphasize the conclusion by an *a fortiori* argument. If the assailant is a Brāhmaṇa the assailed person should try to evade the *sin* of killing such a person (which will accrue irrespective of the cause of intervention) by flight or other means, but if that be impossible, the assailant might be killed unhesitatingly.[3] This possibility is considered and passed over by Medhātithi, obviously because one is under an obligation to go to the rescue of women and others who are attacked, and if the *ātatāyin* in such cases is a Brāhmaṇa, flight for the purpose of avoiding the sin of *brahmahatyā* will be a manifest dereliction of the duty of rescuing those violently attacked.

Smṛticandrikā (which belongs to the same period as Kullūka has a long discussion on the subject, in which all the relevant authorities are cited and considered.[1] Its conclusions

[1] यथाहमनेन आक्रुष्टस्ताडितो निर्धनो वा कृत इति आत्मानं हन्मीत्यभिसंधायात्मनि व्यापादिते भवति, आक्रोशादिकर्तुः तद्व्यापत्तौ हेतुता, न पुन कूपादावेवं, न हि तत्र भवति यस्मादेवमेतदर्थं कूपो निर्मितः तस्मादहमत्र पतामीत्यभिसंधिः । यत्र तु आक्रोशताडनादिसंबन्धमन्तरेण भ्रान्त्यादिवशेन परमुद्दिश्य ब्राह्मण आत्मानं हन्ति तत्र हन्तुरेव दोषः । (पृ. १०४२).

[2] Aparārka is more reasonable and humane than the authorities who punished as 'harbourers' those who gave drinking water to the persons who undertook the march to Vedāraṇyam in the 'Salt Satyāgraha' of 1930.

[3] वधोद्यतमागच्छन्तं विद्यादिभिरुत्कृष्टं पलायनादिभिरपि स्वनिस्तरणाशक्तौ निर्विचारं हन्यात् । मेधातिथिगोविन्दराजौ तु गुर्वादिकमपि हन्यात् किमुतान्यमपि इति व्याचक्षाते । (मन्वर्थमुक्तावलि: ८, ३५०).

[1] Mysore edn. व्यवहारकाण्ड, pp. 724-732.

are briefly these. Not only in self-defence but in six other instances, upheld traditionally for such intervention, even Brāhmaṇas and Vais'yas can use arms and fight. The class of *ātatāyin* includes not only assailants but also animals. Among them there may be Brāhmaṇas of merit as well as kine, both of whom are upheld as immune from attack or slaughter. The *ātatāyin*, who rushes towards a person with the obvious intention of killing, may be killed by the person attacked, and no sin or state punishment will follow the act. Medhātithi's view is correct that the assailant is killed because of his character as a desperado, and not because he has accomplished or failed to accomplish his object. *Smṛticandrikā* accordingly holds that the criminal can be killed even after he has killed the assailed person, or ravished the woman he has assualted criminally[1] The desperado, who has been prevented by the defender from commiting the offence he had come for, and is made to desist, cannot be killed without sin after he is rendered powerless for harm. He should be taken prisoner and handed over for judgment. While the Brāhmaṇa desperado, who comes with the intention of killing may be killed with impunity and without hesitation, the same person, if he only makes an unsuccessful attempt to abduct or outrage a wife or seize property is not to be killed but any harm, which is not mortal done to the assailant is blameless. In all cases emphasis will be on methods of resistance which are only in accord with Dharma (*dharmeṇa ghātayan*).

The consideration of the topic of *ātatāyivadha* may be closed with a summary of the discussions of the question by three of the most prominent authorities of the first half of the seventeenth century, which witnessed a great efflorescence of Dharmas'āstra at Benares. In order of seniority in age

[1] कृतघ्नमिति आततायी नोपेक्ष्यः अप्रकाशवधेऽपि दोषाभावं वदन् मनुरप्युपघ्नं कृत्वा गतेऽप्याततायिनि विवादनाद्विना वधो न दोषाय इति दर्शयति, उपघ्नस्य च विवादासंभवात्। (pp. 728 729).

the first of these is Nandapaṇḍita, whose extensive commentary on Viṣṇusmṛti, named *Keśavavaijayantī* or *Vaijayantī* for short, is virtually a digest, just as other early commentaries like the *Mitākṣarā* were. The second is Mitramiśra the author of *Vīramitrodaya*, which has the distinction of being the biggest and most complete digest of Dharmaśāstra composed. The third is Nīlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa, the younger contemporary of the other two at Benares and the author of the *Bhagavanta-Bhāskara*, with twelve sections, each of which dealt with a head of Dharma and was named a *Mayūkha*. Mitramiśra's remarks on the subject are brought in at the beginning of the *Vyavahāraprakāśa*, the section dealing with *Vyavahāra*, in his *nibandha*. He follows the lead of the *Mitākṣarā* in taking up the question as an illustration of the conflict of laws and of the need to use *yukti* in determining controverted topics and not depend merely on the literal interpretation of the texts.[1] Nīlakaṇṭha finds room for the topic in both his *Rāja-Nītimayūkha*[2] and *Vyavahāra-mayūkha* under *sāhasam*.[3] Nandapaṇḍita's work, which has not been hitherto accessible even in manuscripts, is now being published serially in the Adyar Library Bulletin.[4]

Mitramiśra passes in review earlier discussions. His own position is this. The general principle is that no living being should be hurt. Whoever violates this rule is liable both to civil punishment and to expiation, according to the nature and extent of the injury inflicted. The rules which call upon even Brāhmaṇas to take up arms in certain circumstances—generally speaking in self-defence or in defence of others or to quell disorder—and as a consequence, confer on them the freedom to kill their opponents is an exception to the general

[1] *Ātatāyivadha* is one of three cases considered by Mitramiśra to prove the necessity of intelligent construction of rules (pp. 13-14, Chowkamba edn.)

[2] *Nītimayūkha* (Gujarati Press edn., 1921, pp. 99-100).

[3] Ed. Kane, 1926, pp. 240-242.

[4] It is being edited for the Adyar Library by the present writer and Mr. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, M.A., L.T.

rule. Under this exception killing a Brāhmana will entail neither punishment nor expiation. The verse (Manu., VIII. 350) that even a *guru* or a child or an old man can be killed is an exception to the exception,[1] and it limits exemption from expiation and punishment except when they too are slain only in self-defence, or through inadvertence in the course of a struggle.

Nīlakaṇṭha accepts the conclusions of *Smṛticandrikā* as correct in both his discussions of the topic. A Brahmāṇa felon, who advances with murderous intent, may be slain; a Brahmāṇa felon who commits or attempts to commit anything less grave than homicide cannot be slain but may be subjected to any rigor short of death; and in *all* circumstances, *ātatāyins* of *all* types who belong to the other *varṇas* can be slain without compunction. He takes Sumantu's text laying down that "there is no sin in putting an *ātatāyin* to death, unless the *ātatāyin* is a Brahmaṇa or a cow"[2] as establishing the standing rule, to which the other rules about killing even Brāhmaṇas, children, old men etc., are only exceptions. As regards such texts, he contends that they are not mandatory, *i.e.*, they do not lay down that the Brāhmaṇa aggressor *must* be killed—and are declamatory (*arthavāda*) and they are brought in as an argument *a fortiori* (*kaimutika-nyāya*). This is his position in the *Nītimayūkha*. In the later *Vyavahāramayūkha* he reiterates it but advances the further argument that under the list of actions forbidden in *Kaliyuga* (*Kalivarjya*) the killing of the Brahmana *ātatāyin* is specifically prohibited in the present age, and that the texts which lay down the permissibility of, or the obligation to kill a Brāhmaṇa desperado were valid only in past *Yugas*, and are now obsolete.[3]

[1] मम तु प्रतिभाति सत्यपि 'गुरुं वा' इत्यादीनां प्रतिप्रसवविधित्वेन तेषां अर्थशास्त्रत्वम्। (व्यवहारप्रकाशः).

[2] न आततायिवधे दोषोऽन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणात्। (सुमन्तुः).

[3] कलौ वधोद्यतस्याततायिनो विप्रस्य हननं निषिद्धम्। युगान्तरे तु वध्य एव। अन्यस्त्वाततायिविप्रः सर्वेष्वपि युगेष्ववध्यः क्षत्रियादिस्त्वाततायी सर्वोऽपि सर्वयुगेषु वध्य इति दिक्। (व्य. मयूख., २४२.)

Nandapaṇḍita also considers that the texts on the killing of a Brāhmaṇa *ātatāyin* are not mandatory and lack Vedic sanction,[1] and that the illustrations of the extent of the right of self-defence—*i.e.* that in the exercise of the right one might even kill his own teacher, or a child or a man of venerable years—are brought in by way of stressing the right and are not to be taken literally. They help an *a fortiori* argument. If we look at the texts we find that the smṛtis seem to contradict one another, while of course it cannot be the case. Thus, it is laid down that it is wrong *not* to kill an *ātatāyin*, again wrong to kill him, and still again that it is meritorious not to slay him, when he is in your power. These contradictions are unreal. The first set of rules apply to *ātatāyins*, who are not Brāhmaṇas or cows, and who need not be spared; the second relate to desperadoes who are not a danger to life but to property etc.; and the third to cases in which an assailed person can escape the sin following the slaughter of an excepted *ātatāyin* by flight or other means of escape[2] from inflicting a mortal injury on the assailant. It will be seen that Nandapaṇḍita stands for the immunity of the Brāhmaṇa and the cow from death, even in self-defence. He does not defend the position by referring to the inhibition of the killing of Brāhmaṇa *ātatāyins* in the Kaliyuga. This is significant as the list of inhibitions in Kaliyuga (*kalivarjya*) was well-known in the 17th century.

We may now restate the position of Dharmaśāstra *i.e.* the 'Hindu Code' on the right of self-defence. The rules of the smṛtis appear on the face of it to recognize the right of every man to his own freedom and to resist any form of personal attack, without any exception, based on the extent to which resistance could be carried and the persons who can be resisted to the limit of causing the death of the aggressor. The

[1] नायं विधिरागमाप्राप्तत्वात् । (वैजयन्ती).

[2] इदमपि पलायनादि असम्भवे चोदितव्यम् । (वैजयन्ती)

right (as it will seem to modern minds) is really a *duty*; for it is a fundamental duty that every person should prevent his own death. As such a duty can hardly be fulfilled effectively unless one is armed to resist an armed attack, exceptions have to be made to the rules restricting the duty of social defence and the capacity to bear and use arms to Kṣatriyas. If in normal times every person is not tied up to the duties (and consequential inhibition) of his *varṇa*, the social order will be upset. For example, the ordinary functions and duties of the first and the third *varṇas* are not compatible with military pursuits or the temptation to use arms; a teacher and a trader have no use for them There should be *no* laxity in the rigor of the delimitation of functions. This is why Āpastamba will not allow a Brāhmaṇa to draw a sword (from its sheath) even for an inspection, and Baudhāyana will not allow a Brāhmaṇa to possess arms even for protecting his wife. Āpastamba shows the germ of the idea of different rules of Dharma for different cycles or ages, in his declaration that to bear arms will be a dereliction of duty (*vyatikrama*) and the derelictions of the kind in past ages cannot confer the same right on one in this age, because the men of an earlier age possessed a power (literally 'lustre' *tejas*) which enabled them to overcome the violation of the rule.[2] The position of the early *sūtrakāra* relates only to the consideration of *one* side of the question: is it right or wrong for the Brāhmaṇa to have and use arms? Obviously, the prohibition of a Brāhmaṇa to use arms, will, apart from all moral imperatives prohibiting every one from criminal actions, apply to a desperado of that caste also. But, such a person has to be dealt with only by the 'king', *i.e.*, by the state or society, and awarded the proper punishment and penance for his crime and sin. It will not justify summary justice that

[1] दृष्टो धर्मव्यतिक्रमः साहसं च पूर्वेषाम्। तेषां तेजोविशेषेण प्रत्यवायो न विद्यते (आप. ध. सू., २, १३, ७-८).

[2] 'न हन्यात् सर्वाणि भूतानि' इति श्रुतेः। (वै.)

may be inflicted on a felon by a person who has been attacked. There is also the divine rule, resting on the Vedic sanction, not to harm any living being.[1] A Brāhmaṇa who is subjected to a murderous attack by another Brāhmana transgresses the rule against bearing and using arms, and the rule against harming any being, and if he kills his assailant, he incurs the additional *doṣa* of brahmanicide (*brahmahatyā*) which is one of the five cardinal sins for which there is only the most severe expiation (*mahāpātaka*); and there is also ordinarily capital punishment. The assailant is of course equally an offender against both rules, and is in addition more culpable by his manifest intention of committing murder. He is an outlaw, to whom the protection of ordinary law is unavailable; he can therefore be summarily killed when resisted in the perpetration of his crime. This general principle, which will be unassailable, as between man and man, is modified when the assailant belongs to the first *varṇa* or, among animals which *may* be able to kill with fangs, claws or horns, is the sacred cow. Are they to be protected to the extent of the would-be victim of the murderous attack meekly submitting to the attack and losing his life, rather than violate the sanctity of the aggressor? Obviously, this would be to ask for too much of human nature. There is also a duty on every one to save himself,[2] which will render submission to a murderous attack mere suicide (which is severely condemned). The law will not accordingly admit of any exception to the rule that in self-defence any manifest criminal, whose assault causes an apprehension of death, can be slain in self-defence without incurring reproach, state punishment or even spiritual culpability necessitating rites of expiation. This was probably the original position reached as regards to the unrestricted character of private defence against felonious attack, and its permitting even the killing of

[1] सर्वत एव आत्मानं गोपायेदिति श्रुतिः । (बै.)

[2] Cf. *Manusmṛti*, Books I, XI and XII, and *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, III, *passim*.

the assailant (irrespective of his position or status) in pure self-defence.

Life and person are not more entitled to protection than a woman whose chastity or freedom are threatened with violation. A self-regarding act is morally on a lower level than a disinterested one. In building up the means of overcoming the effects of one's *karma* (which propel a person into new lives, after he finishes his mortal career) disinterested action (*niṣkāma-karma*) has a very high place. The humane impulse to run to the rescue of a woman who is attacked by a desperado is reinforced by the theory of the merit of disinterested service. A social or civic duty has thus a religious sanction also behind it. The defence of a woman against outrage is not inferior to the defence of a man's own life or freedom, in the imperative call to his manhood to resist the outrage; it may even be superior, in view of its disinterested character. If it be granted that the mystic sanctity attached to the first *varṇa* and the cow has well-founded justification in a scheme of existence which thinks in terms, not of the span of human life, but of eternity, and whose scale of values rests on cosmic and not mundane reactions to individual *karma*, the inclusion of the protection of both these in the category of defence against a felonious attack may be intelligible. Modern society does not require any arguments to convince it of the duty of every one to intervene to the limit of his powers in defence of society in social and political convulsions. The extension of the case of self-preservation and the arming of disarmed classes is logically capable of extension to other cases. The traditional six instances (in which even the neutralized Brāhmaṇa has a duty to intervene and fight) emerge in law, and those who intervene in them are accorded the protection or immunity from consequences that is obviously due to one who is fighting desperately for his life against a murderous enemy. A corresponding extension of the applicability of the term *ātatāyin* (which may be *roughly* treated as equal to felon who is beyond the protection of law) is

demanded. The ravisher, the kidnapper, the destroyer of public utilities (like irrigation bunds), the violent trespasser, the robber who is ready to kill, and many others come within the category. The common feature of them all is that in the perpetration of their nefarious acts, they *must* be resisted, and they can even be killed if it is not possible to save their victims in any other way. In their attitude to the immunities enjoyed by private persons in the resistance to violent attacks against themselves or against their wives or property, or attacks on others, and in grave social crimes, modern law has not travelled far from ancient Hindu criminal law. Nor have the safeguards against the hasty or improper use of the immunity been more carefully evolved and defined in modern law than in Dharmaśāstra. In one respect (attitude to treatment of 'harbouring') the older law will be found to be more reasonable. Such questions as intention, mental state of the assailant and the defender, the exact point at which a desperado ceases to be a menace (and need not therefore be subjected to summary justice) and the upholiding of the right of even a criminal to elementary human rights, will be seen to be discussed with independence, vigor and relentless logic by Hindu jurists who, between themselves, are prepared to differ and not meekly bow to mere authority. These features will not strike any one familiar with the literature of ancient Indian thought as new or ungeneral. But, the same jurists have discussed with acumen and subtlety the limits of the exemption of the Brāhmaṇa, or the child or the sage, if they prove a menace to one's life or liberty at any moment. The texts and commentaries which uphold the immunities cannot be summarily dismissed as superstitious or as manifestations of selfish class consciousness and partiality. Hindu India has not known of a clerical class or such immunized institutions as a church and "benefit of the clergy." The Hindu jurists who stand for wide safeguards against the abuse of even the duty of self-defence, and who uphold as a virtue abstention from killing a disarmed desperado, are not mawkish sentimentalists

but hard-headed men of the world who condemn, in public interests, the application of more force, even in self-defence, than is absolutely necessary for safety of person or property, and who abhor lynch law. The discussions of lawyers who consider with meticulous care the limits of immunity which may be accorded to the aged, the infirm, the feeble-minded or those under violent emotion, (spontaneous or artificially induced) and who uphold at the same time the inviolability of the person and life of a Brāhmaṇa, should make one pause before dismissing them as due to unreasoning prejudice or communal feeling. Their views prevailed in actual life, and guided administrations. The lawyers who gave voice to the conclusions were a mere handful of men, among the microscopic minority that constituted the first *varṇa*. Wealth, political position and armed strength, and even organization, such as have enabled oligarchies known to history to maintain their power and privilege, were not theirs. Neither the people nor their rulers were illiterate or ignorant. Nevertheless society acquiesced in the views, and rulers like Aparārka concurred and must have obviously put them into force. In the seventeenth century, when *nibandhakāras*, who were masters of Mīmāmsā and Vedānta abounded in Benares, and digests of Dharma were composed under royal patronage, their authors re-examined the question, and came to the conclusion that the immunities of the Brāhmaṇa *ātatāyin* were clearly laid down in the scriptures. The accident that such mediaeval writers were Brāhmaṇas (though living under Moslem rule) has lent colour to the charge that they defended their own order, inspired by selfish class prejudice. What had these writers to gain by standing up for an *academic* position, in an age when the immunity was not likely to come within practical politics? Their mental trend and their training made them attach little value to wordly advantages or to any hankering for life, for themselves or others. A writer should not be hastily accused of inconsistency if there seems to be a discord between *our* notions of right and wrong and *his*. We must

know his conception of ultimate realities, and of the society in which he lived and which responded to his guidance. To the thoughtful Hindu our life is a mere hyphen between two eternities. In a cosmic scheme, which seeks to transcend time and space, the dominating position of an irresistible law of consequences (or retribution), necessitates consideration of only permanent welfare and not of transitory, and the concentration of all human effort on attaining the goal of liberation from the rebirth, and the re-sentencing to the misery, which we call life. The idea that every man must—to borrow a western expression—"bear his own cross" *i.e.* work out his expiation by suffering is implicit in the belief. Hindu thought, dominated by the doctrine of *karma*, knows of no vicarious expiation. What Dharma does to help a person is to show him the way to redeem himself, and shorten the pilgrimage of the self through milliards of births. The way of a moral derelict is long and weary. The modes of retributive cosmic justice are many. They include reincarnation, in higher or lower forms of life, detention in supramundane spheres to undergo appointed penal means of purification which burn up the effects of the lapses, and the determination of the station in life that the being will occupy when projected again by *prāktana-karma* into this life. The king (as head of society) has a two-fold duty: to prevent wrongs and to punish wrong-doing. Punishment is not meant to vindicate an outraged law, but is deliberately remedial and curative. He who undergoes punishment, at the hands of the king, for an offence against Dharma (*i.e.* law or morality) goes far to shed the *duṣkarma* that results from his offence. The punishment takes the form of a civil penalty (fine, imprisonment, stripes, and death) and expiatory rites. It is not the *king* who is defied, when a person commits a crime, but Dharma. The king is not even the author of retribution—for retribution is invitable as a law of nature. An offender may escape the policeman, judge and king, but he cannot escape the eternal law and its sentence. King and priest step in to help, and

not to be the implementers of social retaliation. In Hindu belief the penalties and the expiations, which are indicated in smṛtis, are based on the experience of seers (*ṛṣis*) who have indicated them. This is why the minutest variations in penal rules between smṛti and smṛti are scrutinized by legists and canvassed anxiously and reconciled. They do not ask why a Brāhmaṇa is born one, and why a cow is 'sacred;' the fact that they are so is simply accepted. The law of *karma* is inexorable. To its operation there can be no impediment, and no exceptions. It admits of no immunities or privilege. The desperado who forfeits his life, either by judicial sentence or in a stuggle, has made an expiation which he who is immune from civil punishment and mortal retaliation is denied. From a long-range view the latter is worse off than the former. This is in accordance with two principles which underlie Dharmaśāstra. They are: (1) there is no offence, civil or moral, for which there is no ultimate expiation *i.e.*, there are no irredeemable sins; (2) punishment and expiation are proportioned not only to the crime or offence but to the mental and physical capacity of the guilty person, and to his position in the social order. An offender may be dealt with by the king, or may, in extreme cases, suffer summary justice, as in that of the desperado; and in any case he will be dealt with by the law of consequences, which we call *karma*. It is essentially a question not of punishment or immunity, because punishment is inevitable, but of the authority which should inflict it. The first *varṇa*, like every other, has its appointed duties, which must be done, if any member of the *varṇa* is to escape the guilt of a lapse. An examination of its duties and functions will disclose their uneconomic, and unworldly character, and from a modern layman's standpoint their *unattractive* nature. Social pre-eminence and the prestige which accompanies it are the only rewards for its members. Poverty and a hard life of study, meditation, unremunerated teaching, and service to others in educational and spiritual endeavours are to be their preoccupation,

according to the smṛtis. In a system of social organization which claims to rest on sanctions which are super-mundane and eternal, and whose efficiency depends on willing acceptance of every member of the organization of his duties, the upset which follows any disturbance is more to be feared, for its effects, seen and unseen, than overlooking the liability of a few guilty persons to the penalties which they seem to merit, looked at from a political angle. The immunities which churches and the clergy have claimed have rested on some such principle. Brahmanas had no organization giving them a sense of corporate unity and the strength it confers. They were unlike the Mediaeval Christian Church or ecclesiastics, who claimed the "benefit of the clergy" in courts of law. They were not welded together for common action and purposes like the Buddhist *sangha*. Their meek acquiescence in the hard conditions of their lives will be co-ordinate with the undisturbed condition of the social order, of which the features of their lives were consequences. From the standpoint of statesmanship it was simply not worth while to upset an *academic* right of immunity, that might never be claimed, merely to vindicate a superficial equality of all men, irrespective of birth, education, equipment and capacity. In every society, ancient or modern, certain persons or classes (*e.g.* Government servants generally and the police particularly) are "protected" by the grant of immunities unavailable to the common run. The justification for such discrimination is found in the prior claim of mass-interest over individual interest. If secular purposes and views limited by a single life or a small group, can justify such discrimination, even today, can it be contended with force that it is monstrous to uphold similar immunities for which the justification is found by men whose vision is focussed on a goal so remote as to be invisible to untrained eyes, and on the attainment of a result in a future so distant in time as to be reckoned in supra-astronomical figures, and imponderable to all who do not reject a materialistic view of existence? In

passing judgment on institutions, they should not be judged apart from their setting. But this has been the practice of the critics of Hindu institutions who undertake to explore and elucidate Dharmaśāstra and who ignore the fact that every system of law must be related to a specific scheme of life, or philosophy. Jurisprudence has much to gain by a study of the philosophical bases of legal systems. Even superficial studies of the *vyavahāra* sections of Hindu Dharmaśāstra have revealed to students the acuteness, logic and "modernity" of Hindu jurists. They recognize merit when the old conforms to the new, and the jural ideas of the east to those of the west. That is not a good test. There will be more profit in studying points of difference and in tracing their sources in divergent lines of thought. To the student of Dharma, *vyavahāra* rūles, *i.e.*, those rules which come before law courts, form a trivial part of the *corpus* of Dharma. Those who seek the aid of courts of justice or are brought up before them formed then, even more than today, quite a small fraction of the population. The Hindu seeks to harmonize forensic law with the imperatives of Dharma, *i.e.*, the mode of existence dictated for the upkeep of the social order and for the attainment by every one of the highest purpose of life. The modern legist wishes to harmonize standards of conduct with the law of the land as laid down by the state. We see it daily in the ever-widening circle of offences against the state. As legal justice may differ from ethical norms, so cosmic justice may differ from individual justice if the basis of conduct be found in a philosophy that reveals ultimate reality and has no use for what simulates it. To a great modern lawyer like Lord Haldane, philosophy is a diversion. To a Hindu jurist, Vedānta and Mīmāṁsā are not merely proccupations, but basic studies. It will seem absurd if a revised "Blackstone" discusses the problems of after life, the evolution of the world and moral consciousness; but, it is an ordinary feature of every major smṛti and digest of Dharmaśāstra.

The topic of the immunities of private defence, in modern law and in Dharmaśāstra, in their resemblance and in their differences, stimulate enquiry into the causes of the difference. It is only, from such comparative studies and the search for basic principles that a better system of law can be evolved for the lasting good of the world.

MANTRA-RUBRICS IN RITUAL LITERATURE: NEW LINES OF INVESTIGATION

BY

DR. V. M. APTE

THE Sūtra texts of the Vedāṅga, called Kalpa are composite productions. In them rubricated at appropriate intervals in the midst of a continuous and detailed description of the ritual in the form of Sūtras are Mantra-citations from the Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas, intended for liturgical employment. The study of these Mantra-rubrics opens up such a rich field of research that I feel it necessary to indicate, however briefly, in this short paper, the various lines of investigation that can be profitably pursued in connection with them, *particularly as it is, comparatively speaking, a neglected branch of research!* The connotation of the term 'Mantra' is here extended so as to comprise all types of liturgical formulæ, metrical and prose, namely Mantras drawn from all the Saṁhitās, passages from the Brāhmaṇas, *yajus*, *praiṣa*, *gāthā* etc. It would be relevant to mention in this connection, that some of the lines of investigation adumbrated here have been explored by me in my two monographs entitled *Ṛgveda mantras in their ritual setting in the Gṛhya Sūtras, (with special reference to the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra)*, and (2) *Non-Ṛgvedic Mantras rubricated in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra: sources and Interpretation*[1] and by Dr. P. K. N. Pillay, (Lecturer in Sanskrit, the University of Travancore,) and Dr. S. A. Shukla, (Research

[1] Published in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, and the *New Indian Antiquary*, respectively.

Professor, Kaivalya-dhāma, Lonavla), in the two Dissertations which they prepared under my guidance at the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, and which were approved for the Ph.D. Degree of the University of Bombay. But, as my two monographs together deal with the Mantra-rubrics only in one Sutra text, and as the two Theses mentioned above, though voluminous enough, together exhaust the Mantra material *only in the marriage chapters* of all the extant Gṛhya Sutras, I am tempted to make out a powerful plea for the pursuit by scholars of the many fruitful and interesting lines of research indicated in this paper in connection with the S'rauta S'utras, the Brāhmaṇas and the later Saṁhitās. The inclusion of the other Saṁhitās in this list of ritual text-books belonging to the Vedic age is perfectly in order because, when a Ṛgveda Mantra appears in the Taittirīya and other Saṁhitās, it appears in a ritual setting, which is of great value in understanding the subsequent phases of the liturgical employment of that Mantra in later literature, namely the Brāhmaṇas and the Kalpa Sūtras and because, *from this point of view*, the other Saṁhitās are *the earliest ritual texts extant.*

(1) An interesting problem raised by these mantra-rubrics is their *applicability* to the ritual context, situation, or setting in which they are liturgically employed in ritual literature. Their applicability has been so seriously questioned by some Indologists that Edwin W. Fay in his *The Ṛgveda Mantras in the Gṛhya Sūtras*,[1] makes the following remark, "I distinguish the following degrees of applicability or *as it may be, inapplicability*, of the Mantra to its rite" (Italics mine)! When in one of the two monographs mentioned above, I carried out an investigation of this problem with special reference to the Ṛgveda Mantra-rubrics in the Ās'valāyana Gṛhyasūtra, the results turned out to be significant and interesting beyond my expectations! I found that no student of this problem could ignore the very

[1] *Dissertation*, Roanoke, Va-1889, p. 14.

vital fact that the liturgical employment of a Ṛgveda Mantra in a later text-book of ritual like the Ās'valāyana Gṛhyasūtra could never escape the influence of the long tradition of such employment as established earlier by the rubrication of the Mantra in question, in the Saṁhitās of the other Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas and the S'rauta Sūtras. A historical review of the successive phases of the liturgical employment of a Rgveda Mantra in these earlier texts is necessary at least when the original Ṛgvedic setting of that Mantra fails to explain its *applicability* in a Gṛhya (or S'rauta) Sūtra. My survey of the Mantra-rubrics in the Ās'valāyana Gṛhyasūtra has convinced me that the rubrication of Mantras (Ṛgvedic and non-Ṛgvedic) in the literature of ritual is not as arbitrary as is often supposed, that there are certain well-defined principles (such as, for example, the 'sacramental,' 'invocational', 'mythological' and 'oblationed') underlying the citation for liturgical employment of these Mantras, that the relation between a Mantra and the ceremony its recitation accompanies is, in the majority of cases, not just of a homonymous or superficial type, that, in other words, there is a *method* in the apparent *madness* of splashing Mantras all over a ritual performance. For example, the so-called inapplicability of some Mantras rubricated in the Gṛhya Sūtras can be explained by the circumstance that they are *borrowed* secondarily from S'rauta texts, that is, texts earlier than the Gṛhya Sūtras and dealing with S'rauta ceremonies where they are eminently appropriate. Their inapplicability results from their improvised transfer from an original appropriate S'rauta context to Gṛhya one. *Vice versa*, Mantras which are appropriate to the Gṛhya-contexts in which they are found embedded *i.e.*, either in the Gṛhya Sūtras or the Atharvaveda Saṁhitā which is a treasure-house of Gṛhya songs, if traced to S'rauta texts, only stamp the particular section or chapter in which they are found as Gṛhya in character. What I mean is, instead of merely accusing the employers of Mantra-rubrics of lack of principles on the ground of their apparent

inappropriateness, one must go deeper and investigate into the genesis of this so-called *inapplicability*. I would therefore urge scholars to pursue this line of investigation with respect to every Gṛhya and S'rauta Sutra, every Brāhmaṇa and every Saṁhitā other than the Ṛgveda, because, as already pointed out, the later Saṁhitās are the earliest ritual text-books extant *repeating* as they do, Ṛgveda Mantras in ritual contexts and discover other principles explaining the position of the Mantra-rubrics in them, and thus the question of *applicability* or *appropriateness* of Mantra-citations can be exhaustively treated from the historical point of view.

I shall now indicate the directions in which fruitful results can flow from a study of these Mantra-rubrics, my confidence being inspired by my own study and the studies of my two pupils in this branch. (2) A far larger number of mantras in the Ṛgveda (and other Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and S'rauta Sūtras) appear to have had a genuinely ritualistic origin of the Gṛhya type, than has been suspected so far! To take but one example, it is no longer possible to say that, outside the marriage and Funeral hymns of the Ṛgveda, there are not many Mantras with a distinctly Gṛhya origin. (3) The S'rauta aud Gṛhya Sutras being of the nature of *compilations* recording the *traditional* stock of S'rauta and Gṛhya rules and practices, an interesting list of chapters and sections in the Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas, that have influenced the formulation and growth of the S'rauta and Gṛhya sūtras into their present form, nay have sometimes been bodily incorporated into them, can be made out and thus the extent of genuine Gṛhya content in pre-Gṛhyasūtra literature can be determined.

(4) A re-edition or rearrangement of the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā for ritualistic purposes is suggested by a study of its Mantra-rubrics in ritual literature.

(5) As regards the non-Ṛgvedic Mantras, I have found that their interpretation presents a formidable but interesting task, as many of them are obscure and require textual reconstruction.

(6) Bloomfield and Edgerton have rendered yeoman service to the linguistic study of the variants of these Mantra-rubrics in all their parallel and repeated forms, in their monumental work, *Vedic Variants* in three volumes, based on the *Vedic Concordance* by Bloomfield. Quite a number, however, of S'rauta and Gṛhya Sūtras and Mantra-pāṭhas in published or manuscript forms could not be and have not been used for the *Vedic Concordance* by Bloomfield. The study of the Mantra-variants in these texts is a desideratum. But, above all, these Mantra-variants deserve to be studied from the new point of view of *ritual reconstruction* in addition to the linguistic (phonetics and grammar) and mythological points of view mainly adopted by Bloomfield and Edgerton.

(7) The determination of the exact *source* of a non-Ṛgvedic Mantra is often a tough problem. By 'source,' we can only understand the immediate *source of influence* and so an identical Mantra or a *close* parallel to it in earlier texts that has influenced the liturgical employment of the Mantra in question must be spotted. Some of the principles which can be of useful guidance for this purpose have been set forth by Dr. Pillai in his Thesis. Very essential in this connection is a consideration of the following factors: (*a*) the *pratīka* of the Mantra; (*b*) The *S'ākhā* of the Sūtra text in which the Mantra occurs; (*c*) contextual affinity leading to the transfer of the Mantra from a S'rauta to a Gṛhya context and *vice versa*; (*d*) textual agreement, entire or partial, partial agreement or similarity resulting in the identification of *more sources* than one! It has been observed that, in the selection of an earlier Mantra for a new liturgical employment, *eclectic* considerations compete successfully with the consideration of *loyalty* to the *S'ākhā* to which the later ritual text belongs. As Dr. Pillai's Thesis deals with the non-Ṛgvedic Mantras only in the 'Marriage-chapters' of all the extant Gṛhya Sūtras—that providing more than enough material for a fairly extensive Dissertation—the vast field yet to be explored in connection with the 'source' problem covers the non-Ṛgvedic

mantras in the remaining chapters of the Gṛhyasutras, all the chapters of the S'rautasūtras and the Brāhmaṇas.

(8) But as it sometimes happens, the sources of some non-Ṛgvedic Mantra-rubrics cannot be identified in earlier literature and then the presumption that these Mantras were improvised and made up or composed by the compilers of the S'rauta and Gṛhya Sūtrās becomes a certainty. The methodology of this improvisation or formation of these Mantra-rubrics, in other words, the phenomena of their *origin and evolution* is a fascinating subject of research. The majority of them are not original productions, but are artificial formations or compilations, the methods adopted being concatenation of pādas from different sources, enlargement, curtailment, modification or imitation of already existing mantras.

(9) A review of all the successive phases of the liturgical employment of a Mantra-rubric opens up quite a new and interesting line of investigation, namely the problem of 'contextual evolution' or *viniyoga-vikāsa*. This may almost be termed 'virgin soil,' for research. Although a lead was given by me in my two monographs, Dr Shukla may be said, without fear of contradiction to have broken fresh ground in this field in his Dissertation. Bloomfield[1] dropped the earliest hint in this connection when he said "The hymn or prayer and the ceremony that accompanied it often serve mutually each as a commentary on the other. The subtle blend of song and rite makes a full knowledge of both necessary for the understanding of either." But *viniyoga* need not be looked upon merely as a means to an end, namely, the interpretation of the mantras. The theory and practice of liturgical employment, in other words, the origin and evolution of the *viniyoga* of mantra-rubrics in ritual literature must be taken up *as a problem in itself*. Such a study springs upon us the agreeable surprise (as noted above) that the *viniyoga* of a Mantra-rubric is not haphazard and whimsical as is often supposed but has had an ordered evolution. The various facets of this problem

[1] Introduction to *Vedic Concordance*, p. viii.

when crystallized for investigation may be presented thus:

(10) The determination of the original context for which a mantra was most appropriately composed or adapted can be undertaken on the basis of a historical and comparative study of all the *viniyoga* phases or contextual vicissitudes, in successive periods and classes of Vedic literature, of a mantra-rubric in the course of its ritual-journey by way of parallels and repetitions.

(11) When the same or closely similar mantra-rubric is used in parallel settings. Situations or contexts in different S'rauta and Gṛhya texts, it becomes interesting to study how the S'rauta and Gṛhya ceremonial cults have acted and reacted upon one another through their points of agreement and divergence.

12. The rise of these varied (though in most cases, parallel) settings and the art of the ritualists who build them round a Mantra-rubric as a nucleus are worthy of serious study.

13 Finally, the study of the Mantra-rubrics reveals the surprisingly large number of sacramental (*saṁskāra*) affinities not only among the various sacraments within the domain of the Domestic (Gṛhya) ritual, but also between S'rauta ceremonies on the one hand and the parallel Gṛhya sacraments on the other. Thus will be brought to light the numerous connecting links between S'rauta and Gṛhya ceremonies which enabled the ritualists to transfer the same Mantra-rubric from the S'rauta to the Gṛhya domain and *vice versa*. For example, the *godāna*—a Gṛhya ceremony has its counterpart in the ceremony of shaving prescribed for the *Yajamāna* as an important item of purification entitling him to the performance of the sacrifice. The affinities between the two types of ritual and their mutual historical relationship constitute a fascinating though difficult subject of study and may, I suggest, be tackled with the greatest success through the study of the Mantra-rubrics common to or parallel in the S'rauta and Gṛhya texts. The simple rites performed around the domestic hearth may have been earlier. It is quite possible, indeed, that the Gārhapatya fire (the fire of the 'Lord of the House'

or the individual householder) may have been the starting point of the development of the complicated and elaborate ritual of the 'Triad of Fires'—the Vaitānika or S'rauta sacrificial ceremonial—but it does not naturally follow from this that the Gṛhya ceremonies in all their present elaboration and embellishments were the model on which the S'rauta ceremonies developed. The truth seems to be that, though the Gṛhya (or domestic) worship was earlier, its elaboration through the multiplication of ritual acts and rubrication of Mantras is later than the development of the S'rauta (or public) worship of the Fires, as is confirmed by the fact that as a class, Gṛhyasūtras are later than the S'rautasūtras. This is of course, true in a general way and in individual cases, the borrowing from the one to the other will have to be carefully established. The points of contact between the two cults are numerous. For example, all ritualistic acts like purifying, cleansing, pouring, washing, atoning for sins, uniting, girding, casting off, anointing placing, gazing etc., have similar contexts and Mantra-rubrics in both the S'rauta and Gṛhya cults as Dr. Pillai has shown. The *Darśapūrṇamāsa* becomes the model for the *Pākayajña* of the Gṛhya rites. The Madhuparka ceremony is so appropriate and essential to both the types of contexts, that its original character—whether S'rauta or Gṛhya—cannot now be determined. Some common items like the *praṇītāpraṇayana* (the ritual act of carrying forward the *praṇīta* waters), the very stereotyped, *Jaya*, *Abhyātāna* and *Rāṣṭrabhṛt* oblations and the very important *Dīkṣā* and *Tānūnaptra* ceremonies seem to have been copied in the Gṛhya ceremonial from the S'rauta. On the other hand, simple ritual acts like 'rinsing the mouth with water' or 'entering one's house' seem to be borrowals from the Gṛhya sphere. Numerous connecting links and affinities of this type can be investigated into with respect to their origin, and, once again, I repeat that, for such investigation, our unerring guides are the common, similar, or parallel Mantra-rubrics in the two types of ceremonial.

VESTIGES OF SANSKRITIC INFLUENCE ON EARLY FRENCH LITERATURE

BY

DR. R. G. HARSHE

THE civilising influence of Sanskrit literature from times immemorial extending over different countries of the antic world is a subject worthy of investigation by Indian scholars. Old ideas of the antiquity of the Grecian civilisation and of its being the primary source of all knowledge have long been discarded with the discovery of the Babylonian, Assyrian and Egyptian antiquities. European scholars have put in tremendous work in connection with each of these civilisations and the vast material gathered so far needs sifting and an analytical and comparative study with the facts of our own ancient literature. Much remains to be done in the field of Vedic, Post-Vedic, Epic and Buddhistic literature from this point of view. In spite of the ravages of time and the vicissitudes of fortune of the Aryan race, ours is the most well-preserved heritage of the ancient tradition, and if numerous references to historical incidents in the past could be correlated with these antic finds it will throw a flood of light on the ancient history of India. It is proposed here to investigate the earliest French literature in order to find out whether there are any traces of Sanskritic influence.[1]

[1] While listening to the lectures of Prof. Chamard on the French literature of the Middle Ages as part of the teaching programme of the "Cours de Civilisation Française," Sorbonne, Paris, I was very much struck by the resemblance of certain literary specimens in French to their counterparts in Sanskrit which led me to investigate this subject still further. My work was simplified by the researches made by the French scholars M. A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps and M. LeGrand d'Aussy whose indications in the footnotes have guided me in certain identifications.

Serments de Strasbourg (14th February, 842 A.D.) is the earliest recorded text in Romane, the parent language of French, and the oldest French text *Vie de Saint Alexis* was written about 1050 A.D. The Crusades and the religious zeal that animated the Crusaders resulted in a kind of blossoming of literature especially on account of the impact with the Arab civilisation with which the Christians had to fight. The French being the most advanced nation in Europe at that time, took a leading part in the Crusades and as an offshoot we see a crop of literature consisting of the translations from the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic, especially of the story literature which was then in great demand.

The formative period of the French language extends over five hundred years from the XI century onwards and apart from the early literary efforts of which a few specimens are still available the first renaissance of the French literature took place in the XII and XIII centuries of the Christian Era. This was the age of the great heroic poems called *Chansons de geste* celebrating the exploits of Charlemagne, the Great, and the other flowers of the French *Chevalerie*.[1] Long narrative poems of love formed a class apart called the *Romans* and the shorter ones were termed the *Lais*. But the most popular form of literature was what is known as the *Fabliaux*—short narrative story poems containing a moral lesson. Other narratives either in prose or verse were the *Contes* or *Récits*—pleasant stories of imaginery adventures. *Le Roman de Renart* is a long satirical poem[2] and *Le Roman*

[1] There are about 32 pieces available of these "gestes" or the legendary heroic poems. Vide, *Notre littérature étudiée dans les textes* by Marcel Braunschvig, pages 15-28.

[2] *Le Roman de Renart* is a very long poem or rather a collection of four principal poems. The chief characters in this poem are the Jackal, the Lion, the Wolf and such other animals. We find here the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra* set in the French environment, with details of description and satire to suit French life in the Middle Ages. Vide, *La Confession du Renard et son pèlerinage*—Summary in *Fabliaux ou Contes du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle*, tome 1 er p. 383 by D'Aussy.

de la Rose is an allegorical one[1], both obviously imitations of Oriental poems. There are about a dozen varieties of lyrical poetry and the didactic poems consist on the one hand of works for the propagation of morals such as *Les Chastiements Les Estats du Monde, Les Dits, Bataille, Débats* or *Disputaisons* and, on the other, of works for the popularisation of scientific knowledge, such as *Les Bestiaires, Les Lapidaires* (describing the animals and the minerals respectively) and works which had the pretension of embracing all human knowledge such as *Image du Monde, Miroir du Monde, Nature des Choses, Trésors* .... etc. The remnants of the early theatrical efforts in XII and XIII centuries are almost negligible. Such is, in fact, the *tableau* of the French literature of these times and, of the different types of literature, we are concerned here only with those which contained the story-element in them.

The *Chansons de Geste* are purely national; the *Romans* deal with the aristocratic society of the XII and XIII centuries and borrowed their subject-matter from foreign sources and legends. Stories of Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table and their numerous imitations form the bulk of these, and it is very difficult to extricate the foreign legendary element from the contemporary *chevaleresque* colouring. But among the *lais*, it would be interesting to mention that the *Lai d' Aristote* is definitly of Indian origin. It was one of the most popular stories of the day and its oriental origin has already been noted.[2] It had come from the Arabic sources and it is too well-known, that the Arabs were the foremost propagators of Indian Wisdom in Europe and had translated several Sanskrit works[3] in the early centuries of the Christian Era.

[1] A romantic love story is woven round the characters of personified virtues.

[2] "Ce conte est vraisemblablement un de ceux que les Fabliers avaient pris des Arabes"—*Fabliaux ou Contes*, tome I er, p. 204.

[3] Refer to my article on *The Arabic Version of the Mahābhārata Legend* in the D. C. R. I. Bulletin, Vol. II, No. 3-4 which shows that the Arabs knew many Indian traditions which are now lost to us.

There are several versions of the story but the one composed by *Henri d'Andeli* may be summarised here briefly in order to bear out the identity with its Indian counterpart:

"King Alexander the Great, in his career of conquest in India, came across a beautiful young princess with whom he violently fell in love, with the result that he encamped his army in the neighbourhood and spent most of his time in her company. His generals, who were anxious to return home after such a glorious achievement, began to grumble but, as none of them had the courage to speak to Alexander about it, they went to Aristotle and conveyed to him the general discontent of the army-chiefs. Aristotle took on himself the task of curing him of this infatuation. With the voice of a preceptor Aristotle scolded Alexander for his "shameful conduct" and told him what his commandars had said. In reply Alexander only sighed and exclaimed: "Ah, I quite see that they have not loved."

He, however, resolved, with due deference to his *guru*, not to see the lady again. Alarmed by his continued absence, she wept and groaned and, not being able to bear the separation, she went to his residence under the cloak of darkness and asked him by what misfortune she could have displeased him. When she came to know the truth, she got wild and swore vengeance on the pedagogue.

Next day, she got up early in the morning and went to the orchard in which Aristotle had his residence. Her long tresses of blond hair floated at random on her shoulders. She had no veil and was so lightly dressed that the half-concealed limbs of her body showed to advantage her fascinating beauty. In this voluptuous attire she came beneath the window of the philosopher and started singing a love-ditty with her sweet voice. In a short space of time she scored a victory over the astute philosopher and brought him to his knees before her. The seduction was complete and she agreed to yield to his desires provided he allowed her to bridle him and ride on his back, he going on all fours in the garden. Aristotle

was surprised in this most awkward position by Alexander but regaining his presence of mind he said to the favourite disciple. "Sire, I had a good reason to be anxious about your love for this lady, as you are young. For see what she has done of me, who am old. I wished to combine the example with the precept. try to profit by it."

This story echoes the most popular anecdote connected with the Mahābhārata which is traditionally handed-down from generation to generation and frequently made use of by the Haridāsas in their Kirtanas.[1] The story goes that when Vyāsa had completed his historical romance "*Jaya*," he taught it to four of his disciples, *viz.*, Vaiśampāyana, Sumantu, Paila and Jaimini.[2] Vaiśampāyana, being the most intelligent of them all and perhaps a forward type of student, questioned the propriety of the use of the particle *api* in that well-known verse:

> *Mātrā svasrā duhitrā vā na viviktāsano bhavet;*
> *balavān indriyagrāmo vidvāṁsam api karṣati.*[3]

[1] I have heard it myself at a Kirtana some 30 years ago. C. V. Vaidya, the well-known Mbh scholar and historian, had mentioned this anecdote to the writer and it is ascertained that the story is known to many Shastris in the Western part of India. I was, however, not able to find out a written reference to it in Sanskrit. In Marathi a passing reference to this story has been made by the late Mr. L. R. Pangarkar in his book Bhaktimaṇimālā, p. 103, where the pupil mentioned is Jaimini and the variant नापकर्षति.

[2] It is alleged that Vyāsa taught the four Vedic Saṁhitās only to the four disciples mentioned above. For the Purāṇas he had chosen his disciple Lomaharṣaṇa of the Sūta caste (vide, Bhāgavatam, Ed. Burnouf, Vol I, Preface p. XXXVII). But there seems to be no truth in this as we have a distinct version of the Mbh. by Jaimini whose Aśvamedhaparvan is available to us. Śrīdhara, in his *Pāṇḍavapratāpa* (A Marathi abridgement of the Mbh. of the XVII century A. D.), says that Vyāsa himself had condemned Jaimini for having added his own matter to the original on account of which all the other parvans except the Aśvamedha stood condemned and died a natural death. Secondly, in the Mbh. itself, it is Vaiśampāyana who narrates the story of the Mbh. to the king Janamejaya.

[3] This verse is found neither in the critical nor in the Chitrashala edition of the Mbh. but it is given by *Manusmṛti*, II. 253. It may however be stated that as it is found in the *Yayati-Upākhyāna* in the Bhagavata (Burnouf, Vol. III, IX, 1917, p. 263) it must have formed part and parcel of the original poem. The Critical Ed. of the B. O. R. I. omits this verse and also the well-known verse: *Na jātu kāmaḥ kāmānām*...

while Vyāsa was teaching them this verse Vaiśampāyana objected to the word *api* on the ground that a real learned man cannot allow himself to be dragged by the senses as he knows full well the consequences. If, in spite of this, he falls a prey to them he cannot be regarded as *vidvān*. He, however, suggested that instead of *api*, *apa* might be substituted there with advantage as it only meant that if the senses got an upperhand, it was derogatory to a learned man. But the preceptor of the disciple did not accept the change and assured him to reopen the discussion on this point a fortnight later.

In the meanwhile, it happened, one day, that when Vaiśampāyana was alone at his hermitage, a young and beautiful lady came in search of water to the hermitage at mid-day, all tired and exhausted, apparently owing to the excessive heat of summer and the fatigues of a long journey. Vaiśampāyana welcomed her and courteously offered to her water, fruits, etc., to refresh herself with, according to the custom of the day. Obviously she needed rest for some time and Vaiśampāyana could not refrain from talking to her and looking at her youthful beauty with the result that her irresistible charms, languishing looks and rosy cheeks made an easy conquest of his heart. He miserably failed to master his passions and went to the length of making proposals to her. After a good deal of protestations the lady agreed to grant his wishes on condition that he should take three turns round the hermitage taking her on his back. Vaiśampāyana did it immediately and when he left her on the ground and turned to her the lady was transformed into the sage Vyāsa to the great shame and dismay of Vaiśampāyana. Vyāsa then asked him whether the reading *api* is not more forceful and appropriate than *upa*.

etc. The verse *mātrā svasrā* . . . . etc., is quoted as that of Vyāsa by the *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva (No. 2780, p. 468, Ed. Peterson and Durgaprasada) annonymously in *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra*, p. 160,45 and as one of those extracted from *Dharmaśastrapurāṇajyotiśśāstras* by *Sārṅgadharapaddhati* (No. 654, Ed., Peterson.)

As this story has a definite setting and is confined to the narrow limits of a single verse and its variants, it must unmistakably be the original of the *lai d' Aristote.*

As regards the *Fabliaux* the French historians admit that they had an Oriental origin and come chiefly from India. But Joseph Bedier and others[1] have tried to minimise the importance of this fact and remarked that the number of the *Fabliaux* drawn from collections of Oriental stories is quite insignificant—not more than a dozen.[2] It is necessary to investigate this question once again at leisure. The fact is that the original stories have suffered greatly in transmission and not only have the poets but the minstrels and *Jongleurs* too added so much of their own salt and spices while narrating or chanting them to the listening crowds that their face is completely altered. It will therefore be necessary to go to the genesis of each story and trace its varied forms at different stages of transmission.

The story literature of this period comes from the following main sources: (i) Local element drawn from the contemporary life of the aristocracy and other classes of society and (ii) Translations or imitations of Aesop, Bidpai and the *Roman des Sept Sages.* A detailed study of each of these will enable us to disentangle the question of indebtedness. The fact is significant that Aesop, who lived from about 620 to 560 B. C., was a slave and that after the manner of the Hindus he had conveyed his moral teaching through stories of animals. Aesop himself is not known to have left behind a book of his fables but it is well-known that they were collected later on by Demetrius of Phalerum (345-283 B. C.) when nearly three hundred years had elapsed.

[1] "Les Fabliaux sont donc bien l'image du pays et du temps. On croyait autrefois que leur sujets venaient de l'Inde. En réalité, comme l'a démontre M. Bédier, leur origine est insaisissable. Ils appartiennent au fond commun sur lequel travaille l'humanité. Un récit passe d'un pays à l'autre sans que l'on puisse déterminer quand ou comment, et se modifie suivant l'esprit du peuple qui l'accueille et du conteur qui le répète". P. 30 *Histoire illustrée de la Littérature Française.*—Augier and others.

[2] *Notre Littérature étudiée dans les Textes.*

The number of Fables varied from 42 to 233 in versions known to us.[1] Bidpai's *Kalila and Dimna* is the accredited version of *Pañcatantra* in Persian and Arabic. How the name Visnuśarman was changed to Bidpai[2] and how the original *Pañcatantra* suffered in its manifold translations and adaptations will be an interesting study. Some work has already been done on this subject[3] but pointed attention of scholars is drawn to the fact that Barzouyeh the author of the first Pahlavi translation, executed under the command of King Khosrou Nouchirvan, was an Indian by birth and that he was born of a Kṣatriya father and a Brahmin mother[4]—which is exactly the caste of a Sūta[5]—the custodian of our ancient legendary lore.

Roman des Sept Sages or *Le Livre de Sendabad* is an Oriental romance the translations or rather imitations of which exist in almost all the European languages. This book had a great success in XIII and XIV centuries in Europe and was much known under the caption: *Histoire des Sept Sages de Rome.* The author of *Modgemel-altewarikh* tells us that the Book of Sendabad was composed under the Persian dynasty of Arsacides which began in 256 B.C. and ended in 223 A.D. A passage from the Arab historian Hamza Isfahani confirms this tradition from which it is clear that the *Sendabad-nameh* had been written in Persian, long before the fables of Bidpai, from the Sanskrit original or from Indian traditions. Massoudi, the great Arab historian of the X century A.D., in his chronicle named *Moroudj-alseheb* (The Golden Prairies) mentions that Sendabad was a contemporary of King Kuru and author of the Book

[1] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Ed., Vol. I, p. 263.

[2] It is alleged that Bidpai is the corrupt form of Vidyāpati. I am indebted to Mm. Prof. P. V. Kane for this information.

[3] Consult Editions of *Pañcatantra* by (i) Franklin Edgerton and (ii) Johannes Hertel.

[4] *Essai sur les Fables indiennes et sur leur introduction en Europe*, Par A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps, p. 9, foot-note 1.

[5] *Kṣatriyād viprakanyāyāṁ sūto bhavati jātitaḥ.* Manu, X. 11.

entitled *The Seven Vazirs, the Pedagogue, the Young Man and the Queen.* The oldest translations available of this Persian version are those in Syriac, Hebrew and Greek. The latest date of the Hebrew version is XII century and as there is no preface of any kind there is no indication of the original work from which it was translated. Presumably it is from the Arabic source. The Greek version, on the other hand, was the work of Andreopule who translated it from the Syriac. The prologue is followed by a short preparatory note in prose mentioning a Persian named Mouse as its author. The latin version, *Historia Septem Sapientum Romae* which is at the basis of all the further redactions in Modern European Languages is composed by Dam Jehans of the Haute Selve Abbey from the Hebrew rendering. One of the earliest French imitations of this Latin romance dates from XIII century and is composed by a northern poet named Hebers or Herbers whose work *Les Sept Sages de Rome* is more widely known by the name *Dolopathos.* The author of this French version has added many stories and is much more extensive than its Latin original. Each translator has chosen his own particular frame work of the romance in which the names and details of the stories familiar to his compatriots have been filled in. In fact, for the remancers of the XII to XIV centuries, translation meant mere imitation in which all possible liberties could be taken. Thus in the Persian version the name of the king is Cyrus, in the Hebrew, Bibur, in the Latin, Poncianus, and in French, Dolopathos. As the last one is the main source of many romances and stories either borrowed or imitated in French, current in XII and XIII centuries, it would be worthwhile to give here its short analysis. The Sanskrit original of the Book of Sendabad is believed to have been lost and it would therefore be helpful for the identification of some of the stories.

In the reign of the Emperor Augustus Caesar there lived a King of Sicily named Dolopathos who was rich and powerful. He was rather old and had no son, and it grieved him,

so much that his line would be extinct after him. He consulted the wise men of his Court but they said that everything was in the hands of God. His prayers having been heard by God his happiness knew no bounds when at long last his queen gave birth to a son. When the son, Lucinien by name, was seven years old, he entrusted Virgil, the famous philosopher and poet of Rome, with his education for being well-versed in seven liberal arts. He became so adept in all the sciences and arts that were taught to him that his fellow students, out of jealousy and spite, tried to poison him. He stayed with the master for seven years. One day he fell down senseless because by astrological calculations he had found out that his mother had died that very day. His father in the meanwhile had married again and, at the completion of his education, the Prince was sent for by the king. But Virgil, presaging immediate danger to his life on return to the capital, extracted a promise from his favourite pupil that he would not speak a single word till the seven inauspicious days were over. On his arrival he was well received by the king and the Sicilian subjects but, true to his promise, he did not say a word in reply though he was very courteous to all of them. The king spoke to him of his new queen, the cares of the kingdom, his declining age, and the duties of the successor. He had already announced to his subjects that his son would be crowned Prince-Successor immediately on his return home. He was shocked to find that his son did not make any reply to all his confidences and was cursing his fate to see him dumb. The prince, however, assured him in writing of his respect, love and gratitude and expressed his willingness to do his duty by him but he could not be consoled. The crowning ceremony was postponed for a week at the suggestion of one of his Councillors who wanted to try all possible means of making him speak. The queen was taken into confidence. She approved of the plan and assured the king that she would try to make him speak within a week's time. The young and beautiful maidens

of the Court were first entrusted with the mission, but they failed to excite his love. Though he was not impervious to their charms, he had frustrated all their attempts to make him speak out his heart. The queen who was herself very young and beautiful also wished to try her powers of persuasion and love In the attempt she herself was smitten with love for the young prince and seeing that all her sex appeals were in vain she wept her heart out at the disappointment. She also feared that if the Prince were to inform his father about this it would mean sure death for her. That drove her out of her wits. One of her trusted maids however reassured her and said that she ought not to feel aggrieved, that the wretch was indeed her enemy, in as much as he was to be crowned successor instead of her own children and that she had got a very good weapon in her hands to destroy him. She had only to say that he tried to violate her honour and immediately he would be condemned to death by the king. The queen liked the idea, went back to Prince Lucinien in great agitation, her hair in disorder, her face full of scratches and oozing with blood, and her clothes torn she gave out such wild and fearful cries for help that all the domestics ran to the room along with the king. He was told the story of the pretended affront and the furious king, beside himself with rage, at once condemned the prince to die at the stakes.[1] While the unfortunate prince was being taken to the pyre there came an old man with a long beard riding on a white mule. When, on enquiry, he learnt why the young prince was condemned to death, he told the king that it was an unwise decision and, in order to dissuade him from his design, he told him the story of a dog who guarded the child of a poor chevalier who had gone out and killed

[1] This is evidently a metamorphosis of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. Daśaratha is changed to Dolopathos, the number of his queens has been reduced to one, his childlessness has been brought into relief as in the Rāmāyaṇa, but, in order to give a realistic effect to a quarrel between the step-mother and the son his first queen was removed by death. The blooming youth of the queen and the old age of the king speak volumes for her immoral designs on the Prince.

the serpent that was going to the cradle to bite him. Looking at the face of the dog, all besmeared with blood, the chevalier thought that the dog had devoured his child. He took out his sword and killed the dog to his great sorrow and repentence afterwards.[1] This story suspended the execution of the sentence for a day.

The next day another sage came and told his story: A certain king entrusted his rich treasure to the keeping of an old knight who had a large family of dependents to maintain. When he became old and wanted to retire, the king overwhelmed him with presents for his faithful service. His generosity and lavish expenditure however forced him to mortgage his lands and reduced him to rank poverty. He thought of the king's treasure and, taking his eldest son with him, dug a hole into the tower where the treasure was kept and took away a large quantity of gold. This went on for some time and when the king found his treasure considerably diminished he arranged to put a tub full of gloy at the opening in the wall to catch the thief hoping that he would be stuck fast in the tub. The old man was caught by this stratagem but, in order to save the honour of his family, he asked his son to cut his head off and carry it away. The rest of the body was dragged through the streets of the capital to find out the relatives of the culprit who were likely to weep at the sight. Accordingly when the members of the knight's family saw the dead body without the head they recognised it at once and could not help shedding tears. The eldest son immediately made a wound to his hand with the sword and explained that the family wept at his wound and not at the dead body. They then guarded the dead body with 40 barons half dressed in white and half in black armour. The eldest son painted his armour black and white and tricking the barons carried away the dead body and buried it with the head that he had. He outwitted the king and his old counsellor by marking with

[1] *cf.* the story of Devaśarma's wife and the mungoose in *Pañcatantra*, Book V, 2nd story.

a special ink on the head of all the chevaliers who were sleeping in the palace for the next day's tourney which was to dispose of the hand of the king's daughter to the bravest knight. The king at last gave his daughter to this daring and skilful knight.[1]

The prince's death was postponed when another sage intervened and told his story · "Once upon a time a certain king of Rome, being very old, left the kingdom to his young prince who was neither experienced nor wise. His numerous enemies laid a siege to the city and soon famine started. To save and economise the food-provisions it was decided to put to death all the old persons in the city regardless of their sex. Those who would not give up their aged relatives were to be condemned to death. There was found a single Roman who refused to deliver up his old father whom he concealed in a cellar. He was however a great fighter and soon rose in royal favour and became powerful at the court. His enemies wanted to lay bear his unlawful act of having concealed his father. They conspired and arranged a royal feast to which the king ordered that every courtier should bring with him his dearest friend, his greatest enemy, his best servant and his best bard. At the advice of his father, the Roman took with him his dog, his donkey, his son and his wife and explained that the dog was his dearest friend, the donkey his best servant, the son the most skilful minstrel and the wife his greatest enemy. At this the wife became furious and in a spirit of vengeance called him a great liar and a law-breaker who had concealed his father in the cellar in spite of the king's order. The man immediately pointed out the truth of his remark by calling the attention of the king to the fact that the woman whom he had loved more than his life was willing to send him to the gallows by giving up the most well-guarded secret. The king admired his wisdom and made his father his chief adviser.

[1] The story can very well compare with a similar story in an old and popular collection of stories named "Ṭhakasena Rājaputrācyā Goṣṭī".

The fourth sage narrated his own story : A rich nobleman had a beautiful and educated but cruel and selfish daughter. She had also learnt witchcraft of which she made considerable use in the case of her prospective suitors. To each of them she promised that she would marry on condition that they should pay her 100 gold marks and succeed in embracing her at night. Due to the magic feather, every body who lay down on her bed was overpowered by profound sleep and lost his chance. A young baron who wanted to try his luck, had no money and sought help from his rich vassal who offered it on condition that [if] he failed to return it on the appointed day he would have the right to cut off one pound of flesh from his body. He accepted the condition and went with the money to the lady. The charm did not work on him as while arranging his pillow he had allowed the feather to fall off and she was constrained to marry him. She liked the young man, married him and spent all her time in all kinds of pleasure and sports with him. The engagement with the vassal was broken and, for a long cherished vengeance, the vassal demanded a pound of flesh from his body in spite of the remonstrances of the judge and the supplications of the baron's friends who were willing to pay any reasonable compensation. He was outwitted by the baron's wife by making the vassal take the flesh and not spill a drop of blood which was impossible.

The fifth sage came and recounted his story. In times gone by, there was a very powerful king of Rome who marched against his enemies who had attacked his kingdom. On his way, his son, the prince, while passing along the road in a village came near the house of a widow. He had a falcon on his hand and it attacked the only hen that she possessed. Her only son in order to save his hen knocked down the falcon. At this the prince got so wild that he killed the widow's son with his sword. The poor woman went to the king and demanded justice. Your son was your chief support and if you so desire I shall either give my own son to

you or condemn him to death. The old woman could see that the prince's death would not bring back her son. So she forgave him and lived till the end of her days with the king who overwhelmed her with good things.

On the sixth day another sage came and told another story: A man who was a thief by profession for several years became very rich, changed the course of his life, and settled down as a good honest citizen to the great surprise of his acquaintances. He had three sons and against his advice they continued to follow the old profession. In their attempt to steal the horse belonging to the queen all of them were caught and taken before the queen who recognised them as the sons of the old thief and sent for him. As she liked the man she promised to set free his sons on condition that he told her three of his most extraordinary adventures which he did. The old thief began:

" When I was young I was the leader of a hundred men all strong and hardy. We heard that there was a giant who had lived alone in a huge house in the midst of a forest and was very rich in gold and silver. We went to his house in his absence, got possession of all his riches and started home. But, on the way, the giant with the help of his ten companions attacked us, took us prisoners and brought us home and started eating us one after the other. I would certainly have shared the fate of my companions, but I played a trick and told him that I would cure him of his eye-disease. He agreed to spare me and to take my treatment. I made him lie down at full length and poured on his head boiling oil and made him stark blind. In spite of the scorching pain in the head he ran after me and would have caught me had I not climbed to the top of the ladder reaching up to the ceiling rooms. Having observed that he opened his door only at the time of letting out his sheep I caught hold of the fattest one, took off its skin and wrapping it round me made good my escape. Once out of the house I railed and laughed at him. The giant feigning to reward me for my cunning threw at me his heavy

golden ring. I was tempted to take it but when I had once put it on my finger it could not be taken off and it continued to say "I am there." The giant ran after me and, though he often stumbled and knocked himself against the trees, he could know the direction of my flight on account of the charmed ring. I resolved to cut off my finger and by this means got rid of the ring and saved myself. This story alone, "he said," should be sufficient to set at least one of my sons free."

The thief however continued his second story thus:

"Having thus escaped from the hands of the giant, I wandered about in a great forest inhabited by lions, bears and dragons for two days. I came to a small hut and saw three thieves who had been hanged. I went into the hut and saw a woman with her child sitting before the fire. She was weeping. I enquired of her where I was and whether there were any other dwellings nearby. "No" said she, "not within thirty leagues." She then told me how she was spirited away from the side of her husband and brought to this place by the ghosts who had asked her to cook her child whom they wanted to eat overnight. I assured her of my help and taking off one of the suspended bodies asked her to cook its flesh and concealed the child in a hallow of the oak at a great distance in the forest. As the night came on the spirits came to the hut and asked for the food which they ate with great voracity. One of them who seemed to be their chief, questioned the woman whether it was really the flesh of her child and not believing her word wanted to ascertain whether it was really so. He asked three of his followers to take a knife and cut off a piece of flesh from each of the suspended bodies. When I heard this, I went and hung myself at the place of the third and when one of the spirits cut off a piece of my hip, imagine how terrible must have been the pain and suffering."—Here the old thief broke off and said "set free my other son, and I continue the story:

"When the three spirits had thus taken a piece each of the flesh and gone away, I descended from the noose of the

tree to which I had suspended myself and stopped the blood flowing from the wound with the bandage of my shirt and lay down, suffering awfully, on a bed which I had already prepared of grass and leaves near the hut. The pieces of flesh were roasted in the fire and when they started eating them the master spirit relished my flesh so much that he at once ordered that my body should be brought immediately so that they might feast themselves on the most delicious flesh that was ever eaten. Accordingly, they rushed to the place where the dead bodies were suspended. (I had to run there and remain suspended before they came) and holding me by the feet dragged my body through thorns and brambles, which was a veritable torture to me, and threw my body at the feet of the master, all covered with wounds. They flourished their knives to cut me into pieces, and I do not know what happened afterwards. They suddenly ran away. When I opened my eyes, I saw before me the mother and her child. We left the place immediately and, after a terribly long and tiresome journey of 40 days, I reached the place where the young woman had lived, to the great joy and relief of her husband."

The last story of the seventh sage ran thus:

A young squire, well brought up and full of talent and virtue, loved hunting so much that he gave away a major part of his life to this. Once he lost his way and while trying to join his hunting party, he came across a shining spring of water in which a young and beautiful fairy was bathing all alone. Struck by her beauty, he fell violently in love with her and seizing the chain of gold which was the secret of her power as fairy, he dragged her out of the water, made her dress up and requested her to marry him. His personal charms and noble bearing triumphed where mere importunities would have failed. At long last the young fairy consented to marry him. Consulting the stars she realised that she would give birth to six sons and a daughter and, being terribly upset, told her husband who reassured her and, placing her on his horse, came to his palace. His vassals welcomed them with

great joy, but the mother of the Prince, out of jealousy and spite, gave out wild cries as soon as she saw the fairy and requested her son to send her away. Seeing that all her remonstrances were in vain she resigned herself to the new situation. She, however, kept her daughter-in-law under a strict watch and, as soon as she gave birth to a child, she replaced it by a puppy and the child was handed over to a servant who was in her confidence for being taken to the forest and killed. Every child that was born had a golden chain round its neck. The servant, when he saw such a beautiful child, had no courage to strike, but each time kept the child under a tree thinking that some wild beasts would make short work of him. There was an old sage residing in that forest who happened to see all those children and he brought them up in his hermitage one after the other. This went on for seven years. The squire was shown seven puppies by the mother as the issues of his pretended fairy. In an uncontrollable wrath the young squire ordered that she should be buried up to the breast, and asked his servants to wash their hands on her head and to wipe them with her hair. She was fed on dog-biscuits. The fairy suffered these insults for seven years. The young children on the other hand who were brought up by the sage in the forest hunted down some birds for the old man. One day, while they were hunting, their father saw them and wondered who they were because each had a golden chain round their necks. But, as soon as they saw him, they disappeared. On returning he told this adventure to his mother who understood what it was and ordered her old servant, on pain of death, to bring those golden chains to her. He obeyed and went into the forest. He found the six brothers bathing in the stream having assumed the form of swans and the sister was seated on the bank guarding the golden chains. He seized the chains and wanted to take away the chain of the girl but she ran awaya nd escaped from his hands. The chains were given to a goldsmith for melting, and he was asked to make a large cup of that gold, The goldsmith instead of breaking the

chains made a cup of another piecé of gold and gave it to the mother. The brothers, having lost their chains, could not assume the human form and remained swans. In plaintive notes they used to cry and leaving the lake came to live near the palace of the father where there was a beautiful pond. Their sister too followed them to their new place. The squire saw them and asked his servants to take care of them. Sometimes the girl took a human form and introduced herself into the palace where she was much liked, and unknowingly took pity on the miserable lot of her mother with whom she often shared her own bread and fed the swans with her own hands. Once the squire asked the girl who she was and what her parents were. As she was telling her own history the mother and the trusted servant heard it. Immediately the mother ordered the servant to kill the girl as soon as possible. As the child was leaving the palace a sergeant ran after her, sword in hand, and as he was about to strike her with the sword, it was held up and taken off by the squire himself who asked him the explanation of all this. The sergeant, in dismay, fell down on his knees and told him the whole story. The squire in great fury ran to his mother and she confessed her own crime The golden chains were recovered from the smith with which the swans reassumed their human forms excepting one whose chain had been broken by the smith and the fairy was invested with all the honours of the house by the repentent husband.

At last Virgil himself came there to convince the king of the innocence of the Prince and told the following story:

One of my co-students was the son of a great senator, and so well versed in philosophy that he did not want to marry. The solicitudes of his parents, relatives and friends proved without any effect on him. In order to induce him to marry, every possible device was used. A very beautiful marble statue was prepared and shown to him and when he saw it, he agreed to marry if such a person were to be found in the world. He learnt that in Greece there was a woman who was

its exact proto-type. He at once started for the place mentioned and saw the lady enclosed in a tower on the seashore. He informed the lady the object of his coming and, on having learnt that the king of the land had married her and kept her there as prisoner being jealous of her charms, he lost no time in winning the favour of the king and sought his permission to build another tower opposite his. Without suspecting any trick, the king granted him the permission. A subterranean passage was constructed by the Senator-philosopher which enabled him to put himself in communication with the object of his love. He always made use of the furniture of the king from the Queen's Tower whenever he paid a visit to his vassal. Once seeing his own set of dices at the favourite's, the king ran to his own tower to find his own set which was in the meanwhile quietly replaced at its own place by the Senator. On another occasion, the king was invited to dinner when the Lady of the Tower, his own Queen, did the honours of the table where the crockery and all kinds of things were the king's own. At the end of the dinner he returned to the Queen's Tower and to his great surprise he found everything at its place his wife smiling sweetly. By this stratagem he managed to elope with the Queen. The Roman took his leave of the king who nevertheless suspected that the lady who had accompanied him must have been his wife. On his return home he was afflicted to find how cruelly he was duped. When the king of Greece, in search of his wife, came to the Roman Senator, he showed him the marble statue and said that the gods had punished him for his treachery by turning her into a marble statue.

The Roman Senator, however was not less jealous of her. She was kept in confinement and naturally she sought and found another lover with whose help she came out of her confinement, one day, when the husband had gone to sleep. When he woke, he found that she was no longer by his side. He closed the doors against her and did not allow her to enter inside the house. She, who knew his weakness for her, threw

a big stone in the well nearby, thus showing that she had committed suicide. The Senator ran to her help in great consternation In the meanwhile, she got inside and turned the tables on him. He could be admitted only on condition that the prison he had built for her would be razed to the ground.

Herbers' poem ends with the narration of Lucinien's triumph, his crowning ceremony and the story of his reign and his conversion to Christianity. It is a *résume* of the romantic literature of XIII century, mixed up with the Biblical tradition which had to that extent modified the character of the Oriental books. Though it is a matter to be regretted that in this version he had suppressed the stories recounted by the Queen in reply to those of the sages, it is a charming poem remarkable for its art which served as a model to several great writers of different epochs and nations.

It should be noted here that this and other versions of the Indian story-books were the main source of the most artistic productions of these two centuries and it would be unjust to say that the writers of XII and XIII centuries in France were not *much* indebted to Oriental countries—especially to India. It might be conceded that the number of books that came to be translated from Sanskrit was very limited but the translations, with their different recensions, their imitations, adaptations and retranslations of the imitations and adaptations in Persian, Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac and Latin were so numerous and varied that the transplantation of the story literature in most of the modern European languages in their early stages needed no further proof of their essential and initial indebtedness to India.

VIKRAMĀDITYA IN THE BṚHATKATHĀ

BY

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LAST year being the 2000th year of the Vikrama Saṁvat, bi-millennial celebrations in honour of the great Vikramāditya, the founder of the era, the national hero, the champion of liberty and of the poor and the distressed, patron of learning, romantic adventurer, the symbol of all that was good, grand and sublime, were observed all over India. The occasion evoked many historical essays, articles and lectures dealing with the life, times and personality of Vikramāditya. In the light of the available material, it is proposed to deal with Vikramāditya in the *Bṛhatkathā* and to find out whether the description in the *Bṛhatkathā* can be taken as an historical account.

The original *Bṛhatkathā* written in Paiśācī is unfortunately not available hitherto. According to the account given in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (*KSS*) which is absolutely faithful to the *Bṛhatkathā* (*BK*), Guṇāḍhya, the author of the *BK*, was a contemporary of Sātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna, the adopted son of Dīpakarṇi,[1] who has been identified with the Āndhra Śimuka of the first century B.C.[2] Keith, however, places Guṇāḍhya not later than A.D. 500, and in his opinion, "to place him in the first century A.D. is quite conjectural."[3] Judging from its Sanskrit descendants, it may be safely

[1] *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, I. 6. 88-106.
[2] Sankar, *Annals BORI*, XII, pp. 310-11.
[3] *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, 1928, p. 268.

assumed that there was nothing in the *BK* that went against the first century B.C being assigned to it.

The *BK* is available to us in two versions, the Nepali and the Kashmirian. The former is the earlier version, the *Bṛhatkathās'lokasaṃgraha* (*BKS*) by Budhasvāmin, which has been placed in the eighth or ninth century A D.[1] The *BKS* is, however, useless for our purpose as it has come down to us only in a fragment, the portion at the beginning dealing with the main Naravāhanadatta story. The *KSS* in Sanskrit by Somadeva, a poet at the court of king Ananta of Kashmir, was composed between 1063 and 1081 A.D.[2] Slightly earlier is the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (*BKM*) from the same province, by Kṣemendra, who was also at the court of king Ananta. The *KSS* professes to be a faithful abstract of the original *BK*.[3] The works have been divided into 18 *lambakas*, subdivided into *taraṅgas* in the *KSS* and *gucchas* in the *BKM*.

The Vikrama episode or the Viṣamas'īla Lambaka forms the tenth *lambaka* in the *BKM*, whereas it is the last, *i.e.*, the eighteenth, in the *KSS*. In extent also, these two versions differ, for as against one *guccha* and 288 stanzas of the *BKM*, the *KSS* has five *taraṅgas* and 1120 stanzas in all. Speyer has tried to explain the discrepancy in the numbers as being due to the fact that the *BKM* intermixes part of the story at an other place.[4] In point of literary style Somadeva has been pronounced the better. The *BKM* suffers from too great

[1] Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 281.

[3] *KSS*, I. 1, 10-12.

यथा मूलं तथैवैतन्न मनागप्यतिक्रमः ।
ग्रन्थविस्तरसंक्षेपमात्रं भाषा च भिद्यते ॥
औचित्यान्वयरक्षा च यथा शक्ति विधीयते ।
कथारसाविघातेन काव्यांशस्य च योजना ॥
वैदग्ध्यख्यातिलोभाय मम नैवायमुद्यमः ।
किन्तु नानाकथाजालस्मृतिसौकर्यसिद्धये ॥

[4] *Studies about the KSS*, Amsterdam, 1908, pp. 14-5.

conciseness and obscurity, and the tedious waste of rhetoric embellishments.[1] Kṣemendra's chief interest was Kāvya, while Somadeva's was narration.[2]

The *BKM* and the *KSS* are unanimous regarding the parentage and birth of Vikramāditya. In the manner of traditional accounts reminiscent of the days of yore, all gods with Indra at their head, being afflicted by the oppression of the Mlecchas approach S'iva on the Mt. Kailāsa and tell Him of the atrocities of the Mlecchas who are taken as the Asuras slain by Viṣṇu and S'iva reborn, and beseech the Lord to cause some hero to incarnate on the earth for destroying the Mlecchas. The Lord promises relief and deputes His servant (Gaṇa) Mālyavat to be born in Ujjayinī as the son of king Mahendrāditya and Saumyadars'anā.[3] The prince was named Vikramāditya, but his alternative name was Viṣamas'īla, he being very hard and cruel to his enemies.[4] Both collections (*BKM* and *KSS*) then treat of Vikramāditya's extensive conquests and marriages with different princesses. He is spoken of as having married princesses Malayavatī, Kaliṅgasenā, S'abararājaputrī, Siṁhales'varaduhitā and a number of other princesses. Mleccha and S'aka kings with their armies obstructed the princess of Ceylon on her way to Ujjayinī for her marriage with Vikramāditya; but they were routed by king Vikramas'akti of Vidarbha, a vassal of king Vikramāditya.[5]

The *BKM*, in the old Puranic fashion, states in general that Vikramāditya conquered the Mlecchas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Nīcas, Hūṇas, Barbaras and Pārasikas who had left off righteous practicos and were dissolute, and thus

[1] cf. Speyer, *op. olt.*, pp. 16 ff.

[2] Emeneau, *JAOS*, LIII, p. 141.

[3] *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, Kāvyamālā No. 69, X. 8-12 : *KSS*, XVIII. 1. 10-51 :

[4] *KSS*, XVIII. 1. 51 :

नाम्ना तं विक्रमादित्यं हरोक्तेनाकरोत्पिता ।
तथा विषमशीलं च महेन्द्रादित्यभूपतिः ॥

[5] *BKM*. X. 135-152.

lightened the burden of the earth in a trice.[1] The *KSS*, however, is specific, and it mentions that Vikramāditya subjugated the south (*i.e.* Deccan) and the Aparānta (*i.e.* Konkan), the middle region and Saurāṣṭra (*i.e.* Gujerat), the eastern region with the Aṅga and Vanga (Bengal), and the north including the Kashmir, whose king was made a subordinate ally. He killed hosts of Mlecchas and reduced others to submission.[2] It will be seen that Vikrama's conquests do not reach much beyond Magadha, nor is the Punjab included.[3]

After these conquests Vikramāditya arrives at the victorious army of his general Vikramaśakti. Names of vassal kings are announced who present themselves to pay their homage to Vikramāditya. They are said to be prince Śaktikumāra of Gauḍa, king Jayadhvaja of Karṇāṭa, Vijayavarman of Lāṭa, Sunandana of Kashmir, Gopāla of Sindha, Vindhyabala of the Bhillas and Nirmūka, king of the Pārasikas.[1] The vassal kings are then honoured as also the

[1] *BKM*. X. 285-6:

अथ श्रीविक्रमादित्यो हेलया निर्जिताखिलः ।
म्लेच्छान्काम्बोजयवनान्नीचान्हूणान्सबर्बरान् ॥
तुषारान्पारसीकांश्च त्यक्ताचारविशृङ्खलान् ।
हत्वा भ्रूभङ्गमात्रेण भुवो भारमवारयत् ॥

KSS, XVIII. 2. 76-8:

सापरान्तश्च देवेन निर्जितो दक्षिणापथः ।
मध्यदेशः स सौराष्ट्रः सवङ्गाङ्गा च पूर्वदिक् ॥
सकश्मीरा च कौबेरी काष्ठा च करदीकृता ।
तानि तान्यपि दुर्गाणि द्वीपानि विजितानि च ॥
म्लेच्छसंघाश्च निहताः शेषाश्च स्थापिता वशे ॥

Jayaswal, *JBORS*, XVI, pp. 296-7.

KSS, XVIII. 3. 3-4:

गौडः शक्तिकुमारोऽयं कर्णाटोऽयं जयध्वजः ।
लाटो विजयवर्मायं काश्मीरोऽयं सुनन्दनः ॥
गोपालः सिन्धुराजोऽयं भिल्लो विन्ध्यबलोऽप्ययम् ।
निर्मूकः पारसीकोऽयं नृपः प्रणमति प्रभो ॥

federal chiefs and soldiers, and then, along with them, the king Vikramāditya triumphantly enters Ujjayinī. Thereafter, king Kaliṅgasena of Kalinga was also forced to accept suzerainty, and to give his daughter Kaliṅgasenā in marriage to Vikramāditya.[1]

Now, in view of these detailed and specific particulars, we are faced with the problem as to whether the account has its basis in fact or is merely a creation of the poet's imagination. Barring poetic embellishments, conventional exaggerations and descriptions, the account, on the whole, presents the appearance of being real and accurate and hence worthy of credibility. Prof. Shembavnekar vouches for the importance from the historical point of view of the account of Vikramāditya's parentage and birth as given in the *KSS* account.[2] He does not, however, refer to the various kings mentioned by Somadeva in the *KSS*. Dr. Altekar, on the other hand, dismisses the whole story as unreliable, because in his opinion, the state of India as depicted in the *KSS* is not borne out by actual facts. According to Dr. Altekar, during that period, Bengal was ruled by the S'uṅgas and Kāṇvas and there is no mention of S'aktikumāra (referred to as from Gauḍa in the *KSS*) in their genealogies. Mahārāṣṭra and Karṇāṭaka were under the Sātavāhanas, whose genealogies do not include any king named Jayadhvaja (as stated in the *KSS*). Sind and the Punjab were under the S'akas, but the *KSS* mentions Gopāla and Sunandana as the respective rulers of these provinces. Thus, in Dr. Altekar's opinion, the political conditions in the *KSS* run counter to what actually existed during the period. Another factor going against the veracity of the *KSS* account, according to Dr. Altekar, is that there is no reference in the *KSS* to the fact of Vikrama's founding an era.[3] Thus the *KSS* is

[1] cf. *KSS*, XVIII. 4. 1-3.
[2] *JIH*. X. 2, p. 6 (Reprint); *Sahyādri* (Marathi Magazine), Dec. 1943, pp. 789-90.
[3] *Sahyādri*, Dec. 1943, pp. 791-2.

thrown out of court as purely a romantic work, having no historical value, thus knocking the bottom out of the theories of scholars who, on the basis of the *KSS* account were trying to reconstruct some historical episodes.

Jayaswal, however, has given credence to the information supplied by the *KSS*, and according to him, the names connected with the biography of Vikramāditya seem to be historical.[1] It is well known that Jayaswal identifies Vikramāditya with Kuntala S'ātakarṇi, and states that later the title was applied to Kuntala's ancestor.[2] We are not concerned here with the merits of the proposed identification. Apart from the fact, however, that such practice of naming an ancestor from his descendant is not found anywhere, and also that Kuntala S'ātakarṇi is not called Vikramāditya anywhere nor is he associated with the foundation of the Vikrama era, his date[3] also conflicts with Jayaswal's identification. The battle described in the *KSS* was fought in Gujerat, according to Jayaswal, as it was the suitable meeting place for the various kings from the different provinces.[4] This may be assumed to be correct. Then Jayaswal identifies the various kings in the list thus indicating the historicity of the *KSS* account and thus forestalling a reply to Dr. Altekar's objection; but it should be noted that the kings mentioned by Jayaswal belong to the first century A.D. and not to the first century B.C., the date of Vikramāditya. Jayaswal identifies Vijayavarman of Lāṭa with Jayadāman, and according to him, Pārasika was probably a Kushan king of Persian origin, and Kalingasena, the father-in-law of Vikramāditya, was Khāravela II or III.[5] The strongest objection

[1] *JBORS*, XVI, p. 299.

[2] *JBORS*, XVI, p. 298.

[3] Second quarter of the first century A.D.—Smith, *EHI*, 4th Ed, p. 232.

[4] *JBORS*, XVI, p. 299.

[5] *JBORS*, XVI, pp. 299, 305-7.

against these identifications as also against the Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi theory is, as already indicated, that they relate to the first century A.D., whereas according to the *BK*, they must pertain to the first century B.C. in order to help us in proving the historicity of Vikramaditya

In the following lines an attempt is made to show that some of the kings mentioned in the *KSS* may be presumed to have historically existed in the first century B.C. The political condition of India in the first century B.C. as portrayed by Dr. Altekar (to which a reference has already been made) is, no doubt, substantially correct. It was the period when the empire of the S'uṅgas was on the decline, and foreigners like the Greeks and S'akas had penetrated through the northwest upto Sind and the Punjab. The Sātavāhanas were lords of the south and they had extended their empire northward and eastward.

As regards Kaliṅgasena whose daughter Kaliṅgasenā was married to Vikramāditya and whom Jayaswal identified with Khāravela II or III,[1] it appears that he was identical with Khāravela himself. Jayaswal's identification rests on the assumption that Khāravela belongs to the second century B.C. Now, Khāravela was assigned to the second century B.C. by Bühler, Rapson and others on palaeographic grounds;[2] but palaeography is not the sole decisive factor in settling chronology, nor is it infallible. Its value is only relative. And there is a difference of opinion among scholars as to the date to be assigned to the Hathigumpha inscription on palaeographic grounds. R. B. Chanda believes the Hathigumpha inscription to relate to the first century B.C.,[3] and Dr. Seth has given very strong grounds which show that Khāravela belongs to the period of the decline of the S'uṅgas, about 75 B.C.[4] Thus, Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga, can

[1] *KSS*, XVIII. 4. 1-3; *JBORS*, XVI, pp. 305-7.
[2] *ASWI*, V, p. 71: *Ind. Pal.*, p. 39; *CHI*, I, p. 535.
[3] *JRAS*, 1919, pp. 396-7; *MASI*, I, pp. 7 ff.
[4] *Nag. Univ. Journ.*, Dec. 1942, pp. 4-7; also Ray Chaudhuri, *Pol Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 4th Ed., pp. 345, 347.

safely be identified with Kaliṅgasena mentioned in the *KSS.* Dr. Seth, however, identifies Khāravela with Gardabhilla, the father of Vikramāditya; but the Manchapuri cave inscription[1] which he cites in support of his identification is in a very damaged condition, the readings are not beyond doubt and the linguistic equations are far—fetched.

Once Khāravela is placed in the first century B.C., other identifications in the *KSS* become quite easy and simple. The first king mentioned is Gauḍa S'aktikumāra, *i.e.* king S'aktikumāra of Bengal. Prof. Rapson has identified the Āndhra king Sātakarṇi (Sātavāhana or S'ālivāhana) and his son S'aktikumāra respectively with S'ātakarṇi and prince S'aktis'rī of the Nanaghat inscriptions.[2] It is an accepted fact that S'ātakarṇi was contemporaneous with Khāravela. King S'ātakarṇi is reputed to have performed the As'vamedha twice,[3] which implies his overlordship of the earth, at least imperial sway over a large territory. The Āndhras appear to have been in possession of Ujjayinī and Vidis'ā.[4] According to Jayaswal, Pāṭaliputra was under the sway of the Āndhras during this period,[5] so that we may safely assume that Magadha, which included Gauḍa, was under the Āndhra suzerainty during the reign of S'ātakarṇi, and that S'aktikumāra, the prince mentioned in the *KSS*, who was the crown prince of S'ātakarṇi, was probably his father's viceroy in the conquered Magadha Such practice of appointing princes of the royal blood over distant provinces was fairly common in the Mauryan and S'uṅga times. Thus, Gauda S'aktikumāra may be identified with prince S'aktis'rī or S'aktikumāra.

The next king enumerated is Nirmūka Pārasika; his territory is not mentioned. Now, exact accuracy with regard

[1] *NUJ*, Dec. 1942, pp. 10-1.

[2] *CHI.* I. p. 531 cf. also Ray Chaudhuri, according to whom S'aktis'rī or Haku-siri, the son of S'ātakarṇi "is probably identical with S'aktikumāra, son of S'ālivāhana mentioned in Jaina literature".—*PHAI*, 4th Ed, p. 347.

[3] Rapson, *CHI*, I, pp. 530, 535.

[4] Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. 530-4, Ray Chaudhuri, *op. cit.* p. 346.

[5] *JBORS*, XVI, p. 294.

to foreign names cannot be expected in ancient works. Indian writers frequently made confusions between Śakas and Parthians. The term Pārasika probably denotes the Parthians who held sway over the northwestern India through their viceroys. The expression Nirmuka Pārasika refers to Śaka Maues, who for the first time assumed the title 'king of kings' on the Indian soil.[1] The name has been variously given as Maues by the Greek writers, Moa in Kharoṣṭhi, and Moga in inscriptions.[2] Maues belongs to the first century B.C., contemporaneous with the traditional period of Vikramāditya, and the defeat of the Śakas with which Vikramāditya is credited probably refers to the defeat of this Śaka king of kings.[3] Maues, Moa or Moka may well have been corrupted through Paiśācī and Sanskrit into Nirmūka, and there is nothing inherently improbable in the identification of Pārasika Nirmūka with Śaka Maues.

The other princes appear to be rather petty chieftains, and no account or records concerning them are available. Jayadhvaja of Karṇāṭaka was probably a vassal king under the Sātavāhanas, and similarly, Sunandana and Gopāla, respectively of Kashmir and Sind, were not very prominent kings so as to have left any footprints on the sands of time. Absence of information about these kings elsewhere neither controverts nor supports the historicity of the account in the *KSS*.

Thus, Dr. Altekar's objections to the account in the *KSS* being fanciful have been answered. It must, however, be admitted that the *KSS* never refers to the fact of the founding of the era by Vikramāditya. It cannot be asserted whether the *BK* referred to it. Probably the *KSS*, as indicated by its title, was dealing more with the story than with the recording of all historical particulars, and hence such omission may be deemed pardonable.

[1] Sten Konow, *CII*, II, i, p. xxix.

[2] Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 496.

[3] *cf.* Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 335 f.

JAGANNĀTHAPAṆDITA ALIAS UMĀNANDANĀTHA

BY

G. V. DEVASTHALI

THE name of *Jagannāthapaṇḍita* (J) is too well-known in Sanskrit literature and at once brings to our mind the author of the equally well-known and popular works like the *Gaṅgālaharī* (GL), the *Bhāminīvilāsa* (BV), and the *Rasagaṅgādhara* (RG). It must, however, be remembered that there are other authors also going by this very name and that they also have given us a variety of works. Thus there is one *J* who has composed a *bhāṇa* named *Anaṅga-vijaya*; another who has composed the *Advaitāmṛta*; a third one who is the author of a poem called *Jñānavilāsa*; and there are several more who have given us the *Rekhāgaṇita*, the *Vivādabhaṅgārṇava*, the *Anantacandrikā*, the *Anu-bhogakalpataru* and several other works on a variety of subjects.[1] Though it is certain that all these are different from the famous author of *RG.* and other works, who enjoyed the patronage of Shah Jehan and his son Dāra, little seems as yet to have been done to put together all available information about any one of these and thus fix their identity beyond all doubt and confusion. In the following lines it is proposed to present together all information available about one such author and fix his date within as narrow limits as possible.

The *J* that forms the subject of this paper is the author of the *Nityotsavaṁbandha* (N), the *Ratimanmatha* (RM),

[1] For these see the Introduction (in Sanskrit) to the *RG.* (N. S. Press edition of 1916), p. 4 f. Also see Aufrecht, *Cat. Cat.*, I. p. 195 f.

and some other works. Fortunately enough our author is not quite reticent about himself so that by a perusal of his works alone we are able to collect a good deal of information about him. Thus from the *RM.*[1] we know that his name was *Jagannātha* and that he calls himself a *Kavi*. In *N*, on the other hand, we find him styling himself *paṇḍitavara*.[2] But the more important and interesting piece of information that we derive from this latter work is that *Umānandanātha* is the name which was received by *J* after his initiation.[3] This establishes beyond doubt the identity of *Umānandanātha*, the author of *N*, with *J*, the author of *RM*. And if at all there is any doubt still lurking in some sceptic mind it is dispelled by the fact that the additional information about the parentage etc as given in the one exactly tallies with that given in the other. Thus we are told that the names of *J's* parents are *Bālakṛṣṇa* and *Lakṣmyambā*. *Bālakṛṣṇa* in one is styled *Vidvān*, while in the other he is called *saciwottaṁsa*. The reference to *Lakṣmyambā* in both, however, is more touching. For the author describes himself as the moon of the ocean of the heart of *Lakṣmyambā*; and even declares in plain terms that he was fondled by her.[4]

In all his works again *J* refers to his *gotra* in rather proud terms. Thus in *N* he describes himself as the foremost (*Tilaka*) of the persons belonging to the *gotra* of the sage *Viśvāmitra* of penances striking the whole world with

[1] cf. अस्ति न्यस्तपदो गुणैरिह जगन्नाथाभिधानः कविः ॥ *RM*

[2] cf. ललितापदाब्जरोलम्बेन जगन्नाथपण्डितवरेण ।
नव्यः क्रोधनशरदि न्यबन्धि नित्योत्सवः शिवप्रीत्यै ॥ *N.*

[3] cf. भारत्युपास्यभास्करमखिदेशिकलब्धदैक्ष्यनामाहम् । This दैक्षनाम is found in the colophon which reads इति श्रीमद्भासुरानन्दनाथचरणारविन्दमिलिन्दायमानमानसेनो-मानन्दनाथेन निर्मितेऽस्मिन्नवे कल्पसूत्रानुसारिणि नित्योत्सवनिबन्धे साधारणक्रमनिरूपणो नामानवस्यो-ल्लासः सप्तमः समाप्तः । सम्पूर्णश्चायं निबन्धः *N.*

[4] cf. सम्भूतो ननु बालकृष्णसचिवोत्तंसस्य रूपान्तरम् ।
लक्ष्म्यम्बाहृदयाब्धिशीतकिरणो लोकेभिगम्यः सताम् ॥ *R.M.*
and श्रीबालकृष्णविद्वत्सुतेन लक्ष्म्यम्बयोपलालितेन । *N.*

wonder.[1] Prouder still is the phraseology used in *RM* and the *Bhāskaravilāsa* (Bh. V.) where he says that he is born in a race (*i.e gotra*) which is strong enough to bestow another *Indra* on the world, or to let it do even without any *Indra* at all.[2] The mythological reference here, of course, is only too evident to require any elucidation. It is, however, only in one work, known to us so far, that he gives us his surname. It is in *N* that he tells us that his surname is *S'rutapeṭava*,[3] and it is worthwhile investigating into the matter and try to find the modern equivalent of this rather queer surname.

Two more points[4] worth noting have been given by *J* again in *N*. One is that he is already, *i.e* prior to the composition of *N* in A.D. 1745 (for that is the date of its composition), an author of *nāṭaka, kāvya*, and other works, while the other pertains to his caste which he gives in the expression *mahitamahārāṣṭrajātihīreṇa*. He describes himself as the jewel (*i.e.* the best) of the persons from the Mahārāṣṭra who as a class were highly respectable. This shows that *J* was originally a resident of Mahārāṣṭra, Brāhmaṇa by caste, as opposed to the Kannaḍa or the Telugu Brāhmaṇas who were the natives of the place where he flourished.

This brings us to the question of the place where *J* lived; and here again, fortunately enough, we have strong grounds to arrive at a definite conclusion. Thus in *N* he calls himself the *mālya* (*i.e.*, flower on the head) of a *Bhosala* king of Cola.[5] In *RM* again he goes a step further and tells us that he enjoys the patronage of a *Bhosala* king of *Cola*.[5] This again explains

[1] *cf.* विद्याश्चर्यतपोमयविश्वामित्रर्षिगोत्रतिलकेन । *N.*

[2] *cf.* अन्येष्टं जगदस्थितेन्द्रमपि वा कर्तुं प्रगल्भेऽन्वये ।
सम्भूतो etc. *N* and *Bh. V.* St. 111.

[3] *cf.* श्रुतपेटवोपनाम्ना चोळाधिपभोसलेन्दुमाल्येन । *N.*

[4] *cf.* नाटककाव्यादिकृता महितमहाराष्ट्रजातिहीरेण । *N.*

[5] *cf.* वंशो भोसलभूभृतोऽधिवसुधं चोळप्रदेशाधिपः ।
तस्मिन् विस्मयनीयशीलसदनं सङ्ग्रामलीलातत-
ज्याचक्रीकृतचापदर्शितमहाप्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपतिः ।

why our author feels like emphasizing or declaring in emphatic terms the fact of his being a Mahārāṣṭra man. We have further grounds to assert that he was a resident of Tanjore. The very statement that he was a protégé of a *Bhosala* king by itself is enough for us to conclude that our author stayed at Tanjore which was the capital of the *Bhosalas* But we have a more direct statement where *J* tells us that he was initiated into the *Nātha* sect and was also asked to compose his *N* by his *Dīkṣāguru*, *Bhāsurānandanātha*, who had come all the way from Benares to the *Cola* land and was residing on the bank of the *Kāverī*[1] (not far from Tanjore). In *RM* again we are told that his father *Bālakṛṣṇa* was the best of ministers (*sacivottaṁsa*) obviously of a *Bhosala* king of *Cola*. It may not be wrong, therefore, to conclude that *J* was a resident of Tanjore.

Having thus gathered all information regarding the name, the surname, parentage, gotra, caste and place of residence of our author, let us now pass on to a consideration of his works. And the most important work of *J* that we have note is the *Nityotsavanibandha*.[2] From the point of view of chronology also this work is very important because in it the author has given us the date of its imposition as the year 4846 of the *Kali* era.[3] The expression used by *J* to give the date is *rasārṇavakarivedamiteṣu* which R. Krishnasvami

आचान्तप्रतिपादनामृतझरीनिर्वापितार्थिव्रजा
क्ष्मान्योद्धुरसंज्वरो भुवि जयत्येकोऽवनीचन्द्रमाः ॥
स तावद्राजमणिरुपजीव्यते तेन जगता च सर्वेण । *RM.*

[1] *cf.* काश्याश्चोलान् देशमेत्य कावेर्यन्तविहारिणा ।
नाथेन भासुरानन्दनाथेनेहास्मि योजितः ॥

[2] Published by NSP., Bombay. A MS. of this I have described in my Catalogue of the Sk. and Pk. MSS. in the Library of the Bombay University, (Bombay 1944) under No. 1740. All quotations from the *N.* are taken from this MS.

[3] *cf* कल्यब्देषु रसार्णवकरिवेदमितेष्विह व्यतीतेषु ।
नव्यः क्रोधनशरदि न्यबन्धि नित्योत्सवः शिवप्रीत्यै ॥ *N.*

Sastri[1] has interpreted as being equivalent to A.D. 1775. Evidently he has taken the term *arṇava* in the above expression as signifying seven instead of *four* (as it usually does). But the idea of oceans being *seven*[2] in number is no less common than that of their being *four*, so that in the absence of some definite deciding factor the interpretation of the term *arṇava* and along with it also the date of the composition of *N* would have remained ambiguous and indefinite. Fortunately, however, *J* himself has given us such a definite clue to the exact date by giving us the name of year in which *N* was composed as *Krodhana*. Now ordinary calculation shows that the *saṁvatsara* current in the Deccan had the name *Krodhana*, not in A.D. 1775 (the date given R. K. Shastri),[3] but in A.D. 1745. This then proves beyond all doubt that the term *arṇava* in the above expression must be understood as standing for *four* and that the date of the composition of *N* is *Kali* 4846 (c. 1745 A.D.)

This *Nityotsavanibandha* is a tantric work which follows mainly the authority of the *Kalpasūtra* of *Paraśurāma*, though some innovations have been introduced therein on the authority of some other *Tantra* works and also in view of the traditional teachings.[4] It has, like the *Kalpasūtra* on which it is based, seven chapters (Ullāsas) which are named *ārambha*, *taruṇa*, *yauvana*, *prauḍha*, *tadanta*, *unmana* and *anavastha* respectively; and the topics dealt with in these respectively are *dīkṣā*, *Gaṇeśa*, *Śrī*, *Śyāmā*, *Kroḍī*, *Parākrama*,

[1] *cf.* वरिवस्यारहस्यम् (Adyar Library Series, No. 28), Intr., p. xxviii.

[2] *cf.* सप्तसमुद्रीवादिनस्तु शास्त्रादनपेता एव ।—Kāvyamīmāṁsā (edited by Dalal, Baroda, 1924), p. 91 where may also be found other views about the number of oceans..

[3] The name for the *Saka* year corresponding to A.D. 1775 would be *Mammatha*.

[4] See the colophon quoted above where the work is said to be कल्पसूत्रानुसारि. Also *cf.*

श्रीगुरुमसुग्रजालकमभ्रप्रसरस्य मे हृदिस्थेह ।
ग्रन्थिविमोकधुरीणं गुरुचरणस्मरणमेव मार्गकरम् ॥
सूत्रसंसूचितानुक्तविरुद्धाक्रेतिकार्यता ।
तन्त्रान्तरात् सम्प्रदायाच्चाप्युक्तेह क्वचित् क्वचित् ॥ *N.*

and *Sāmānya Krama*.[1] From the concluding stanzas of this work we come to know that our author had set himself free from the bewitching entanglements of this world by a constant study of the Vedānta works. He also tells us there that he is a staunch devotee (bee—*rolamba*) of the lotus-feet of *Lalitā* and that he was a devoted student of all *āmnāyas* and *tantras* and had, in addition, had the advantage of being saturated in the traditional teaching (of course through the favour of Bhāsurānandanātha).[2] This shows how our author was well up in *Vedānta* and *Tantra*. A perusal of the introductory stanzas[3] gives an impression that *J* had studied *Mīmāṁsā* also. For therein he has used freely such terms as *mukhyatā*, *aṅgatva*, *nyāyopasaṁhṛta*, *aṅga*, *itikāryatā*, *prakṛti* and *atideśa* which are one and all purely technical *Mīmāṁsā* terms. This work was composed, as the author himself tells us, at the command of Bhāsurānandanātha who having come from Benares to *Cola* stayed on the bank of the *Kāverī* and initiated our author giving him *Umānandanātha* as his *dīkṣā* name. *J* praises very highly[4] this *Dīkṣāguru* of

[1] आरम्भतरुणयौवनप्रौढतदन्तोन्मनानवस्थाद्यैः ।
सूत्रोदितैस्तु सतभिन्नासैराश्रितेह विश्रान्तिः ॥ *N*

[2] *cf.* भ्रम्यन्ततत्त्वशीलनदलितजगच्चक्रजालमोहेन ।
भारत्युपाख्यभास्करमखिदेशिकलब्धदेशनान्नाहम् ॥
आम्नायतन्त्रजातालोकपरेणार्यसम्प्रदायजुषा ।
ललितापदाब्जरोलम्बेन जगन्नाथपण्डितवरेण ॥ *N.*

[3] *cf.* प्रतिपाद्येषु मुख्यत्वमङ्गतान्यच यद् भवेत् ।
तत्सर्वं श्रीगुरुप्रोक्ते रत्नालोकेऽधिगम्यताम् ॥
न्यायोपसंहृतैरङ्गैः प्रत्युज्जानस्य मे क्रमात् ।
क्रमप्रमादस्खलितं समाधत्तु तद्विदः ॥
सूत्रसंसूचितानुक्तविस्तारेतिकार्यता ।
तन्त्रान्तरात्सम्प्रदायादप्युक्तेह क्वचित् क्वचित् ॥
इह क्रमाणां सर्वेषां श्रीक्रमः प्रकृतिर्मतः ।
अतिदिश्य तमन्यत्र विशेषस्तु निरूप्यते ॥ *N.*

[4] *cf.* यस्यादृष्टो नास्ति भूमण्डलांशो यस्यादासो विद्यते न क्षितीशः ।
यस्याज्ञातं नैव शास्त्रं किमन्यैर्यस्याकारः सा परा शक्तिरेव ॥ *N.*

This very verse occurs again in *Bh. V.* as st. 17. The *Bh. V.* is a whole poem in praise of *Bhāsurānandanātha*.

his who was, indeed, a great scholar, a great tāntrika, and also great writer of the beginning of the 18th century A.D.[1]

This brings us to another work which our author composed in praise of his *Dīkṣāguru*. It is believed that *N* was composed by *J* only during the life-time of Bhāsurānandanātha, but that it was even revised and approved of by the latter. This belief, however, is not corroborated by *Rāmeśvara Sūri* (a fellow-student of *J*) who belittles this tradition.[2] About the *Bhāskaravilāsa*,[3] of course, we have definite grounds to say that it was composed after the great Bhāsurānandanātha (B) had shaken off his mortal coils. In st. 110 of this poem, *J* directly states that though *B* had in pretty old age *attained Śiva-hood* in the *Madhyārjunakṣetra*[4] yet he is still awake (*i.e.* living) with his bright and everlasting fame. Very probably again st. 109 of this poem speaks in punning terms of the passing away of *B*; and if this interpretation is correct, then that stanza would seem to give us some year named *Dundubhi* as the year when *B* attained heaven.[5] Now as we know that *B* composed one of his works in A.D. 1740-41, we must find out some year after that date

[1] About this writer I intend publishing a detailed account in a separate paper.

[2] See R. K. Shastri's Introduction (p. XXVIIIf) to वरिवस्यारहस्य (Adyar, 1941).

[3] Printed in the N. S. P. edition (1935) of ललितासहस्रनाम on pp. 16-24.

[4] This is *Tiruvidaimarudūr*, six miles east of *Kumbhakonam* and 29 miles from *Tanjore*. It is celebrated for its temple. (Geographical Dictionary by Dey, 1927)

[5] The verse is,

कुमुदं वर्धयन्प्रोल्लासी कोप्येष भास्करः ।
दुन्दुभिं ध्वनयन्भूम्यां प्रमोदी दिनमानशे ॥

I suspect that we have to read दिवमानशे instead of दिनमानशे. But even as it is, the line can be understood as meaning 'Causing the drum (or the *Dundubhi* year) to sound on the earth, he reached the *Pramodī* day'. This would mean that *Bhāskara* continued to live and gather fame up to the year named *Pramodī*. According to this interpretation *Bhāskararāya* must have lived up to A.D. 1750 corresponding to *Śaka* 1572 which was *Pramoda*.

the corresponding S'aka year of which had the name *Dundubhi*; and that we get in A.D. 1742. It would, therefore, appear that *B* passed away in A.D. 1742 and that the *Bh. V.* was composed by *J* only shortly after the sad event. The date of the passing away of *B* would have been again settled at least approximately if we should have known the date of the composition of the *Bh. V. J.* does, indeed, seem to have recorded, of course with a pun, the date of the composition of his *Bh. V.* in stanza 112 in the expression *abde pramodasacive.*[1] But for the present at least, the expression seems to be tantalizingly obscure, so that we have to rest contented by saying that *Bh. V.* was composed soon after the sad demise of *B.* which very probably took place in A.D. 1742. The *Bhuvanabhoga*[2] is only another name of this *Bh. V.* which comprises 118 stanzas in different metres and is an important source of information about *B*, his works, his travels, his learning, etc., particularly because it is from the pen of one who was so intimately connected with him as his disciple.

One more dated work of *J* that we know of is the *Hṛdayāmṛta* which we are told was composed in A.D. 1742. Though it is not at present possible to say any thing very definitely regarding the nature and contents of this work, yet the fact that the name of the author of this work is recorded as Umānandanātha is enough to show that it was composed by our author after his initiation into the *Nātha* sect, and that it is in all probability a Tāntric work. Nor is it unlikely that it was composed within only a few years of *J* accepting the *dīkṣā*. This would mean that *J* was initiated by *B* into the *Nātha* sect not long before A.D. 1742.

[1] I am inclined to think that in this expression Jagannātha is giving us merely the name of the year (of course current in the Deccan). If this view is right the date of the composition would be A.D. 1750. In view of this interpretation again I feel that the 109th verse of the *Bh. V.* also should be understood as in the above note, so that J. would appear to say that his guru came (lived) as far as the Pramoda year (st. 109), then he passed away, presumably in the same year (st. 110) and the *Bh V.* was composed also immediately after the sad event in that very year (st. 112).

[2] *cf.* Aufrecht, *Cat. Cat.*, II, p. 13b.

The *Aśvadhāṭīkāvya*[1] is yet another poem comprising twenty-six stanzas in the *aśvadhāṭī* metre (whence the poem gets its name) composed by our author, though it has sometimes been wrongly fathered upon the famous author of *RG.* and other works. There is now little doubt that this poem was composed by *J* of Tanjore, the author of the *RM* and the *Vasumatīvilāsa*. About the exact date of the composition of this poem we know nothing and yet we can be sure that it was composed by *J* when he was pretty well advanced in years. For in the concluding verse of this poem *J* tells us that he composed it in his eagerness to satisfy the desire of his son's son, *Rāma*.[2] From this it is clear that at the time of the composition of this poem *J's* son was old enough to have a son who himself was old enough again to be interested in a Sanskrit *Kāvya* like the one under discussion. This would show that *J* must have been at least about sixty years old when he composed the *Aśvadhāṭīkāvya*.

All the four works noticed above are necessarily the product of his mature years and are certainly later than A.D. 1742. But composing his *N* in 1745, *J* has described himself as already a composer or an author of *nāṭakas*, *kāvyas*, and the like. This means that he must have composed some such works much earlier than that date. We must, therefore, try to see what works of our author justify the above declaration made by him. And taking up *nāṭakas* first, we find that our *J* is known to have composed two plays the *Ratimanmatha*[3] and the *Vasumatīpariṇaya*,[4] both of which very probably were composed before *N*. It is possible, however, to fix the date of the *RM* with greater precision and tolerable certainty. In the prologue to this play *J* tells us that his father is a

[1] Printed in Kāvyaratnākara. p. 258.

[2] Read : रामनाम्नः स्वपौत्रस्य कामनापूरणोत्सुकः ।
अश्वधाटीं जगन्नाथो विश्वहृद्यामरीरचत् ॥

[3] It is published, but I have quoted from the MS. described in my Catalogue under No. 2307.

[4] This is known only from MSS. See Aufrecht, *Cat. Cat.*, I, p. 557b.

sacivottaṁsa and that he himself as even the whole world is enjoying the patronage of the *Bhosala* prince *Eka* of *Cola*.[1] This has been understood as referring to Ekoji I of Tanjore,[2] the very founder of the Maratha rule at Tanjore, who is known to have ruled there between A.D. 1675 and 1686. On this assumption the latest date which can be assigned to *RM* can't be later than A.D. 1686—a date, it may be pointed out, removed by a gulf of no less eighty years from the date at which *J* composed his *N*. Taking into consideration the ordinary span of human life and, of course, assuming that *J* was not only a child or even a boy below the teens when he composed his *RM* it appears to be quite absurd to accept for the *RM* a date so far removed from the date of the composition of *N* which has been given by *J* himself and about which, therefore, there can be no two opinions. Again the gap between A.D. 1686 and A.D. 1745 is rather too wide in view of the very few works that our *J* is known to have composed. The identification of *J*'s patron, therefore, with Ekoji I of Tanjore as it is generally accepted at present does not stand to reason. We must, therefore, identify him with Ekoji II, son of Tukoji, who succeeded his brother Sarabhoji after his death in 1728 A.D. This Tukoji died in 1736 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Ekoji who at the time, was about forty years old. Unfortunately he ruled only for a year, though during his short reign, his illness notwithstanding, he bravely defeated Chanda Sahib who had attacked Tanjore in 1736. If thus Ekoji II is the patron under whom our *J* wrote his *RM*, we can't but date the *RM* at A.D. 1736[3] or 1737 at the latest. This date for the composition of *RM* does not leave any very unaccountably wide vacuum between the known dates of his compositions.[4]

[1] See quotations above.

[2] See Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* (Madras 1937), p. 241.

[3] For information about *Ekoji* II read तंजावरचे मराठी राजे by वाकसकर (सयाजीसाहित्यमाला, अंक 223), pp. 68-69.

[4] For this period read वाकसकर, *ibid.*, pp. 68-74.

Incidentally it may be noted that though *J* declares in his *RM* that his father was a *Sacivottaṁsa*, we do not hear of any minister of any of the *Bhosalas* of Tanjore with the name *Bālakṛṣṇa*. Had our author's father been really the minister of the founder of the Maratha Kingdom at Tanjore, Ekoji I, we should certainly have had at least some trace of his in the history of Tanjore. This absence of any historical trace of our author's father can be explained only on two assumptions: either our author is indulging in a flagrant falsehood or his father was a minister at some period our knowledge of which is yet extremely meagre and laconic. Ordinarily it would be only just and fair to our author (and to any author in fact) to reject the first of the two assumptions noted above. *J* has given us no cause to accuse him of being a liar. We are forced, therefore, to fall on the second and the only assumption that is helpful in this matter. It will not be wrong, therefore, to conclude that J's father Bālakṛṣṇa was a minister during some period which is still obscure to us. And such a period, we are told, did obtain in the history of Tanjore for three or four years just after the death of Tukoji in 1736. Ekoji II, who succeeded his father in 1736, entertained suspicions about all around him; and it is, therefore, very likely that he must have appointed some new minister or ministers whom he could trust, and our author's father must have been one among these. Historical records actually tell us that Ekoji II did appoint a cabinet of several ministers for conducting the administrative affairs on proper lines and leading the state safely out of the predicaments which it was forced to face at this time. But ere long Ekoji was killed and Tanjore was in a chaotic condition for two or three years until Pratāpasimha came to the throne in 1739 A.D. This state of affairs prevailing in Tanjore during this period sufficiently explains the absence of any definite trace of the ministership of Bālakṛṣṇa in the history of Tanjore though undoubtedly, as declared by his son, he was for some time a *sacivottaṁsa*.

Besides, the *RM* which is a play in five acts, our author has also another drama to his credit, the *Vasumatīpariṇaya* dealing as the name shows, with the marriage of *Vasumatī*.

Having thus seen that *J* had already composed two plays before composing his *N* it now remains to see what *kāvya* or *kāvyas* he is referring to when in his *N* he declares that he is already the author of some *kāvya*. We have already noticed two of his poetical works. *Bh. V.* and the *Aśvadhāṭīkāvya* both of which, as we have noticed, are the product of his mature years It follows, therefore, that our author must be referring to some other poetical work of his when he called himself the author of *kāvya* etc. in his *N*. There appears only one work which one can think of in this connection. It is the *Śarabharājavilāsa*[1] which evidently is a poem in praise of king Sarabhoji of Tanjore Now two Sarabhojis are known to have ruled at Tanjore; and of these, the later, generally known as Sarabhoji II, was on the throne from 1798-1833. If the *Śarabharājavilāsa* (*SV*) is taken[2] to be a work in honour of this Sarabhoji II the earliest date to which it can be assigned can't be earlier than 1798, a date which, it may be remembered, is removed by as many as sixty-two years from the date of the composition of the *RM* as arrived at above To add to this there is also the difficulty raised by the pretty wide gap of a little less than fifty years between the composition of *N* in 1745 and that of *SV* (if we take its date as 1798) which cannot be very well accounted for in view of the comparatively few works that our *J* is known to have composed during this long period. In fact there is hardly any work so far known from the pen of our *J* which can definitely be assigned a date between A.D. 1745 and 1798. It, therefore, does not appear probable that *J* wrote in honour of Sarabhoji II. It again seems doubtful whether *J*, who declares in 1745 in *N*

[1] Known only from MSS; *cf.* Aufrecht, *Cat. Cat.*, I, p. 627.

[2] Burnell in his *Catalogue*, p. 162b describes this work as History of *Sarabhoji* of Tanjore (1798-1833). cf. *Cat. Cat.*, p. 637b and also 196a, where however we get 1796 instead of 1798, which latter is, of course, correct.

that he has freed himself from the entangling and bewitching aspirations of mundane existence, would ever care to compose a work in honour of a prince. It is, therefore, more likely that if at all our *J*[1] is the author of this work under discussion it must be in honour of the other earlier prince of Tanjore, known as Sarabhoji I who ruled from 1712 to 1727 A.D. And if this is correct then it follows that it was composed somewhere about 1720 A.D. This presumption about *J's SV* seems to be justified again by the fact that it helps us to arrange chronologically all the known works of our *J* without leaving any very unaccountably wide gap between any two works and also without creating any difficulty on the score of *J*'s duration of life, or his initiation about A.D. 1742 or his pretty old age at the time of the composition of the *Aśvadhāṭīkāvya*.

Thus it is likely that *J* was born somewhere in the last decade of the 17th century and began his literary career about 1720 with *SV*. Between A. D. 1720 and 1736 he composed his *Vasumatīpariṇaya* and on the occasion of Ekoji II in 1736 composed another play called the *RM*. Soon after this he came into contact with his *Dīkṣāguru*,[2] *Bhāsurānandanātha*, and was initiated by him into the *Nātha* sect about 1742 when he composed his *Hṛdayāmṛta*. Three years later was composed his *magnum opus*, *Nityotsavanibandha* which shows *J* to be already old enough to be averse to mundane existence. About the same time belongs the *Bh. V* composed shortly after the passing of *Bhāsurānandanātha* in the *Madhyārjunakṣetra* while the *Aśvadhāṭīkāvya* belongs to the grey

[1] वाकसकर, *ibid.*, p 62 records that both the *RM* and the *SV* are composed by *Jagannātha*, son of *Bālakṛṣṇa*, a minister of *Ekoji*.

[2] It may be noted that *J* has given us in his *RM* the name of his preceptor (or Vidyāguru) also as *Kāmeśvara* whom he highly-eulogises in the following lines

जिह्वाराजस्थवाणीनखविहृतिरणत्कच्छपीवाद्यभेदे-

हेलालीलाधीनलक्ष्मीकरकमलमृदुस्वादिमाद्वैतवादैः ।

चेतः कौतूहलानीकरभरकलितामन्दमन्दारगन्ध-

प्रख्यामोदैर्वचोभिः सुरभिरिह गुरुः सैष कामेश्वरोऽस्य ॥

years of our author, when he had no heart in composing such works or poems, for as he himself declares it, he has composed the poem simply for satisfying the desire of his grand-son. We thus see how we can very well survey the whole of the known literary activity of our *J* together with what few facts we know about his own life-time without having to face any very serious difficulty on any score. It is, therefore, very likely that *SV* was composed by our *J* and that it is a poem in honour of Sarabhoji I of Tanjore.

Having thus noticed all the known works of our author and also incidentally seen their chronology it is not now very difficult to fix his date with tolerable accuracy. We have seen that *J* composed his first literary work about A.D. 1720, and the last work, where he gives us the date of the composition, in A.D. 1745. We have also seen that two other poems must have been composed by our *J* after this latter date, so that they may be assigned to A.D. 1750 or thereabouts. Thus the literary activity of our author seems to have covered approximately the last three decades of the first half of the 18th century. Now assuming that our author was more than twenty years old when he composed his first *kāvya* about 1720 A.D., we may conclude that he was born somewhere in the last decade of the 17th century. This very well agrees with the fact that at the time of the composition of the *Aśvadhāṭī-kāvya* (about A.D. 1750), he had a son old enough to have a son who could desire his grand-father to compose such a poem in Sanskrit. Now as we do not get any further works of this author it may reasonably be presumed again that he did not live very long after that date. Supposing, therefore, that he lived for about a decade more, we may conclude that our *J* must have lived between A.D. 1690 and A.D. 1760 approximately.

TWO CONTEMPORARY TRIBUTES TO MINISTER VIDYĀDHARA, THE BENGĀLI ARCHITECT OF JAIPUR AT THE COURT OF SEVAI JAISING OF AMBER (A.D. 1699-1743)

BY

P. K. GODE

In the current descriptions of the Jaipur City we are told that this city was founded by Raja Sevai Jaising of Amber in A.D. 1728.[1] No reference is made in these descriptions to the architect who was responsible for the planning and laying out of the Jaipur City as we find it today This architect was no other than VIDYĀDHARA to whom a tribute has been paid by his contemporary[2] at the court of Sevai Jaising (A.D. 1699-1743) in the following verses:

[1] *Imp Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VII, 1886, *p. 55*—"Amber remained capital until 1728 when the Second Jaisingh abandoned it for Jaipur": *P. 56*—"Removing the capital from the hills about Amber where it had hitherto been placed *he laid out and built the present Jaipur (Jeypore) in 1728*" *Mahārāṣṭrīya Jñānakośa*, Vol. XIII, 1925, Page "ज, १२१"—Jaising was proficient in *Śilpaśāstra*. He removed his capital from Amber to the modern Jaipur, which he founded in 1728 and laid out in the manner of a chess-board. Kṛṣṇarāma Kavi in his modern poem *Jayapuravilāsa Kāvya* (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1887) refers to Jaipur as follows:—"जयपुरं जयसिंहविनिर्मितम् जनितरागतरागमनोरमम्"—I, 19 (*p.* 3).

[2] Kṛṣṇa Kavi, the author of the *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* (MS. No 273 of 1884-86 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona) folia 39-40—Verses 38 to 43 of Sarga X called राजतिलकयात्रा. This poem was composed in A.D. 1744 at the time of the Coronation of Īśvarasing on the death of Sevai Jaising. Kṛṣṇa Kavi was present at the *Aśvamedha* performed by Jaising (*Vide* my papers in *Journal of Indian History*, Madras, XV, 364-367; *Poona Orientalist*, II, 166-180; *Mīmāṁsā*

"बंगालयप्रवरवैदिकगौडविप्रः[1]
क्षिप्रप्रसादसुलभः सुमुखः कलावान् ।
विद्याधरो जयति मंत्रिवरो नृपस्य
राजाधिराजपरिपूजितशुद्धबुद्धिः ॥ ३८ ॥

यद्बुद्धिवैभवबलेन नृपः सवाई-
राजाधिराज जयसिंह इति प्रसिद्धः ।
चक्रे पुरं जयपुरं[2] रमणीयमेत-
त्स्नेनःप्रसादजननं त्रिजगज्जनानाम् ॥ ३९ ॥

राजा स मंत्रिवरमीश्वरसिंहनाम्ने
पुत्राय राज्यपदवैभवभाजनाय ।

Prakāśa, II, 43-46 and Dr. D. C. Sircar *Successors of the Sātavāhanas* 1939, *Appendix* on Aśvamedha, p. 351).

[1] Vide *Madhyugina Caritrakośa*, Poona, 1937, p. 397, Article on Jayasing—"Jaising had in his employ a clever and learned *Bengali gentleman*, with whose help he carried out all reforms in his State" (Trans. from Marathi).

[2] *Cf.* verse 1 of *Sarga* III (*folio 10*) :—

" तेन प्रोद्भूतवप्रप्रसरणपरिखातोरणात्यंतदुर्गं
प्रोद्यत्प्रासादशीर्षध्वजवमनमिलच्चंद्रबिंबातिरुच्यं ।
श्रीसंघोद्देन पूर्णं व्यरचि पुरमतीवोज्वल रत्नभामि-
र्मति श्रीमत्सवायीजयपुरमिति यद्यास लोके प्रसिद्धिं ॥ ३ ॥ "

Folio 14 (Verses 48-50 of *Sarga* III) :

" येन श्री जयदुर्गनामविदितो दुर्गः कृतो दुर्गमः
श्रीसंघोद्युतं पुरे जयपुरं नाम प्रतिष्ठापितं ।
कासारः प्रस(र)त्सरोरुहवती सौंदर्यसारान्वितः
सोत्यर्थं जयसागरो विरचितः कस्तत्समानो जगी ॥ ४८ ॥
एतत्पदार्थत्रितयं जयांकं श्रीमत्सवाईजयसिंहनाम्ना
कृतं तदारभ्य कवेः कुलेस्मिन्सुविश्रितो भूरितयेन वाचा ॥ ४९ ॥
जयपुरजयदुर्गकृत्सवाई जयनृपतिर्जयसागरंचकार ।
जयति जयचतुष्कमेतदस्मिन् जगति जयस्तत एव विश्रितोस्ति ॥ ५० "

In *Peshwa Daftar*, 7—Letter No. 16 dated " April 1736 ? " we find a reference to " जयनगर " (p. 11)

श्रीराजमल्ल[1]मुखमंत्रिषु मुख्यमेनं
विद्याधरं किल समर्पितवान्स्वरुच्या ॥ ४० ॥

अस्त्येकतः सकलभूतलराज्यलक्ष्मी-
रस्त्येकतो जनपदः पुरदुर्गसंपत् ।
अन्त्येकतोखिलजना परमेकतोसौ
विद्याधरो गुरुगभीरगुणैकसिंधुः ॥ ४१ ॥

धीरो निजाननसमयं निकषा सवायी
राजाधिराज[2] जयसिंह नृपोखिलज्ञः ।
श्रीराजमल्लमुखमंत्रिसमन्वितार्थे-
विद्याधरांकतलगं कृतवा(वा ?)न्कुमारं ॥ ४२ ॥

[1] *Cf Saiga* IX, 34—"मन्त्री पितुः . . . . राजामल्लेतिनाम्ना जगति प्रसिद्ध."
" 39—"राजमल्लमहामंत्रिणि धीरवर्ये"
" XIV, 3 —"अग्रे सैन्यं यत्स्थितं श्रीश्वरस्य श्रुत्वा तस्यास्कंदनं राजमल्लः"
" " 9 —"तावद्राजामल्लनामास्य मन्त्री"
" " 27—""श्रीमद्राजमल्लचंडानिलोयत्"
" " 29—"राजमल्लसैन्यभूरिप्रभावः"

In the *Jayapuravilāsa* of Kṛṣṇarāma Kavi there are references to *Rājamalla* lake as follows —

Ullāsa II, 60—"यस्य प्रान्ते तरङ्गैर्लसति तरलितो राजमल्लस्तडागः"
" " 65—"श्रीराजमल्ल तडाकवरोऽच्युतश्रीः"

[2] The title राजाधिराज was conferred on Sevai Jaising on *12th June 1723* (Vide p. 124 of *Later Moguls*, Vol. II by Irvin) In Vrajanātha's *Padyataraṅgiṇi* (MS. No. 725 of 1886-92—B O. R Institute) composed *14th January 1753* we find in verse 10 at the end a tribute paid to Sevai Jaising for his abilities and achievements. This verse reads as follows —

"वेदव्यासतनुः पुराणमनने तर्कागमे गौतमो
वेदांतार्थविवेचने विधिसुतः काव्येषु काव्योपरः ।
शेषो व्याकरणे कलासु कुशलो गर्गस्तथा ज्यौतिषे
नानाशास्त्रविचक्षणो जयहरिः क्षोणीशमुख्योभवत ॥ १० ॥"

Regarding Jaising's contribution to Astronomy see *History of Indian Astronomy* by S. B. Dikshit, Poona, 1896, pp. 292-295. Jaising had many learned men in his employ. A work on astronomy was composed by नयनसुखोपाध्याय for Jaising (*Vide* Aufrecht CC, I. 276—Translation of Euclid from Arabic into Sanskrit).

ते मन्त्रिणो मितगिरः किल राजमल्ल-
विद्याधर[1]प्रभृतयो धिषणाधिवासाः ।
राजाधिराजजयसिंहनिदेशवश्या-
मेजुर्विशा(शा)लभुजमीश्वरसिंहभूपं ॥ ४३ ॥"

The foregoing verses contain the finest tribute paid by a contemporary to Diwan Vidyādhara, to whom Sevai Jaising entrusted his son Īs'varsing for guidance in the affairs of the Jaipur State.

It would be useful to record cotemporary descriptions of the City "Sevai Jaipur" planned by Vidyādhara, the Bengali minister of Sevai Jaising. In this connection I have to record here the following description in Hindi by Giridhāri,

In the *Rekhāgaṇita* composed by Jagannātha for Jaising he refers to his patron as "श्रीराजराजेश्वर" (verse 3 at the beginning of the *Rekhāgaṇita*—Oxford MS. No. 797):—

"म्लेच्छान् दर्पसमुन्नतान्स्वतरसा निर्जित्य भूमंडले ।
जीयाच्छ्रीजयसिंहदेवनृपतिः श्रीराजराजेश्वरः ॥ ३ ॥"

[1] The *Peshwa Daftar* ed. by Rao Bahadur G S Sardesai contains some references to *Vidyādhara*:—

P D. 21—Letter No 24 dated *27th January 1750* from Nato Samraj to Nānā Svāmi:—"महाराजानी कृपा करून सेवकास आज्ञापत्र व श्रीजीस व राव सिवदास व विद्याधर येसीपत्रं पाठविली ते ज्याची त्यासी आज्ञाप्रा प्रविष्टकेली त्याची उत्तरे मागून पाठऊन देऊ" ... "सेवेसी तुमरे खासगत वर्तमान विद्याधरजीस ह ॥ येविसी विनंति केली त्यास त्यानी उत्तर दिल्हेकी तुम्ही मुलकात आमचा अमल बंद करून आपला अमल केला तुम्ही आपल्या खावंदाकडे जाणे खर्चाचा आपणापासीपैसा मिळत नाही . . . . . , ते प्रस्तुत आपके गडबडीत आहे . . . . . रू॥ विसी ताकीदपत्रे विद्याधर व नारायणदास व सिवदासजीस देऊनपा ॥

P D. 21—Letter No 35 dated *17th April 1750*—"राव केसोदासजी व दिवाण विद्याधर व हरि गोविंद व हरनाथसिंग व असवेतसिंग व राव सरदारसिंग हे सर्व येकांती होते" In *letter No 25* we learn that केसोराय was the son of राजमल्ल ("रा-केसोराय राजामल्लाचे पुत्र")

P. D. 2—Letter No 31 dated *21st February 1751* addressed to Govindpant Bundele by his accountant Baburao Viṣṇu—This letter refers to the suicide of Īs'varsing. *Har Govind* and *Vidyādhara* reported this suicide to Malharrao Holkar, who then withdrew his troops from the town of Jaipur.

a court-poet of Sevai Jaising who composed a work on dietetics called the *Bhojanasāra* in A.D. 1739 This work is represented by a MS. in the Govt. MSS. Library at the B. O. R. Institute (*No. 1515 of 1891-95*). The description[1] under reference begins as follows on folio 16

" अथ सवाई जैपुर बसायौताकौवर्नन ॥ दोहा ॥
पुराकरे बहु हरष करि मनमहिमोद बढाय ।
विद्याधर सौं बोलि कहि सहरसु एक बसाय ॥ १८२ ॥

[1] My friend Prof. B. D. Verma has kindly obliged me with a rendering of this Hindi description as follows —

" Sawai laid the foundation of Jaipur, the description of which is as follows .—

Dohā—He laid out many streets, and thus enhanced the joy of heart. He said to *Vidyādhara* that a city should be founded here **(182).**

Jainivās should come within this city, this is my wish. There should be many cross-roads with shops on them. The back-yards of the houses should meet together **(183).**

Description of *Jainivās* :—

There were *Mukatmahāl*, *Rājmahāl*, *Bādalamahāl*, three-doored verandahs, bath-rooms and kitchens in that palace **(184).**

Big canals were running. There were many reservoirs of water and tanks and the water falling from the fountains spread like a sheet **(185).**

Kavita—Behold ! Here are new trees, new leaves, new branches, new flowers and fruits, new beautiful parrots sit on them. New bees are humming and birds are singing new tunes. There are new peacocks, parrots, *Cātakas* and *Cakoras*. New Cuckoo is cooing and producing new notes. *Sevai Jaisāha Mahārāj Mukuṭamaṇi* has his *Jainivās* garden with a perennial spring reigning therein **(186).**

Dohā—It (Jaipur) should be populated in one year and should be twelve *Kosas* in extent. Merchants from different places should be called to stay there in (*i.e.* to make it their home). **(187)**

There are pits and hillocks, dales, and streams full of water. These should be levelled up and then the *Havelis* should be constructed **(188).**

I have got immense treasures. Take what you want and use it. *Sawai Jaipur* should be made a unique City. **(189).** He blessed him and said. " It will be done soon (*i.e.* the City will soon be populated). It was the year *1784*. Listen to this attentively **(190).**

It was *Poos* (*Pauṣa*) *Sudi 1* (*Sukla 1*) and the day was *Saturday*, when the foundation of this City was laid at a very auspicious moment **(191).**

" The whole world will be afraid of this but this will not be afraid of anything. This is the firm belief of *Girdhārī* **(192).**

जैनिवास या सहरमधि आवै यहै बिचारि ।
चौपरि केरू बजार बहु घरि पिछवारैं सारि ॥ १८३ ॥

अथ जैनिवासवर्नन ॥ दोहा ॥

मुकतमहल राजहि महल बादलमहल सुजांनि ।
सिदरा औरहमांमसुनिबुरजि रसोईठानि ॥ १८४ ॥
बडी बडी नहरै जहां हौद तडागहि देषि ।
भरे फुंहरि नलिन ने कुंडा चादरि पेषि ॥ १८०. ॥

॥ कवित ॥

देषौ नये तरु नये पातनि केनी केन
येन ईन ईसाषा नये फलफल नये हैं

Many Brahmins were feasted and were given *daksinā*. They all blessed :—" May this city be beautiful and immortal " **(194)**.

Kavita—There are many temples here such as those of *Gopīnāth*, *Siva*, *Gaṇeśa* and the Sun. Their worship is performed to the accompaniment of bells (*ghaṇṭā*), cymbals (*jhāṅjhi*), and trumpets (*dundubhi*). There are wells, step-wells in gardens. The *Mānasāgar* is overflowing and the river is flowing swiftly **(195)**.

Dohā—There are many cross-roads with shops on them and thousands of markets (*hāṭ*) where merchants of different countries are plying their trades **(196)**.

Kavita—Many elephants, Arab horses and camels from Cutch come there. Many oxen, she-buffaloes in lacs come there. Embroidered cloth and plain cloth and jewelled ornaments are brought to Jaipur for sale from different parts of the world as Jaipur is founded by *Rājādhirāja* **(197)**.

Dohā—The Europeans also live there. They have come there after crossing the oceans. They are very wise and intelligent **(198)**.

In this way the merchants of many places have come there. *Huṇḍis* of lacs and crores are current there. They are all happy and do their business peacefully. O Girdhārī, none look at them with any spirit of envy **(200)**.

No body speaks improperly with any other person. O Girdhārī in this city all the 32 weights are quite correct and precise **(201)**.

Kavita—The Brahmins engage themselves in *Yajñas* from early dawn. They study the Vedas and teach them to others. Every body looks to his own religion (*dharma*) and all evil deeds are set aside. In every house Kathā is being performed. They all sing the 18 *Purāṇas*. *Rājādhirāja* founded this City of Jaipur, where all people are praising God and sing his greatness **(202)**.

नये नये सौरभसुवातनिमै आवैं
नये वये अलिगुंजे पुंजे बोलै बोल नये हैं
नये नये केकी कीर चातक चकोर नये
नये नये कोकिल कुहुकैं बांनी नये हैं
सवाई जैसाह महाराजनि मुकाटमनि
जैनिवास बागमै वसंतनितनयेहे ॥ १८६ ॥

॥ दोहा ॥

बेगबसै यक वर्षमै बारहे कोसही फेर ।
देसदेसके बोलियौ व्योपारी सुनिहेरी ॥ १८७ ॥
कूचेटीबेरेतकेनले बहुत हैंपुर ।
तिनकौं दूरिकराय कैं करो हवेली सूर ॥ १८८ ॥
लेहु षजांनौं बहुत है लागै सोही लगाय ।
सवाई जैपुर सुनौं सहरसु येक बसाय ॥ १८९ ॥
करि असीस बिनती करी दैहो वेग बसाय ।
सबत सतरैसे सुनौं चौरासी मनुलाय ॥ १९० ॥
पौसहि सुदि परिवाजहां बारसनी सरवार ।
गिरधारी या सहरकौ जनम महासुभबार ॥ १९१ ॥
या कौडरसबुजगतहैंव्है यहै विचारि ।
या कौंडरनां हि न कहू गिरधारी यह धारीं ॥ १९२ ॥
बहुद्विजकौ भोजन दये दक्षिनां दई बुलाय ।
दै असीस यह उच्चरे बसहू सहर बहू माय ॥ १९४ ॥

॥ कवित ॥

मंदिर अनेक जहां गोव्यं देव गोपीनाथ
शिवरू गनेशरू दिनेसके दिवाले है ।
देवी देव षियत गेह गेह झालरिसु घंटा
झांझिदुंदभिके नादनीके चाले है ।
बापी कूप बाग मांनसागर सुपूर भरे नदी
चली आवैं नावैं चढैं नर नाले हैं ॥ १९५ ॥

॥ दोहा ॥

चौपर केरू बजार है हाटैक ई हजार ।
देस देसके करत हैं व्यौपारी व्यौहार ॥ १९६ ॥

॥ कवित ॥

गजबाजीबिकैवरी यावनिके अरू कछके ऊंट अनेकही आवै ।
बैलबिकैक करे जी धनै अरूमैं सिवतीसी कीलाषनुयावै ।
जरीजरवाव पटंबर अंबर-जरायके भूषन जगबिसाहै
राजाधिराजबसायौसु जैपुरकंततहां तेपरी दिकैंस्यावै ॥ १९७ ॥

॥ दोहा ॥

बसत फिरंगी इन हांसागरतजिकैं आय ।
जिनकै बुधि बबेक बहुकहियेकहा बनाय ॥ १९८ ॥
ऐसैं देसहि देसके आयेहैं बहु साह ।
लाष करोरि नकीसुनौ हुंडी चलतसुताह ॥ १९९ ॥
जिनके लछि अयारहै करतरहत व्यापार ।
गिरधारी सुषते रहैतत सकर नहीं निहारि ॥ २०० ॥
कौऊ काहूतैकछूहकनाहक नही बोल ।
गिरधारी या सहरमै कस्यौ बतीसहितोल ॥ २०१ ॥

॥ कवित ॥

यज्ञकरैं द्विजप्रातहिते फुनि बेद पढैं अरु औरैं पढावैं ।
सुव्रत साधिकहै सब धर्म्म अधर्म्मकी बातही दूरि नसावै ।
घरही घरमांड कथा इनियेंरूपुरांन अठारहरूं सबुगावैं ।
राजाधिराज बसायौसुजैपुर जैजैकरै हरिनांव सुनावै ॥ २०२ ॥"

The foregoing description of Savai Jaipur by *Girdhari*, a Hindi court-poet of Savai Jaising, recorded in his *Bhojanasara* composed in A.D. 1739 is very important as will be seen from its English rendering given to me by my ever-obliging friend, Prof. B. D. Verma of the Fergusson College, Poona.

I note below some points about it which should be specially marked by students of the history of this "magic city" or "rose-pink city" as some modern observers have described it.—

(1) Girdhārī, the author of the description, wrote this description in A.D. 1739 *i.e.* when the City was 10 years old and its great founder Sevai Jaising and his able architect Vidyādhara were ruling Jaipur.

(2) The wealth of Jaising and the intellect of Vidyādhara were responsible for the creation of this "magic city."

(3) In the history of Indian town-planning Jaipur has a proud place. In fact this City enchanted the hearts of Jaising's contemporaries as Girdhāri's description amply shows in all its details.

(4) The date of its foundation *viz.* A.D. 1728 is exactly recorded by Girdhāri in his description.

(5) The commercial prosperity that flowed in since the foundation of the City is amply reflected in Girdhāri's description.

(6) An able ruler and warrior like Jaising guided by an able architect and minister like Vidyādhara not only planned the City but executed his plan quickly and efficiently.

(7) Peace, plenty, prosperity and unmolested practice of *dharma* characterized the reign of Maharaja Sevai Jaising as Girdhāri tells us with a joyful heart and noble pride.

My plea in recording in this paper two contemporary tributes to Vidyādhara is with a view to urging the necessity of studying the life-history of Vidyādhara on the minds of our Jaipur friends. I am not aware if any contemporary portrait of Vidyādhara is available. In case it is available we

must publish it and put it on permanent record in some oriental journal. With this request I take leave of my readers but repeat with my own endorsement the following tribute paid to Vidyādhara by his contemporary Kṛṣṇa Kavi Kalānidhi :—

"यद्बुद्धिवैभवबलेन नृपः सवाईराजाधिराज जयसिंह इति प्रसिद्धः ।
चक्रे पुरं जयपुरं रमणीयमेतच्चेतः प्रसादजननं त्रिजगज्जनानाम् ॥"

OBSERVATIONS ON POST-WAR CULTURAL ORGANIZATION OF INDIA (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ARCHAEOLOGY)

BY

DR. M. H. R. TAIMURI

LORE OF INDIAN CULTURE

EVER since the dawn of history, throughout the ages, the lore of India has been so great and impelling that it has been the envy of every nation and naturally this should have created a longing in the heart of ancient people to make contacts with visits to and finally conquest of this prized country.

Ages before Christ, the lore of India attracted people to its shores and mention of India was not uncommon in the days of the Holy Prophet of Islam. The fame of India, in the ancient days, was entirely due to its own inherent cultural heritage and spiritual supremacy whose aroma enlivened the soul of all the nations of the world, breaking through all geographical barriers.

INDIA IN FABLES DES LA MONDE

Every day millions of children all over the world, irrespective of caste and creed, pay their homage to Mother India and this has been done throughout the ages so eloquently and yet so quietly that, even today, hardly any notice is taken of this. Fables of Indian sages must have passed over to other Asiatic and European countries much earlier than our knowledge of history can guide us. This happened centuries and

centuries before Christ through Persia, Babylonia, Chaldæa, Greece, Italy and many other sources The Indian stories or Jatakas from times immemorial, first passed on verbally and then these were translated, imitated, adopted and remodelled practically in all the languages of the civilized countries of the world. There is hardly a country where, in one form or other, these stories are not taught, and yet no body knows the real truth. Men like la Fontaine have immortalized these stories in their respective languages and countries.

From times immemorial, great races and people, one by one, knocked at the gates of this country, many a nation came, saw and conquered, many more came never to return, having dedicated themselves to that eternal process of unification and absorption which gave India its pristine creative genius and intellectual fertility.

Multiplicity of Monuments

Therefore it is clear that India is a great store-house of the remnants of the various cultures the world has ever seen. No country in the world can be compared to India in the variety and range of its monuments. But unfortunately, due to many reasons, particularly want of a systematic organization for proper means of communication and the absence of up-to-date and more scientific arrangement at the sites and Museums, much of the value of Indian culture as one complete pattern, has not been fully realized. As a matter of fact, due to the great wealth of the Indian cultures in their variety as well as in their totality, this country should have adopted such means as to make it possible for the people of this country as well as the foreigners to have complete and easy access to all places and centres of culture. As compared to this, in many civilized countries we find that, although a great variety or continuity of culture does not exist as in India, the people of the place and the government have made such elaborate and comprehensive arrangements that it is a pleasure to visit

monuments in these regions at the least possible inconvenience and expense. In this country greater effort is necessary on the part of the people to understand the value of culture and archæological treasures and monuments in relation to their bearing on our daily life.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

It is a great pity that while foreign countries have been sending, day in and day out, archæological exploratory expeditions, none of the Universities of the home-country have taken, seriously and, according to their national greatness, the study of cultural and archæological subjects. Likewise the apathy of the great public institutions and societies in this connection is appalling. While in the length and breadth of the whole country, there is hardly a University-place which is not rich in its archæological monuments and cultural treasures, it is painful to find that there is hardly any society worth the name to carry out archæological or cultural activities of the place. Indian Universities have been subjected to criticism from various points of view and, for that reason, different remedies have been sought to improve University work and organisation.

Schemes have been launched for the advancement of technical and industrial training and the improvement of the general outlook in many other quarters.

From time to time, commissions and committees have devised many schemes to improve the cultural and utilitarian standard of these seats of learning. But it is amazing that no body as yet has suggested the most common defects in the teaching of history in the schools and colleges of the country. A man can easily submit a thesis in any of the historical subjects for a doctorate without necessarily having any insight into the living monumental history of the country.

India, by virtue of its great history, commands an unrivalled position among the countries of the world. Every University of the country, strange to say, can be a centre of

archæological studies. Starting from the North, the frontier province, it is well known, is one of the richest provinces of the country for its archæological treasures of the various Persian, Greek, Bactrian, Scythian, Mauryan and other cultures. Tekhti-bahi, Jamal Garhi, Mardan, Taxila and numerous other places have proved their importance as a result of valuable antiquities and relics which had been discovered from these places. In this province still greater work is awaiting the spade of the excavator Lahore, the seat of an important University, is rich in Mughul monuments. The names of Delhi and Lucknow need no introduction for their monumental importance, and Agra becomes all the more important on account of its nearness to the great treasure house of Mathura well-known for its sculptural museum and sites. Round about Aligarh, there also lie important sites and monuments.

Benares, the seat of the Hindu University, apart from its own importance, has the famous Sarnath near at hand, and likewise, Allahabad has its own sanctity. In short, all these places are very valuable for Archæology. And again in Central India, Gwalior, Ujjain, Bhopal (famous for its Sanchi Topa and other Monuments) and other innumerable important places well known for their ancient monuments and fine spots for excavation, are worth considering.

In the Peninsular triangle, Mysore, Bombay, Hyderabad Madras and the further south are all very important Archæological regions. If these Indian Universities happen to organise, individually or collectively, circles of scientific archæological studies, what an immense store of knowledge would be gathered and how many more valuable new chapters would be added to the history of this country! Besides, automatically it will form an important step towards the solution of the unemployment problem, to some extent at least, if not more. India can still afford spending money on the reclamation of its past heritage. Each University or province, according to its regional environment, can organise its work. If

responsible and prominent leaders can ever lend a few moments of serious consideration, then the question of funds and all relevant financial difficulties can be solved. Perhaps it will not be necessary to show here that every penny spent on archæology will strictly go to the deserving. First of all, a considerable number of unemployed intellectuals will be attracted to this new opening. Thousands of Indian labourers will also be benefited thereby as is the case even at present. And finally, at the Universities themselves, some new recruitment to this specific department, will help many archæologists and thus an opening will be found for many scholars who, at present, due to the absence of this kind of work, are unable to utilise their talent to the extent it deserves.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY-MUTUAL RECIPROCITY

In this age of scientific progress in all departments of human knowledge, practical evidence capable of experimentation and analysis is supposed to be essential for proving the truth of any fact or promoting an abstract theory.

The need of experimentation has been so indispensable that its application is no longer confined only to the realm of what may be termed the material or physical sciences like Chemistry, Biology and Botany, but it has gone far, much too far, beyond our expectations.

Psychological and Spiritual theories, find no legs to stand upon, unless they are supported by practical analysis of their subject-matter.

This is the reason why, during the years gone by, the leading spiritualists of the world, men like Sir Oliver Lodge and his associates, through various experiments, made Spiritualism a practical reality.

Today, Clairvoyance is as much capable of experimentation as any ethereal substance. Perhaps the need of experimentation and analysis is still greater in the psychological sciences than in the realm of Spiritualism.

In short, when the necessity and importance of experimentation has been fully realised and proved in abstract and even in metaphysical sciences, it is evident that its value becomes all the more great in those sciences which deal with the growth and formation of human society at large and of which, no doubt, archæology is a very important section.

Needless to say, without archæological advancement, the claim of India to past history is apt to dwindle away in mere mythology.

India, in spite of its great cultural heritage, has been slow, as compared to other countries, to recognise the value of archæology, and perhaps this may be taken as one of the reasons for the absence of popular interest in this subject. During the present age of cultural advancement and scientific progress, the contribution made by India in the various branches of research has been fully recognised the world over. But, unfortunately, so far, considering the monumental richness of the country, India has not been able to produce an archæologist of outstanding merit as compared to other nationals who come to work in this country.

In India, as compared to other countries, for a thorough insight into the history of the country, the study of archæology is by far the most important. Evidently the history of this country has been so greatly influenced by the culture of foreign nations that it is impossible to understand its true significance without having recourse to the study of the results of these conflicting cultures in the form of some tangible evidence such as works of art, architecture and the like.

Time to Act

Now, here is the opportunity. During this post-war period, let all of us, Universities, cultural institutions and others, put our heads together and organize the country for the study of archæology, culture, and art.

Let there be innumerable societies in every province for the study of its cultures, let their be proper organizations which may be in a position to create cultural affinities among the various sections of the country, nay, let every individual ponder over this gigantic problem and find out ways and means to improve the present tendency of *laissez faire.* In this connection quite recently the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal has made some proposals consisting of several sections, of which the creation of a Central Museum and the improvement on the present system of accessibility to the monuments are by far the most important. All the suggestions in this scheme are well worth trying and it is hoped that those who are interested in the cultural advancement of this country will extend them their support.

At present a new era is about to begin, the political horizon of the country once more looks brightened, and it may be possible that, by the time these lines go to the press, Indians themselves may be masters of their political destiny. If this happens, it is hoped that they will exert every ounce of their energy to strengthen the cause of the cultural advancement of the country.

It is evident that nothing can help India in the solution of its political destiny than the appreciation and understanding of its various cultures by its people of various races and creeds.

These lines are being written in appreciation of one who has dedicated himself to the service of this country through a library, of which there is a great shortage in this country and of whose educative value we have very imperfect ideas. It is expected that the example of this noble man for serving his country through the window of a public library quietly, irrespective of race or creed, will be followed by many of us and that his sacrifice and effort will no doubt bear fruit in the future.

RELIGION OF KĀLIDĀSA

BY

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

IT is being generally admitted now that Kālidāsa, the great poet of India, could not have been a contemporary of the Gupta monarchs but should have flourished in the first century B. C. Evidences in this behalf are accumulating by the critical studies of scholars. In examining the religion of Kālidāsa it is necessary to take into account the religious conditions of the times when he lived. The Mauryas had definitely been relegated to the past, and imperialism, power and predominance, had gone for ever. The S'ungas had come to power. They are said to be brahmanical in religion and outlook. They are again said to have revived brahmanical religion as if it had been thrown into the shade by the Mauryan emperors. Whatever it may be, the fact remains that some of the S'ungas indulged in Vedic sacrifices like the *As'vamedha*, and attached more importance to Vedic religious rites and ceremonies. By the time of the S'ungas, the Dharmas'āstras and Dharmasūtras had become authoritative sacred texts. The rules and regulations laid down in these treatises were to be followed to the very letter. All of them stood for the ideals of varṇas and ās'ramas, the well-thought-out scheme of social life, which was successfully worked out in India through the ages.

Again it was the epoch of the Purāṇic Hinduism. The Purāṇas were written at different times, and some of them rewritten also. The older Purāṇas like the Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa and even Viṣṇu were known to the literate public.

They taught what the Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstras seek to teach. In addition they elaborately treated of the various gods and goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon, their heroic exploits for the cause of dharma and the like. Among these numerous gods, the Purānas selected three important gods, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā, usually known as the Hindu Trinity. These three gods are said to have a division of functions The department of creation was in the hands of Brahmā, of protection with Viṣṇu and of destruction with Śiva. Though there was a separate major function to each of these major gods, yet the fundamental concept was that each of these gods represented, in one form or other, the One God called Brahman and, to realise this Brahman which is the height of ambition to every Hindu, he must pray to one of these gods and reach the final goal of liberation through the worship of that god. This God is generally called the *Iṣṭadevatā* of the individual, family or a group of families.

This did not mean that the individual or family was sectarian in outlook and narrow in religious matters. It was happily realised that there is only one God but there are numerous paths which help you in attaining this God. For every path there is a deity or a presiding deity by invoking whose blessings you are enabled to reach the Infinite much more quickly and with ease. In fact the worship of Iṣṭadevatā is a training for the realisation of the higher thing which is to free oneself from the cycle of birth and death. So with such a healthy background and with a wide toleration, the Purāṇas, as a class, put forth a number of cults for every one to reach his end by his choice *devatā*. In its own way such a *devatā* was exalted as the Supreme Being for the true philosophical concept was that each *devatā* was a symbol of the *Paramātman* or the one Īśvara. So the man or woman regarded his devatā as the Great God and worshipped it with fervent ardour. This did not lead to intolerance or sectarianism at the time of Kālidāsa. A person of the first century B. C. offered his worship at any shrine but he had predilection for his *Iṣṭadevatā*. For after

all, concentration is necessary to achieve anything and much more so in the spiritual sphere.

This background will enable us to understand the personal religion of Kālidāsa. His very name shows that he was a devotee of Kālī, the mother goddess and the goddess of learning and wealth. Kālidāsa speaks highly of the gods of the Hindu Pantheon. He gives an honoured place to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Kārtikeya in his classics. He is a good Hindu who does not believe in sectarian forms of worship. He is indeed a fine product of the times. As every Hindu believes he was a follower of the Dharmaśāstra school. He accepted the āśrama system with approval.

शैशवेऽभ्यस्तविद्यानां यौवने विषयैषिणाम् ।
वार्धके मुनिवृत्तीनां योगेनान्ते तनुत्यजाम् ॥ *Raghu*, I 8.

He shows how the young should spend their time in education, the adolescent as family men, the retired men as hermits and the aged given to the practice of yoga. This is, in other words, the *brahmacarya*, *gārhastya*, *vānaprastha* and *sannyāsa*. By the significant expression *prajāyai gṛhamedhinām*, he echoes the law code that a certain person marries a woman not for mere sexual enjoyment but for *santāna* or progeny by whom only the Pitṛs find an honoured place in the *Pitṛloka* (*Ibid.* 7). Kālidāsa was a close observer of varṇa-dharma. He was against the marriage of a kṣatriya with a lady of the brahman caste. This can be seen clearly from the *S'ākuntala*. When King Dusyanta was out to hunt in the forests, he came upon Kaṇva's hermitage and had occasion to see young S'akuntalā in the āśrama. Struck by her bewitching beauty, he resolved to marry her by the gāndharva form of marriage allowed in the case of a kṣatriya. Before he made up his mind, a doubt arose within himself whether she was a member of the brahman family:

राजा—अपि नाम कुलपतेरियमसवर्णक्षेत्रसंभवा स्यात् ।

S'ākuntala, Act I.

Suddenly the king corrects himself and says that she is quite proper to be married by a ksatriya. The reason assigned was that the mind of a noble king (*ārya*) like himself would not lead him astray It will take him only in the righteous path.

असंशयं क्षत्रपरिग्रहक्षमा यदार्यमस्यामभिलाषि मे मनः ।
सतां हि संदेहपदेषु वस्तुषु प्रमाणमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तयः ॥ *Ibid.*

In elaborately speaking on the nature of marriage, Kālidāsa shows himself out and out orthodox and a close follower of the established law and usages of the land. At the end of the *S'ākuntala* there is a prayer:

सरस्वती श्रुतिमहती महीयताम्

This simply means that the words of the Vedic brahmans should be listened to with respect. This is indirectly saying that the Vedas are so sacred that he who learns them must be a great personage worthy of all respect. By phrases like *yathāvidhihutāgnīnām* and by terms like *havis* and *hotṛ* occurring in the texts it can be inferred that Kālidāsa had a firm faith in the vedic ritual of *yajña* or fire-rite and held people following such rituals in high veneration. This can be seen from the way with which Duṣyanta treats the anchorites in the several hermitages, especially from how he desisted from killing the deer at the request of a certain sage. Kālidāsa does not mince matters. He takes up his cudgels against the *tāmasīvṛtti* of the people and stands up for the *sātvikīvṛtti* which alone tends to the welfare of the world at large. Says he at the beginning of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*:

सन्मार्गालोकनाय व्यपनयतु स वस्तामसीं वृत्तिमीशः ।

Some scholars find a veiled reference here to Buddhism which the poet seems to characterise as *tāmasīvṛtti.* It appears that Kālidāsa generally detests the spirit of what we call defeatism culminating in a material outlook of things as different from the spiritual. His wish is that by following the

righteous path, people become ennobled and lead truly the life of a gentleman. In one word we should shake off lethargy and cultivate an active life of real usefulness and benefit to society. That Kālidāsa had an abundant faith in Vedic religion is seen from the beautiful ślōka put into the mouth of a fisherman:

> शहजे किल जे विणिन्दिदे णहु शे कम्म विवज्जणी अए ।
> पशुमालणकम्मदालुणे अणुकम्पामिदुकेवि शोत्तिए ॥
>
> —*Sākuntala*, between Acts V and VI.

When questioned by the Superintendent of police why he had the hardihood to take the lives of poor fishes, the fisherman gave the straight answer that by following his profession, he does not become heartless. Incidentally Kālidāsa makes the fisherman refer to the Vedic sacrifices where the Brahman is asked to offer the sacrifice of a goat (*paśumedha*) and to tell the Police Superintendent that on account of that one could not put down the Brahman as a heartless and cruel man. People do what is ordained in their sacred books. Here Kālidāsa not only glorifies the yajñas but also puts a special emphasis on the need for religious faith. Otherwise we would be taking the doctrine of *Ahimsā* or non-violence to absurd lengths.

As a pious Hindu, Kālidāsa worships at the shrine of Hindu gods like Hari and Brahmā, Kārtikeya and Mahākāla. His devotion to Hari can be seen from the praise of Him by the sages in 17 ślokas in the *Raghuvamśa*. I shall summarise the contents. The Lord Viṣṇu is addressed as follows: "You are the Creator and Protector and Destroyer. You are only of one form (*ekarūpa*). You are incomprehensible, invincible, and ever victorious. You are devoid of desire (*akarna*) and full of compassion (*dayālu*). You are the All-wise, the unborn Lord. You are one and still of different forms. You are belauded by the seven *sāmas*. You abide in the seven seas. You are the four-faced god. You are the

effulgence of the yajñas. You are unborn and still incarnate yourself in times of need. You take every body to the goal of eternal freedom. You are the embodiment of the Vedas. You give succour to those who merely remember you." (X, 15-33).

From this it can be easily inferred that Kālidāsa, regards Viṣṇu as the Great God and also as one God. This only indicates the *ābheda* nature of the poet. Though his *Iṣṭa-devatā*, as we shall see soon, was the God S'iva, still there is no difference to him between S'iva and Vishṇu. Both are supreme gods. Kālidāsa had apparently in his mind the significant s'loka of the *Bhagavadgītā* where the Lord says in whatever form one worships Him he is pleased with that worship and shows grace to him. To attain *siddhi*, Kālidāsa says that there are different paths which are acceptable to the s'āstras, with the implication that each person can tread the path which appeals to him (X. 26) The *abhedabuddhi* of the poet is also seen from the *Kumārasambhava* where he exalts Brahmā as the one God.

नमस्त्रिमूर्तये तुभ्यं प्राक् सृष्टेः केवलात्मने ।
गुणत्रयविभागाय पश्चाद्भेदमुपेयुषे ॥
त्वमेव हव्यं होता च भोज्यं भोक्ता च शाश्वतः ।
वेद्यं च वेदिता चासि ध्याता ध्येयं च यत्परम ॥ II. 4,15

But what is really important is his statement again in the *Kumārasambhava* (VII. 44)

एकैव मूर्तिर्बिभिदे त्रिधा ।

Therefore Kālidāsa, who is a votary of the one god, is equally a votary of all the gods who seem to be differentiated but, really speaking, are all one.

In the *Meghadūta* a reference is made to the temples of Caṇḍīs'vara and Mahākāla. In the former there were a number of gaṇas who were all serving the Lord. And

Caṇḍīs'vara is here spoken of as *Tribhuvanaguru*, meaning S'iva himself (sl. 35). In the Mahākāla temple, reference is made to the evening prayer accompanied by the beating of the musical instrument, *Pataha*. The poet mentions in this connection that evening service was generally accompanied by dance of S'iva, Bhavānī appreciating it to her heart's content (sl. 36-38).

Later on Skanda's abode at Devagiri is mentioned with the same worshipful attributes. There the poet asks the cloud to offer choice flowers soaked in Ganges waters to the presiding deity. Skanda, it is said, is no other than the great energy of S'iva, having the crescent in his forehead. For Skanda was sprung from the seed of S'iva cast into fire Besides he is the darling of Bhavānī who decks herself with the cast-off plumes of the peacock, the riding vehicle of the God Skanda (*Ibid.* 45-46).

Thus we notice Kālidāsa's fervent devotion to the Hindu gods without any sense of distinction.

In all his classics, all these gods are exalted, venerated and worshipped. Excepting his indirect reference to Bhavānī in the *Meghadūta*, we do not come across any special prayer to the goddess, nor any separate shrine for Her. Popular version fathers the current *S'yāmalādaṇḍaka* in praise of Lalitā to our poet. It may be or may not be his composition. He has not referred to the worship of the Devī anywhere in his celebrated classics. Again we are surprised to find no mention of the god Ganes'a or Vināyaka, as he is popularly known. One is compelled to conclude that the cult of Gaṇes'a had not yet spread in his time. Otherwise he ought to have mentioned this God, the most popular of all gods of the Hindus, even at the present day. This perhaps gives some clue that Kālidāsa must have flourished long before the cult of Vināyaka became popular.

Though it is clear from his writings that the poet was no sectarian in his religion, still his predilection, as has been already said, for S'iva was undoubted. All his great classics

begin without any exception with an invocation to S'iva. The *Raghuvaṁs'a* commences with the benedictory verse.

वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥

The poet salutes Pārvatī and Parames'vara and speaks of them as the mother and father of the world These two are united together as the inseparable union of *vāk* (words) and *artha* (meaning). They are invoked by Kālidāsa for the success of his undertaking which consisted mainly of *vāk* and *artha*. The poet prays to the mother and father of the universe to endow him with sufficient literary skill in accomplishing the great literary work which he has undertaken. In the *Vikramorvas'īya* it is Sthāṇu who is invoked. *Sthāṇu* simply means a Pillar. God S'iva is worshipped in the form of a Pillar. It is significant to note that this appellation is found among the thousand names of Viṣṇu (*Viṣṇusahasranāma*). What does this show? Only the *abhedabuddhi* of our ancients. Kālidāsa bestows all the high attributes to this Sthāṇu. He is the one Puruṣa hailed in the Vedānta, pervading all heaven and earth. He is alone Īs'vara. Him alone search those desirous of salvation by yogic sādhanas. He is the eternal god to be realisable by steadfast devotion and meditation. He requests for undying name in the literary world:

वेदान्तेषु यमाहुरेकपुरुषं व्याप्यस्थितं रोदसी
यस्मिन्नीश्वर इत्यनन्यविषयः शब्दो यथार्थाक्षरः ।
अन्तर्यश्च मुमुक्षुभिर्नियमितप्राणादिभिर्मृग्यते
सस्थाणुः स्थिरभक्तियोगसुलभो निःश्रेयसायास्तु वः ॥

It has been pointed out (Introduction to *Sākuntala* by Sarada Ranjan Ray, p. 52) that Kālidāsa indirectly expresses his innate desire for *mukti*. If this is read with what occurs at the end of the *S'ākuntala*:

ममापि च क्षपयतु नीललोहितः पुनर्भवं परिगतशक्तिरात्मभूः ।

proof is positive that Kālidāsa's ambition in life is not wordly prosperity, but final release from the bondage of saṁsāra

In the *S'ākuntala*, the greatest drama India has ever produced, the poet addresses Īs'a, another name for S'iva, for protection. Īs'a is said to be the first of all creations. He is the *havis* (offering) and *hotṛ* (the sacrificer). He is the regulator of time, pervading the worlds as such He is the *bīja* (the seed) of all creatures It is He who constitutes eight forms. Here, as in the *Vikramorvas'īya*, the poet refers to immanence of the Lord as seen through the spectacles of the Vedānta. The idea underlying is that nothing is greater than Īs'a, who may be S'iva, Viṣṇu or Brahmā.

More or less the same invocation is seen in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*:

एकैश्वर्ये स्थितोऽपि प्रणतबहुफले यः स्वयं कृत्तिवासाः ।
कान्तासंमिश्रदेहोऽप्यविषयमनसां यः पुरस्ताद्यतीनाम् ॥
अष्टाभिर्यस्य कृत्स्नं जगदपि तनुभिर्बिभ्रतो नाभिमानः ।
सन्मार्गालोकनाय व्यपनयतु स वस्तामसीं वृत्तिमीशः ॥

Here Īs'a is also named Kṛttivāsa, meaning He who has for his garment the skin of the elephant. Here a reference to the *Ardhanārī* form of the Lord is indicated (*kāntāsammis'radeha*). He is a *paramayogin* and of eight forms which are earth, water, tejas, wind, ether, sun, moon and the sacrificer. Here the poet requests the Lord to make people shed their ignorance and evil conduct of life, and take to the conduct of the learned and the wise.

Not only at the commencement of his important classics but also towards the conclusion the same Īs'a is invoked. For example in the Bharatavākya of the *S'ākuntala* it is said " may the Self born Nīlalohita (S'iva) whose power is manifest all round, cancel my rebirth." The last two lines already quoted above are a prayer to the unborn Nīlalohita to secure freedom from rebirth. Thus, even in the final benediction, the poet turns his mind to the Lord of his choice who is no other than

S'iva. This shows Kālidāsa's anxiety to get rid of the cycle of birth and death and to reach the final beatitude.

Whatever may be the predilection of the poet for a particular deity, the fact remains that he was a Vedāntin to the core. As a Vedāntin he makes no difference between this god and the other. Whenever occasion occurs, he speaks of other gods like Viṣṇu or Brahmā or Skanda as the Great God, the Supreme Being and as the manifestation of the One God. Nor has be denounced the gods of other faiths like Jainism or Buddhism. He was quite tolerant in his outlook and looked upon humanity as a whole as the children of God.

SĀYAṆA'S *PEṬIKA*: A QUERY ABOUT AN ATHARVAN RITE

BY

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THE Red Kaffirs of the Hindu Kush "neither bury nor burn their dead, but place the body in a box arrayed in a fine dress, which consists of goat-skins or Kashgar woollens; they then remove it to the summit of a hill near the village, where it is placed on the ground, but never interred."[1] This rather interesting and peculiar burial custom of a primitive Aryan tribe, not far from the home-land of the Aryans, has not been described—at least to my knowledge—in any great detail for us to understand its full meaning and significance to the Kaffirs and to Vedic studies. Speaking an Aryan tongue, worshipping the high God Imra with burnt offerings, and paying the bride-price in bovine currency, the Kaffirs are in culture and physique a fossilised, though living, relic of the past. Looking up for references in translations of the Vedas to the use of wooden coffins, I came across the following:

> "Let not the tree oppress thee, nor the great divine earth; having found a place (*loka*) among the Fathers, thrive (*edh*) thou among those whose king is Yama."—AV. XVIII. 2. 25.[2]

[1] From Mr. M. A. Shukoor's unpublished paper.
[2] Whitney, *Atharvaveda Saṁhitā*, p. 838.

"Give back, O forest tree, him who is deposited here with thee, that in Yama's seat he may sit speaking counsels".—AV XVIII. 3. 70[1]

According to some authorities cited in Whitney's annotations to the above hymns, *Vṛkṣa* (like *vanaspati* at RV. V. 78. 5) may aptly mean "a tree used after the manner of a coffin". "Curiously enough" adds Whitney, "*petika* (Sāyaṇa's gloss for *vanaspati*) usually means *kofinos*." But on the other hand,—and here begins the trouble—according to the Kauś. (83. 19), the tree referred to in the hymns is the tree at the root of which the bone relics are *sometimes* deposited. When commentators of the Vedic texts differ widely on the meanings of the terms, the archæologist who occasionally has to explain his finds in the light of the Vedas, and the anthropologist who has to relate present-day customs to those of the past, both find themselves in an intriguing dilemma which can be resolved only if, by a closer examination of the ritual and textual contexts, the divergences in interpretation can be reduced to reasonable limits. In this task archæologists and anthropologists can help the Vedic scholar to some extent, for the former dig up material relics of the long past ages which make those epochs more real and concrete than can be pictured on the basis of mere words; old world customs have a strange way of lingering in the so-called marginal areas or pockets of culture, whence they are brought to light by the anthropologists. The spade of the archæologist is every year bringing to light increasing quantities of material which make it easier for the student of languages to understand the ancient texts. That archæology has strongly impinged upon Vedic studies will be clear to any one from the number of papers published on the Indo-Aryan problem in journals devoted to archæology. Anthropologists with their knowledge of primitive beliefs, rituals and customs, can also help the linguists in interpreting ancient practices. Strange rites such as

[1] Whitney, *op. cit.*, p. 868.

puruṣamedha become less unbelievable and even understandable in the light of what we know of such practices surviving in cultural *cul-de sacs.* In this short paper, I shall set before the Indologists interested in ancient rituals, a few anthropological and archæological facts pointing to the use, from very early Buddhist times to about the thirteenth century A.D., of coffins, mostly of terracotta, some of which, in all probability, were fashioned after wooden models, and also make brief references to modern survivals of wooden coffins in the marginal areas of Indian culture where Hindu influence has been indeed very pronounced. I shall then leave it to the linguist to see if the theoretical possibility of the tree in the two funerary verses quoted above being a wooden receptacle for the bone relics or for the dead body, can be substantiated or not, after a critical study of the texts.

The first and obvious question to be raised will be: Did the Hindus ever have the custom of putting the dead body into a coffin (*petika*)? The answer is "Yes." We know very well that the Buddha was born a Hindu, and that his last rites were performed according to the Hindu customs of the Cis-Himalayan regions. The very clear account of the funeral ceremonies of the Buddha which we have in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* leaves us in no doubt on this point In a sculpture of the Great Decease, now among the Gāndhāra sculptures in the Lahore Museum, the iron box in which the Buddha's body was placed has been clearly represented. (Fig. 1.) The Mallas of Kusinara paid homage to the remains of the Buddha with dancing, hymns, music, garlands and perfumes and they wrapped the body in a new cloth; when that was done they wrapped it in carded cotton wool, then in a new cloth and so on till they had wrapped the body in five hundred successive layers of both kinds. They then placed the body in an oil vessel of iron (*taila-droṇi*), and covered that close up with another oil vessel of iron. After the cremation, "the Mallas of Kusinara surrounded the bones of

the exalted one in the council-hall with a lattice of spears, and with a rampart of bows" and, for seven days, there was dancing[1] The use of the term *taila-droṇi* in the Buddhist scriptures gives an approximate idea of the shape of the receptacle, which is further confirmed by the Gandhara sculpture of the sarcophagus, in which it is provided with hinges (?). It is not clear from the account in the *Parinibbāna Suttanta* whether for the cremation the body was removed from the *droṇi*. A metal *droṇi* was used, perhaps, with the object of preserving as much of the bones as possible for the division of the relics that followed This foresight on the part of the monks should not mislead us into the belief that iron sarcophagi were used on all ordinary occasions. One should imagine that wooden *droṇis* should have been used for all except men of the highest rank

We should now proceed to link this prehistoric use of the coffin by Indian Buddhists with historic and modern practices. Culturally and in bodily characters there is much in common between the Himalayan tribes such as the Mallas and the hill-tribes of Burma. Even in the remotest hills of Upper Burma, there is a veneer of Buddhism Among the Karens and other tribes, the wooden burial *droṇi*, with lid, the whole of which is carved out from a single piece of the trunk of a tree, survives to this day, providing us with a living proof of an ancient Indian custom. The following description of it is found in Scott's *Upper India Gazetteer*, I, part 1, p. 535 :—

> "The coffin is in the shape of a boat, hollowed out of a single piece of wood with a narrow slit in what would be the keel. In the centre of this slit it is just possible to force the head; this having passed through, the body is worked in. The aperture is then closed up, and the coffin which has four legs forming part of the

[1] Rhys Davids, T. W. & C. A. F., *Dialogues of the Buddha* (1910). The encircling of the bones with spears and bows is paralleled by the ancient S. Indian custom of surrounding hero-stones with a circle of spears

whole, is placed in the grave, the four legs keeping it in position."

Very often the personal ornaments of the deceased are interred with him. A mound of earth and a circle of posts around it complete the monument, which thus contains all the essential aspects of a simplified stupa. How far back in time the Karen practice goes, and how wide was its distribution in the past, we have no material on which to base an opinion, but on theoretical, ethno-geographical grounds, it looks obvious that its distribution was wider than at present.

From another region, very strongly under Buddhist influence at the beginning of the Christian era, namely Maski in S. India, is reported a type of burial (Fig. 2) which can be said to be a terracotta copy of the tree-trunk burial of which a living example was cited above from Burma. I am obliged to my friend Mr. K. M. Ahmed, Director of Archæology, Hyderabad, for a preliminary description of this most interesting burial and for the photograph reproduced here with his kind permission. An examination of the sarcophagus is enough to convince any one that it is based on a wooden model of the Burmese type. Mr. Ahmed dates it to the Andhra period, *i.e.* to the early centuries of the Christian era. My own feeling is that the terracotta *droṇi* of Maski must have had a long "wooden" ancestry.

The Pallavaram type of many-legged sarcophagi, of which a large number has been reported from various sites in S. India, sometimes occurs without the legs. Such sarcophagi, with their lids on, approximate very closely indeed to the *taila-droṇi* of the Gāndhāra sculpture referred to above. I have elsewhere[1] tried to relate the legless *droṇi*-like sarcophagi to the legged types and the rarer animal-shaped sarcophagi known to us from ancient burials in Southern India.

[1] Aiyappan, A., *The Megalithic Culture of Southern India*, Presidential address to the section of Anthropology and Archæology of the Indian Science Congress. [*Proc. Ind. Sc. Congress* (Calcutta, 1945).]



Fig. 2

TERRACOTTA SARCOPHAGUS, MASKI

Courtesy Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad

Elaborate coffins often mislead superficial observers into believing that their use points to interments of the body, *i.e.* to simple burial as opposed to cremation. Very often we come across large boat-shaped sarcophagi or burial jars, which contain just a handful of burnt or unburnt human bones, which makes us wonder why so much energy and labour was wasted on large receptacles to hold a small quantity of relics! The explanation is to be found in customs of which we have little literary or even traditional evidence. The funeral customs of the Hindus of the Island of Bali provide very interesting comparative details. The Hindus of Bali believe that it is possible for the soul to enter the heaven (*svarga*) of Indra only if the body is cremated. But cremation is costly and, therefore, those who are not rich enough, burn the corpse temporarily in cases of bamboo till, when the means of the family permit it, the graves of the dead are opened and the bones cremated with elaborate rituals. Bodies of the rich are embalmed till the auspicious day for their cremation. While there are special types of animal-shaped wooden receptacles for the bodies or bone relics, as the case may be, of the rich, "the common man, generally, has only a square wooden coffin to be burnt in."[1] What little we know of the ancient burials of Southern India very conclusively proves that exhumation of temporary graves and the re-burial of whatever remains in family or communal ossuaries was not uncommon in S. India, at least in early historical times.

There may be very little in modern Hindu rituals to suggest the use of a coffin at some stage or other in the last rites, but investigators of Vedic rituals will do well to bear in mind that funeral practices have nowhere remained unchanged even in the most conservative cultures of the world. Culture contacts between the Vedic and the non-Vedic communities should have been one of the most effective

[1] Friedrich, R., *An Account of the Island of Bali* [*J. R. A. S.* Vols. VIII *et seq.*]

factors causing ritual modifications, economic factors being another such. In a very illuminating paper,[1] Prof. V. Gordon Childe has shown that funerary elaborations declined with the growth of wealth and with the progress in civilization. Simplified modern rites are thus no index of the past, and this view of Prof. Gordon Childe should induce students of Vedic rites to re-examine their material. On general grounds, there is no improbability in the *vṛkṣa* of the funerary hymns of the Atharva Veda, cited above, denoting a funeral chest.

[1] *Directional Changes in funerary practices during fifty-thousand years*. [*Man*, 4 (London, 1945).]

THE ROOTS OF ADVAITA IN THE ṚGVEDA

BY

DR. T. M. P. MAHADEVAN

THE dominating theme of the hymns of the Ṛgveda is to please the gods through song and sacrifice in the hope of receiving rewards. The singers pray for wealth and progeny, strength of limb and length of life. Indra, the most popular and powerful of the Vedic gods, is invoked with a view to making him help to win victory—victory over malevolent forces of nature, victory over earthly adversaries. As one poet puts it, "Without whom men do not conquer, whom they, when fighting, call on for help; who has been a match for every one, who moves the immovable : he, O men, is Indra."[1] And in order to bribe him as it were, he is offered, in most of the hymns that glorify him, his favourite drink, *soma*. Varuṇa, another major god, guardian of the physical and moral order, is prayed to for forgiveness of sin. The following is typical of the Varuṇa hymns: "I ask, O Varuṇa, wishing to know this my sin; I go to ask the wise, the sages all tell me the same: Varuṇa it is who is angry with thee. Was it for an old sin, O Varuṇa, that thou wishest to destroy thy friend who always praises thee? Tell me, thou unconquerable Lord, and I will quickly turn to thee with praise, freed from sin. Absolve us from the sins of our fathers, and from those which we committed with our own bodies. It is not our own doing. Varuṇa, it was a slip, an intoxicating draught, passion, dice

[1] Macdonell, A.A., *Vedic Reader*, p. 51.

thoughtlessness."[1] Agni, the domestic priest (*purohita*) and messenger of the gods, who is next in importance only to Indra, is addressed in many a hymn in order that he may convey the oblations (of the worshipper) to the gods and bring the gods to the place of sacrifice. "O Agni, the worship and sacrifice that thou emcompassest on every side, that same goes to the god. May Agni, the invoker, of wise intelligence, the true, of most brilliant fame, the god, come with the gods"[2] Thus the gods, individually or collectively, are eulogised in the hymns in order that they might ward off evil and bestow their blessings on the worshipper. The Vedic bard prays:

> 'Sweet be the night and sweet the dawns,
> Sweet the terrestrial atmosphere;
> Sweet be our father Heaven to us.
> Vanaspati be full of sweets for us, and full of sweets the sun.
> May our milch-kine be sweet for us.
> Be Mitra gracious unto us, and Varuṇa and Aryaman;
> India, Brahaspati, be kind, and Viṣṇu of the mighty stride.'

The religion that is implicit in most of the hymns is polytheistic. A plurality of gods largely fashioned out of the powers of nature are worshipped for the sake of worldly welfare and heavenly happiness. But the mind of man cannot rest content with a crowd of gods. Anarchy in religion is bound to result in a vexation of the spirit and a weariness of the intellect. The Ṛgvedic poets sometimes ask: ***kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema***; to what God shall we offer our oblation? (X. 121). ***ko dadarśa prathamā jāyamānam***; who saw the first born? The philosophical mind of the seer searches for a first principle which will explain all things, being their supporting ground.

Metaphysical suggestions of a monistic doctrine are found in a few of the hymns especially of the first and tenth

[1] VII. 86. 3-6; tr. Muir, O. S. T., Vol. V.
[2] I. 1. 4-5; Macdonell, *Vedic Reader*, pp. 6 & 7.
[3] I. 90. 7-9, R. T. H. Griffith, *Hymns of the Rigveda*, Vol I.

Maṇḍalas. Monism rather than Monotheism was achieved by the Vedic thinkers because their gods were not completely personified. Varuṇa is the nearest approach to the god of the monotheist. But even here the natural phenomena associated with Varuna are not altogether absent from the thoughts of the psalmists. If the Indian mind were less philosophically inclined, it would have completed the process of personifying the gods and promoted one of them to the place of supremacy But instead the 'arrested anthropomorphism' of the Vedic thinkers enabled them to seek a principle of unity at the back of all distinctions. This they did in several ways. The gods are sometimes addressed collectively, instead of severally, as *viśvedevāḥ*, and they are held in one comprehensive conception. In some hymns *ṛta*, the principle of order in nature and morality, is raised to supremacy. Originally *ṛta* meant the ordered course of nature, such as the regulated change of season, the rising and the setting of sun and moon, etc. Later, the scope of the conception was extended so as to cover men's conduct; it became the law of morals. The gods were entrusted with the function of keeping the Law. Especially Varuṇa, the most moral god, came to be regarded as the custodian of *ṛta*, *ṛtasya gopā*. Then gradually, the Vedic seer found in ṛta the principle of an unchanging reality. " The Maruts come from afar from the seat of the ṛta" (IV. 21.3). "The dawn follows the path of ṛta, the right path, as if she knew them before. She never oversteps the regions. The sun follows the path of ṛta" (1. 24. 8). In the conception of Aditi, again, may be found the makings of the Upaniṣadic Brahman. " Aditi is the sky, Aditi is the intermediate region, Aditi is father and mother and son, Aditi is all the gods and the five tribes. Aditi is whatever has been born, Aditi is whatever shall be born" (I. 89. 10). In a similar strain some hymns identify Prajāpati with all the gods and nature as well. The *Puruṣasūkta* gives a description of the *Puruṣa* who is immanent as well as transcendent: " Thousand-headed was

Puruṣa, thousand-eyed, thousand-footed. He having covered the earth on all sides, extended beyond it the length of ten fingers. Purusa is this all, that has been and that will be. And he is the lord of immortality, which he grows beyond through food. Such is his greatness, and more than that is Puruṣa. A fourth of him is all beings, three-fourths of him are what is immortal in Heaven."[1] In one striking verse the gods are characterised as but different names for one and the same reality.

> 'They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni and he is heavenly nobly-winged Garutman. To what is one, sages give many a title; they call it Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan.'[2]

It is significant that, in the second half of this verse, the only reality is called 'It,' neither male nor female. The well-known *Nāsadīya* hymn which has been praised as containing 'the flower of Indian thought' speaks of the one that was calm and self-sustained before creation.

> "Then there was neither Aught nor Nought,
> no air nor sky beyond.
> What covered all? Where rested all? In
> watery gulf profound?
> Nor death was there, nor deathlessness, nor
> change of night and day.
> That one breathed calmly, self-sustained
> nought else beyond it lay.
> Gloom hid in gloom-existed first—
> one sea, eluding view.
> That one, a void in chaos wrapt,
> by inward fervour grew.
> Within it first arose desire,
> the primal germ of mind,
> Which nothing with existence links,
> as sages searching find.
> The kindling ray that shot across
> the dark and drear abyss—

[1] X. 90. 1-3; Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-97.
[2] I. 164. 46. Griffith, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 292.

Was it beneath? Or high aloft?
What bard can answer this?
There fecundating powers were found.
and mighty forces strove—
A self-supporting mass beneath
and energy above
Who knows, who ever told from whence
this vast creation rose?
No gods had then been born—who then
can e'er the truth disclose?
Whence sprang this world and whether
framed by hand divine or no—
Its Lord in heaven alone can tell,
if even he can show."[1]

In this hymn may be discerned the quintessence of Monism. All things are traced to one principle. Opposites like being and non-being, life and death, night and day, are shown to be the self-unfoldment of this One. How from the distinctionless principle which is 'neither aught nor nought' the world of opposites and distinctions arose no one can tell. 'That One' (*tad ekam*) which the hymn does not name is the ground of the universe. Because it is devoid of differences, it is referred to as a void. It is *śūnya* as it were. The world-process is an appearance in and of it. How the one appears as the many is a mystery. Thus we may note in the *Nāsadīya* hymn the foundations of Advaita—the doctrine that ultimate reality is one and that the world is an appearance, a result of *māyā*.

Support for the Advaita view of *sākṣin* or witness-self may be found in a verse which occurs in Ṛgveda, I. 164:

"Two birds with fair wings, knit with bonds of friendship,
in the same sheltering tree have found a refuge.
One of the twain eats the sweet fig-tree's fruitage, the other
eating not regardeth only."[2]

[1] X, 129; J. Muir, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 356
[2] Griffith, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

This verse appears again in the Upaniṣads.[1] The term *māyā* is used in the Ṛgveda to mean the power of illusion. "Indra assumes many shapes quickly by his *māyā*" (VI 47. 18). The subject of an obscure hymn of the Ṛgveda (X. 177) is said to be *māyābheda*, 'the discernment of māyā or illusion (the cause of material creation)' (Wilson). The topic of another difficult hymn (X. 71), according to Sāyaṇa, is *parabrahmajñāna*, knowledge of the Absolute. It will thus be seen that the roots of Advaita are far deeper than they are ordinarily understood, since they extend to some of the mantras of the Ṛgveda.

[1] *Śvet.*, IV. 6 and 7; *Muṇḍ.*, III. 1. 1 and 2.

THE S'ṚṄGĀRAMAÑJARĪ OF SAINT AKBAR SHAH

BY

DR. V. RAGHAVAN

While pursuing my interest in the literary products of the healthy cultural interaction of Sanskrit and the Muslim patrons and saints, my eye caught an entry in the Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Government Oriental Library in Mysore, (Supplemental Catalogue, 1928, p. 14)—*S'ṛṅgāra-mañjarī, Baḍā Akbar.* The names of the work and its Muslim author excited my curiosity and led me to an examination of the contents of the manuscript. Sri H R. Rangaswamy Ayyangar, the Curator-in-charge of the Library, was kind enough not only to send me some extracts from the manuscript, but also to supply later a complete transcript of the manuscript for my use.

As the name signifies, S'ṛṅgāramañjarī is a work on poetics, dealing with S'ṛṅgāra Rasa in detail. The work is, like the Rasamañjarī, which it frequently criticises, a treatise on the different kinds of Nāyikās and Nāyakas figuring in S'ṛngāra. It is interesting to note that this S'ṛṅgāramañjarī is a Sanskrit version of a Telugu work of the same name, and more interesting it is to know that both these, the Telugu and the Sanskrit versions, are ascribed to a Muslim author.

Fortunately, the work is not silent about its author. The first verse pays obeisance to Hindu divinities; in the second verse, the writer pays respect to his Guru; the third verse begins a series introducing the author of the work. In verse 3, Bande Nawaz Hazarat, (Bande Navāja Hajarati), is

saluted, in verse 4, the genealogy of the author is begun; in the family of Bande Nawaz Hazarat appeared Shāh Rāja (S'aharāja), verse 5 says that this Shāh Rāja had three sons, Shāh Rāja, Shahnafezarullah, and Akbar Shāh; from the second of the three brothers, was born Shāh Rāja, described as preceptor to the King (verse 6) This Shāh Rāja had a son named Akbar Shāh, otherwise known as Baḍe Sāheb (verse 7); the next verse further extols the greatness of Akbar Shāh, mentioned here as Safal Baḍe Saheb; verse 9 praises this Baḍe Sahib's knowledge, piety, eminence and fame; in verse 10 and 11, two younger brothers of this Baḍe Saheb, Akbar Shah, are mentioned, Mir Saheb and Shah Saheb; two more verses extol again the eldest brother Baḍe Saheb Akbar, the first referring to his intelligence, learning and high position, and the second trying to explain etymologically that his name Akbar (A-ka-vara) means that not even the divinities Viṣṇu and Brahmā are his superiors.

किंकरनरमधुकरकुलदत्तमहानन्दमकरन्दे ।
बन्देनवाजहजरतिपदारविन्दे सदा वन्दे ॥ ३ ॥
तद्वंशाद् वरमुक्तामणिरिव विमलद्युतिस्स आविरभूत् ।
श्रीशाहराजनामा भूमिरभूद्भूषिता येन ॥ ४ ॥
आसंस्तस्य तनूजा स शाहकेनाथ राज इत्याद्यः ।
शाहनपेसरुल्लाहोऽप्यकबरशाहस्त्रयस्ते च सुरतुल्याः ॥ ५ ॥
शाहनपेसरुल्लाहाल्लसितगुणः शाहराज इत्यभवत् ।
विबुधजनमाननीयो महानुभावः क्षितीन्द्रगुरुः ॥ ६ ॥
श्रीशाहराजपुत्रोऽप्यकबरशाहो महद्धन्यः ।
यस्य बडेसाहेब इति नाम महावैभवैकपदम् ॥ ७ ॥
सफलबडेसाहेबशुभनामा रामाभिरामगुणः ।
जगति विबुधवरलक्ष्मीर्जयति बहुश्रेयसां सुश्रीः ॥ ८ ॥
कः किल तपसा महसा यशसा ज्ञानेन धर्मेण ।
अभवद्भवति भविष्यति जगति बडेसाहबेन समः ॥ ९ ॥
श्रीशाहराजसूनुः तस्यावरजश्चकास्ति रम्यगुणः ।

यं मीरसाहेबाख्यं जगदखिलं सर्वतः स्तौति ॥ १० ॥
श्रीशाहराजसूनुः तस्याप्यनुजोऽभवद्गुणौघनिधिः ।
यं शाहसाहेबाख्यं सर्वे लोकाः स्तुवन्ति सर्वत्र ॥ ११ ॥
येषां ज्येष्ठः श्रीमान् विद्वान् मतिमांश्चकास्ति विमलगुणः ।
यमिह बडेसाहेबममुमुद्दामालम्बते लक्ष्मीः ॥ १२ ॥
को विष्णुः को ब्रह्मा ताभ्यां श्रेष्ठस्ततोऽप्यकबरोऽयम् ।
प्रथयति महेश्वरत्वं यस्य बडेसाहबेति नामाख्यम ॥ १३ ॥

This Akbar Shah was a patron of poets (verse 14). This Akbar who was respected by the king, himself wrote in Telugu, the work called S'ṛṅgāramañjarī (verse 15), and this is its Sanskrit version (verse 16).

अकबरमवचोगोचरगुणमपि कवयो यथामति प्रशंसन्ति ।
यत्किल तद्गुणगरिमा वर्णयितुर्गौरवं तनुते ॥ १४ ॥
तेनान्ध्रभाषयायं रचितः शृङ्गारमञ्जरीग्रन्थः ।
स्वयमकबरेण भूभृन्मुकुटमणिरञ्जितांघ्रिकमलेन ॥ १५ ॥
तद्विरचितान्ध्रभाषाकलितां शृङ्गारमञ्जरीछायाम् ।
सेवध्वं सुरवाणीरचितां रसतोषतारसिकभृंगाः ॥ १६ ॥

In the above verses, more than once, reference was made to Akbar Shah and his father Shāh Rāja being the respected Gurus of the king. The important information of the name of this king is given in a prose passage which now follows. The whole passage which further eulogies the philosophical, literary, musical and other artistic endowments of the author Baḍe Sāheb Akbar Shāh describes him at the beginning as the preceptor of Sultan Abul Hasan.

चतुरब्धिवेष्टितसर्वंसहेशनुतशौर्यधैर्यमनोहरलावण्यसङ्गीतललितसाहित्यमावङ्ग-तासहक्पाण्डित्यकलितसुलतानबुलहसन्-क्षोणीशमुकुटतटदेदीप्यमानरुचिरतररत्नकि-रणनीराजितकल्पतरुकिसलयसदृशचरणगुरुराजशाहराजभक्तिपात्रसद्गुणगरिष्ठपरिमित-हितवाक्यपाण्डित्ययुक्तस्वमतपरमतसंपन्नसिद्धान्तनिरन्तरसंस्थापनाखिलनवरसालंकार-नव्यगुणैककवनधौरेयताकलितसन्निधानश्रुतिस्वरस्थानरागाङ्गगानक्रियास्थायीगमकप्रब-

न्धधातुगायनगुणततानद्धसुषिरघनगात्रभेदक्रियाप्रहजातिमार्गतालदेशिकातालतत्त्वज्ञ - निधिपाठिकाश्रितकविबन्धुमित्रबडेसाहेबाकबरशाहः शृंगारमञ्जरीग्रन्थराजं रुचिरं विरचयति । (p. 3 of my transcript)

I proceed now to identify the author, his revered ancestor, and his royal patron Bande Nawaz Hazarat who is saluted in verse 3 is the renowned Muslim Saint Gesu Daraz of Gulbarga. According to the Hadiqat-ul-Alam, Auranga-zeb, during his march against the last Qtub Shahi King Abul Hasan alias Tana Shah, paid a visit to the tomb of "Hazarat Saiyad Bande Nawaz Muhammad Gaisu-Daraza" at Gulbarga[1] (on 6-12-1686),[2] and distributed Rs. 20,000 to the devotees and disciples there. Fortunately, we have ample materials bearing on the life of this Muslim Saint. "This famous Muslim Saint was born at Dilli (Delhi) on the 4th Rajab, A. H. 721 (30th July A.D. 1321). His proper name is Sadr-ud-Din Muhammad Hussaini, but he was commonly called Muhammad Gesu Daraz, on account of his having long ringlets. He was a disciple of Shekh Nasir-ud-Din Chiragh of Dilli who sent him to the Dakhan in A. H. 802 (A.D. 1399) during the reign of the Sultan Firuz Bahmani The latter received him with much honour and respect, but afterwards quarrelled with him, and to this disagreement with the Saint the author of the Burhan-i-Ma'Asir attributes the subsequent misfortunes of Sultan Firuz.[4] According to Ferishtah, the Sultan favoured Gisu Daraz as the supreme Saint in the place of the previously favoured family of Shekh Sirajuddin, granted to him many towns, villagos and lands near Kulbargah, together with a college and a monastery; the people of Dekhan revered Gisu Daraz as even greater

[1] See pp. 120-126—English part of the Govalkondyāci Qutbsahi, Bharata Ithihasa Samsodhaka Mandali Series, Poona, No. 39.

[2] But on 30th October according to Sir J. Sarkar; Aurangazeb, Vol. IV, p. 356.

[3] History of the Bahmani Dynasty (Founded on the Burhān-i-Ma'āsir) by Major J S King. Indian Antiquary, 28, 1899 (May), pp. 186-7.

than the Prophet.[1] The Oriental Biographical Dictionary of Thomas William Beale[2] gives some more information about Gisu Daraz Beale says that the saint is said to be the author of several works among which are the "Adab al Murid", the "Wajadul-Ashikim", containing the whole duty of a Sufi disciple etc., and also a work of fables in Persian entitled "Asmar-ul-Asrar He was buried at Hasanabad commonly called Kulbarga.' Of his descendants Beale says that "during the reigns of the Dakhin Sultans, great sums of money were occasionally offered to his (Gisu Daraz's) descendants who reposed near the saint, in vow and presents." Beale mentions also the son of Gisu Daraz who was known as Muhammad Akbar and was the author of the "Akaed Akbari" containing the principles of the Muhammadan faith." According to the Taskire-auliya-i-Hind, I am told,[1] the father of Gisu Daraz was known as Shah Raja, and that the grandson of Gisu Daraz was known as Mir Sadidullah.

The Hadiquat-u'l 'Alam also says in connection with the death and burial of Sultan Abul Hasan at Daulatabad near the tomb of the father of Gisu Daraz, that Syed Raju Qattal was the name of the father of Gesu Daraz.' From the genealogy given in our S'ṛṅgāramañjari, we may see these names Shāhrāja, Akbar and Mīr recurring in the family.

Recently mention has been made of Gisu Daraz by Prof. H. K. Sherwani of the Osmania University, Hyderabad, in his article entitled "Taju'D-Din Firoz and the Synthesis of Bhamani Culture," in the New Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, No. 4, pp. 75-89. According to Mr. Sherwani, Gisu Daraz's father was Syed Yusuf who had visited Dekhan during the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 186 fn

[2] Asiatic Society, Bengal, Calcutta 1881.

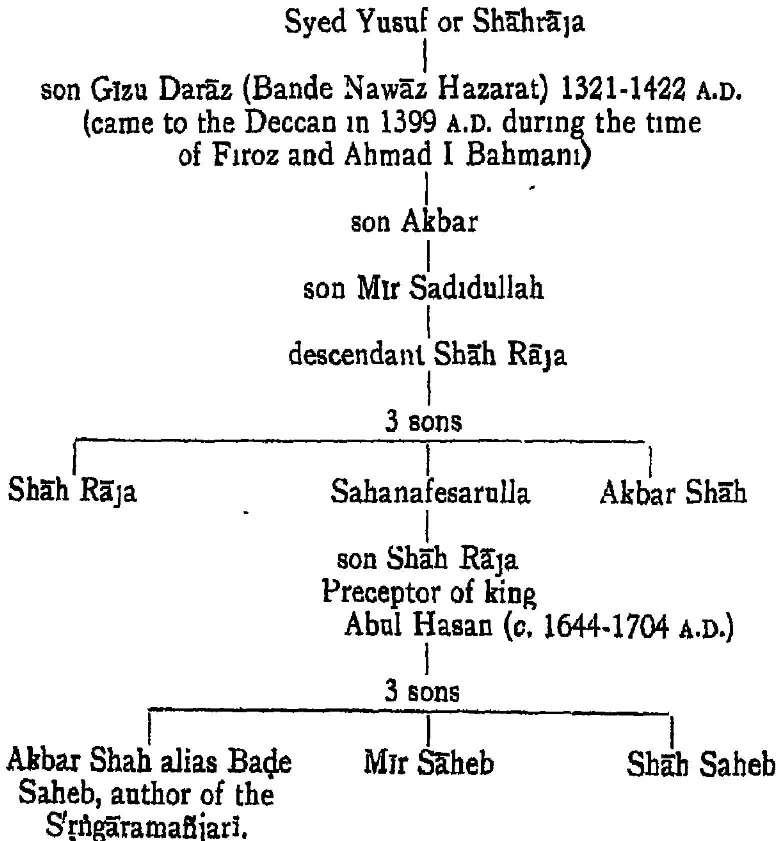
[3] For a view of the tomb of Gīsu Darāz, see Annual Report of the Archaeological Dept. of H. E. H. the Nizam 1936-7, plate V. The tomb was built by Firūz's successor Ahmad Shah I. (New Indian Antiquary, VI. 4. p. 78 fn. 15.)

[1] By Mr. Sayyid Usha of the Islamic Department, Madras University

[3] P. 182, English translation, Govalkondyaci Qutbshahi,—Bharata Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandal Publication, Poona.

time of Muhammad Tughlaq and had breathed his last at Khuldabad on 12-7-1331 A.D. Gisu Daraz was born at Delhi on 10-7-1321, but was "eighty lunar years old" when he arrived at Gulbarga with a host of disciples. The first impression of the Saint and the regard which Firoz had for him did not last.[1] Gisu Daraz died on 1-11-1422.[2] Both Hindus and Muslims revered Gisu Daraz and his tomb which was built by the successor of Firoz, Ahmad Shah I, Bhamani, who "perhaps knew the spiritual and moral influence" of the Saint and "was not slow to take full advantage of it." (p. 87).

From the above accounts and the list supplied by the S'ṛṅgāramañjarī we may draw up the following genealogy.



[1] On the details of this estrangement between the king and the saint, see Mr. Sherwani's article, p. 87.

[2] Mr. Sherwani refers to the works Haḍrat Gesu Darāz by Hamid Siddiqi, Hyderabad, Zahiru'D Din's Sultan Ahmad Shah Bahmani, the

Now the king of whom our author Akbar Shāh and his father Shāh Rāja are described as Gurus is mentioned as Sultan Abul Hasan. In the text introducing him, he is described as a scholar of great culture and accomplishments in arts This is in all likelihood none else than Abul Hasan Qtub Shah ot Golkonda, known as Tana Shah as a result of his gaiety (1672-1687 A.D.) who was the last Qtub Shahi king, was made captive by Aurangazeb on 21st Sept. 1687, and died in 1704 A.D.[1] Between A.D 1350 and 1650, i.e between Gesu Daraz and Akbar Shah, time has elapsed for nearly twelve generations. We know till now only up to the grand-son of Gesu Daraz and up to the great-grandfather of Akbar Shah The names of the other members of this family and the part which this family played in the political and cultural events of Dekkan deserve to be brought to light by the historians and literateurs of Hyderabad and Dekkan.

An independent corroboration of the relationship between Sultan Abul Hasan and the saints of Gesu Daraz family at Gulbarga and of the king being the pupil of Shāh Rāja is furnished by the work Hadiquat-u'l-'Alam, available in an English Translation in the publication " Golkondyaci Qutb-shahi ". of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandal, Poona. This work states twice that Abul Hasan was staying at the tomb of Gesu Daraz in his youth and was a student of a descendent of Gesu dynasty, Shāh Rāju, who happens to be the father of our author Akbar Shah, as mentioned in the genealogical list in the S'ṛṅgāramañjarī. The Hadiquat-'ul-'Alam says in connection with the marriage of Abul Hasan:[2] It was resolved that the bride (daughter of Abdullah Qutb-shah) should be given in marriage to Abul Hasan who was

manuscript in the tomb at Gulbarga of Gisu Darāz's life by one of his disciples Muhammad Ali Samani and to the Hyderabad edition of the saint's work Khatimah, containing extracts from the last mentioned manuscript.

[1] Sarkar, Aurangazeb. IV, pp. 333, 384

[2] pp. 81-2, English translation.

a near relative from the side of the king's mother As destined by God, the very night when the hour of marriage was fixed, Abul Hasan was sent for He was then taken to the bathroom dressed . . and the princess was at last given over to him It is related that Abul Hasan who was residing for fourteen years previous to his marriage at the *Takiyeh* of his *Murshid* Sayid Shāh Rāju, who was one of the revered grand-children[1] of his holiness Saiyad Muhammad Gaisu Daraz and was a worthy successor to his great predecessor. It was from this *Takiyeh* that Abul Hasan was taken in pomp to the bathroom and was decorated in the bridegroom's dress for the marriage with the princess." The book goes on to narrate how Saiyad Shāh Rāju foresaw this coming event on the day previous when Abul Hasan came to him to pay the usual respects to his teacher.[2] The same source says later in connection with the death of Abul Hasan

"He (the Quiladar of the Daulatabad fort) buried him (Abul Hasan) near the grave of Syed Rāju Qattal (revered father of Syed Muhammad Gaisu Daraz) adjacent to the Mausoleum. The date of his death has not been mentioned in any of the existing books on history or biography. But because it is told that he passed fourteen years of his life in childhood, and fourteen years in study as a disciple of his spiritual preceptor Syed Shāh Rāju, and afterwards ruled for fourteen years, passed a further period of fourteen years in captivity, it can be said that he died in 1111 H or 1112 H. (1700 A.D.)."

This account confirms the information in our Sṛṅgāra-mañjarī that our author Akbar Shāh's father was called Shāh Rāja, and that Abul Hasan was a student under that Shāh Rāja, our author's father. The king was thus a friend and co-student of our author himself. It is but fitting that one who had spent his youth at the tomb of Gesu Daraz should

[1] Means descendant.
[2] See also Sarkar, Aurangazeb, IV, p. 332.

pass away at Daulatabad and get buried by the side of the tomb of Syed Rāja, father of Gesu Daraz.

In a verse in the beginning already quoted, this Sanskrit S'ṛṅgāramañjarī is stated to be a translation of a Telugu work of that name by Akbar Shah himself. A second reference to this Telugu original and to the illustrative Telugu verse of old occurring in it are made in the course of the Sanskrit version. On p. 26 of my Transcript in the section on Sāmānya Nāyikā, the work speaks of the Telugu illustrative verse in the original.

प्राचीनान्ध्रभाषोदाहरणस्यायमर्थः सिद्धः ।

The work no doubt expressly mentions the literary gifts of Akbar Shāh, but a legitimate doubt may be raised whether the Muslim Saint Akbar Shah wrote this work on love[1] in Telugu and Sanskrit. The doubt may be strengthened by the fact that one of the introductory verses here (No. 14), as also the prose passage quoted above, refers to Akbar Shah as a patron of poets, and in the course of the work Akbar himself is eulogied in illustration as the Nāyaka on pp. 23, 31, 73, and 78 of my Transcript. It may be that at the instance of Akbar, some Telugu scholar wrote the original S'ṛṅgāramañjarī in Telugu and then a Sanskrit scholar translated it into Sanskrit. Obeisance to the Hindu divinities in the first stanza will be appropriate in that case. Whether Akbar Shah was the real author or only the patron, it is all the same significant that in the Muslim courts of the Deccan, indigenous literature and art flourished. It is well known that the Qtub Shahis were great promoters of letters, both as authors[2] and patrons, and at their hands especially Telugu literature received great encouragement.[3] Sometime back I dealt

[1] Jain saints have written many treatises on love, and there is no impossibility in saint Akbar Shah writing on love.

[2] For the literary productions of the Qutb Shahis, see Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. 28, No. ii, pp. 176-189.

[3] See Trivenī, XIV. ii. 1942, B. V. Krishna Rao, Telugu Literature under the Kutub Shahis.

with a probable Telugu poet named Kumuda under the Qutub Sahis,[1] but here I am able to bring to light the fact that under the last popular Qutub Shahi king Abul Hasan Tanashah, a Telugu work on the classification of the Nāyakas and Nāyikās in love named S'ṛṅgāramañjarī was produced in Gulbarga. According to the Hadiquat-u'l-'Alam, as pointed out before, Abul Hasan was, before he was brought to Golkonda and suddenly made king, studying in the tomb of Gesu Daraz at Gulbarga, under the then descendant and guardian of the tomb of Gesu Daraz, *viz.*, Shāh Rāja, father of our author Akbar Shah and also perhaps under Akbar Shah himself who must have succeeded Shah Raja as the king's spiritual preceptor after his father. The friendship must have persisted, and as Tanashah the king given to pleasure, Abul Hasan might well have commissioned his Guru's son to write a treatise on love.[2] It has already been remarked that the tomb of Gesu Daraz was a meeting point of adoration for both the Hindus and the Muslims. Besides, Akkanna and Mādanna, the two Hindu ministers of Tanashah kept up a Hindu atmosphere and it is recorded that one of the pleas with which Aurangazeb was induced to punish Abul Hasan Tanashah was that, at the instance of his two Hindu ministers, even Muhammadan courtiers of Abul Hasan were taking part in Hindu celebrations.[3] Tradition glorifies Tanashah with the story of Saint Ramadas of Bhadrācala, the details of which are well-known to all. Down below all its gaiety, Tanashah's heart appears to have had a firm philosophical anchor and none will fail to be struck by the spiritual

[1] See Journal of the Andhra History and Culture, Vol. I.

[2] It must be noted in this connection that an author on this very subject of Nāyakas and Nāyikās in love, the celebrated composer of Telugu Padas, Kṣetrajña, was patronised by Abdulla Qutb Shah of Golconda (A.D. 1620-72) and his general, Tupākula Kṛṣṇappa, in his song in Devagāndhāri rāga, Ādi tāla, Kṣetrajña says that he had a contest with one Tulasimurti in the court of the Padshah of Golconda and that on that occasion, he composed 1,100 Padas. See my article on *Hyderabad as a Centre of Sangīta* in the 1945 Souvenir of the Krishnagāna Sabhā, Hyderabad.

[3] See p. 91, Hadiquat-u'l-'Alam, English translation.

dignity of his last testament, spoken by Abul Hasan on the eve of the fall of his fort and his capture by Aurangazeb Abul Hasan said:

"My belief in God, the Glorious and the Great, the Creator of the World and the sustainer of princes and paupers is such that He, may He be glorified, never keeps back His kind and merciful glances from his slave at any time or under any circumstance and sends him his allotted food. My paternal and maternal grandfathers passed their time always in peace and plenty and power. Yet, for some time, God willed that I should pass my days in poverty. Again, with his bounteous glance falling upon me, a humble fellow, He created for me such environments as, within only a short period of one hour, exalted me in the high position of kingship Nobody including myself could have ever imagined that I was to be a king. He, praise be to Him, has now left no desire or yearning in my heart. I gave away lacs and spent crores. Now He may have taken the reigns of sovereignty out of my hands as a retribution against some improper acts of mine. I must not grudge against His very kind treatment... .."

It is therefore quite natural to suppose that some Telugu and Sanskrit poets associated with both the king and his spiritual preceptor were connected with the production of this S'ṛṅgāramañjarī in Telugu and Sanskrit.

The S'ṛṅgāramañjarī quotes a number of authors on the subject, criticises them, and exhibits a flair for originality. With these and the contents of the work in detail, I am dealing in the Introduction to my edition of the S'ṛṅgāramañjarī.

ALLUSIONS IN THE ṚGVEDA TO THE DOCTRINE OF TRANSMIGRATION[1]

BY

H. G. NARAHARI

I THINK I have already[2] adduced enough evidence in support of the view that the Upaniṣads exist only to explain the teaching of the Saṁhitās and to continue the tradition handed down by these texts One piece of such evidence is the frequency with which the Upaniṣads cite Vedic verses and passages in support of some of their statements which, they probably fear, may not otherwise carry the same degree of authority with them On occasions like this, the Upaniṣadic seer almost assumes the role of a commentator, and the Upaniṣad can well lay claims to be called an exegetical text. It is not always that the commentator is also able to get at the very meaning of the text which its author himself had in his mind. Sheer incapacity to grasp the author's intention, or a frantic anxiety to find his support for a purely selfish idea, often makes the commentator stray away from the original sense of the text before him As Jonathan Swift[3] so beautifully put it:

"As learned commentators view
In Homer more than Homer knew.

[1] This paper is prepared by me as Research Fellow in the Sanskrit Department of the Madras University

[2] See my paper, *The Saṁhitās and the Older Upaniṣads*, contributed to the Professor M. Hiriyanna Commemoration Volume, Mysore.

[3] *On Poetry*, I. 103, 177.

So geographers, in Afric-maps,
With savage-pictures fill their gaps,
And over unhabitable downs
Place elephants for want of towns."

Another poet of recent times, the late Rabindranath Tagore, would like us to understand that even translators are not free from such a failing, and would advise us to go to the original text itself if we desire to get at the real spirit of the literary piece. To use his own poetic language, "Languages are jealous. They do not give up their best treasures to those who try to deal with them through an intermediary belonging to an alien rival. We have to court them in person and dance attendance on them. Poems are not like market commodities transferable. We cannot receive the smiles and glances of our sweet-heart through an attorney, however diligent and dutiful he may be."[1]

A critical study of the Upaniṣads shows that even these texts are not entirely free from this general weakness of commentators and translators

The *Bṛ. Up.* (I. 4. 10) speaks of the solitary existence of the primordial Brahman at the beginning of Creation. It realised itself and thus realised All (*ātmānam evāvet aham brahmāsmīti, tasmāt tat sarvam abhavat*). Gods, seers and men followed the example of the Primordial macrocosm Among the seers who did so, the Ṛgvedic seer Vāmadeva who said "I was Manu and the Sun," (*ahaṁ manur abhavaṁ sūryas' ca*),[2] we are asked to understand, is one. The intention of the Upaniṣad here is obviously to emphasize the fact that Vāmadeva had realised himself in the traditional manner started by Brahman and followed by the numerous gods; and, in support of its statement, it adduces the authority of the Vedic verse *ahaṁ manur abhavaṁ sūryas' ca* etc Later writers have only too eagerly and blindly followed the line of interpretation followed by the Upaniṣad. Some of

[1] *Contemporary Indian Philosophy* (Library of Philosophy, London, 1936), p. 30 f.
[2] RV. IV. 26. 1.

the commentators even betray a tendency to strain even the Upaniṣadic text to suit their own purposes. S'aṅkara[1] thus sees in the Vedic verse under notice an allusion to the former births of Vāmadeva. It is not clear whether Bādarāyaṇa also has the same Vedic verse in view during his two allusions[2] to Vāmadeva, though, while commenting on him, S'aṅkara[3] drags in this verse and interprets it as he did while commenting on the Upaniṣad.

Obviously, both the Upaniṣad and the writers that came later imagine that Vāmadeva himself is the speaker in the hymn (RV. IV 26 1) under consideration now Kātyāyana[4] and Sāyaṇa[5] also show a leaning towards the same delusion, but are luckily hesitant in their attitude But the verse appears to be best interpreted when Indra is taken[6] as the speaker, glorifying that magical power of his whereby he is able to assume any form he likes. In fact, in another context[7] of the Ṛgveda, there is a clear reference to such a capacity on his part (*Indro māyābhiḥ pururūpa īyate*). His devotees very frequently[8] identify him with a number of other gods like Sūrya and Savitṛ. In one verse,[9] the word *sūrya* is even used as an adjective to qualify Indra (*sa sūryaḥ paryurū varāṁsyendro vavṛtyāt*). Moreover, the Vāmadeva family forms one of the major groups of priestly singers in the Ṛgveda, and is known for its special devotion to Indra; forty-nine out of the fifty-eight hymns in Maṇḍala IV of the

[1] Commentary on *Bṛ Up.*, I. 4. 10.

[2] *Brahmasūtras*, I 1. 30 and III. 4 51.

[3] Rāmānuja is no better, while Madhva's attitude is uncertain

[4] *Sarvānukramaṇī* on RV. IV. 26. 1.

[5] On RV. IV. 26. 1, Wilson (*Ṛgveda Saṁhitā*, London, 1857, III. 172 n.) seems to be partly inclined in favour of Sāyaṇa.

[6] Grassmann, *Rigveda*, I. 133, Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, V. 467, Griffith, *Hymns of the Rigveda*. I 428 n.; Geldner, *Der Rigveda*, I 409 n.; Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 57; Deussen, *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, p 318, Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, p. 571; Oldenberg is silent on the point.

[7] RV. VI. 47. 18.

[8] A. A. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[9] RV. X. 89. 2.

Ṛgveda are sung by the Vāmadeva family; and though other gods like Agni, Mitra and Varuṇa also receive their share of praises, by far the chief object of their adoration is Indra to whom nearly sixteen whole hymns in the Maṇḍala are devoted

A similar mistake is committed by the *Ait. Ār.*[1] (II. 5) when it makes another Vedic verse (RV. IV. 27. 1) refer to the third birth of Vāmadeva, besides those derived by him from his father and by initiation. The real speaker in the verse is either the falcon of Indra[2] who escapes from his fortified dwelling-place in his mother's womb in order to fetch the soma from heaven; or, it is possible[3] that the narrator is the wise soma itself which relates how it was borne away by the hawk from its iron strong-holds, and how it came down to earth as a hawk. In any case,[4] it is impossible to accept that Vāmadeva refers, even in this verse, to his own pre-natal experiences.

It is thus clear that neither of these two Vedic verses[5] can have anything to do with the doctrine of transmigration.

The attempt to see clear references to this doctrine in the Ṛgveda is not only traditional, but attempts have been made in this direction even in modern times.

In the course of a fairly lengthy article,[6] M.A.—M. Boyer makes an elaborate examination of a number of Vedic passages which speak of immortality. The result of such a study is his verdict that, in the Veda, the notion of immortality is invariably connected with the length of terrestrial life, and that human immortality implied then a

[1] This is the same as *Ait. Up.*, II. 4. 4-5, S'aṅkara repeats the mistake while commenting on *Brahmasūtras* III. 4. 51, and Sāyaṇa while commenting on the Vedic verse itself.

[2] Griffith, *op. cit.*, I. 429 n.; Deussen, *loc. cit.*

[3] Ludwig, *op. cit.*, V. 468; Deussen, *Ibid.*

[4] Grassmann (*op. cit.*, I. 134) thinks that we have the speech of the other gods (*spricht der Götteraar*) in this verse. For a full discussion of the theme, see Oldenberg, *Ṛgveda-Noten*, I. 291 f.

[5] cf. Deussen, *loc. cit.*, Keith, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Journal Asiatique*, IX Serie, XVIII (1901), pp. 451 ff.

prolonged duration rather than an eternal continuance of life. With the same body which was only purified and refined by Agni, life was continued even on the other side of death. It was, in short, a form of existence, for ever removed from death, that these Vedic immortals led In Boyer's own words, "*certains textes du moins l'établissent solidement, que les Āryas védiques trouvaient légitime d'identifier à la pleine longueur de la vie terrestre, bien que celleci aboutisse à la mort, la notion d'immortalité. La conséquence se présente d'elle-même c'est qu'ils comprenaient par l'im. mortalité humaine plutôt la durée prolongée que la durée éternelle de la vie; que cette vie quills espéraient vivre au delà du trépas dans leur propre corps, purifié et affiné par Agni, et qu'ils nommaient immortalité, se présentait à leur pensée sous la forme d'une existence dont ils ne voyaient pas de terme précis, plutôt que sous la forme d'une existence nécessairement soustraite pour jamais à la mort.*"[1]

Of such an import, Boyer[2] would have us understand, are RV. X. 14. 14, IX. 113 and a few other Vedic texts.

This view is acceptable to Windisch[3] who takes RV. X 14. 14 cd to mean "may he take us to the gods to live there a long time," implying that, after a long life, return to earth is possible.

Now, it is impossible to agree with Boyer when he states that the Vedic Aryans understood by human immortality a prolonged duratión of life rather than an eternal continuance of it. There are a number of verses in the Veda which prove most unmistakably that the state of immortality was considered permanent in duration, and that no return to earth from this blissful position was ever envisaged.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 464.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 464 ff.

[3] *Buddha's Geburt*, p. 54; Keith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 215, *Veda of the Black Yajus School* (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 18), p. cxxviii; *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 570.

[4] H. G. Narahari, *Ātman* (Adyar Library, Adyar, 1944), pp. 50 ff.

Granting that immortality means, at least in some passages, what Boyer would like us to believe, the passages under consideration now can have nothing to do with such a meaning. It is a permanent state of bliss that is envisaged in RV IX. 113 As for RV. X. 14 14, there is no reference here at all to a heavenly existence on the part of the speakers It is 'clearly the survivors whom the dead man has left behind that are the speakers here, and what they ask is not for the company of gods in heaven, but for a continued life on earth[1] in the worship of their gods. The half-verse really means. " may he keep us (the survivors) to the worship of the gods (and not lead us to the fathers) so that we may enjoy long life on earth."[2] "It is to ignore the nature of poetry," as Keith[3] says, "to press the wish that there may be long life for man among the gods into the view that it contemplates rebirth."

Geldner[4] finds the theory of transmigration implicit in three verses of the Ṛgveda. In this the learned Professor seems to have relied far too much on the vague and uncertain hints hazarded by Sāyaṇa. Commenting on the latter-half of RV. X. 14. 2, the latter says: *yatra yasmin mārge no asmākaṁ pūrve pitaraḥ pareyuḥ enā anena mārgeṇa gacchanto jajñānā jātās sarve svaḥ svabhūtāḥ pathyāḥ svakarmamārgabhūtāḥ gatir anugacchanti.* Taking this cue, Geldner translates the passage thus: *Auf welchem (Wege) unsere Vorvater abgeschieden sind, auf diesem werden (alle) geboren, (ein jeder) nach seinem (Schicksals) pfade.* It is indeed difficult to see with Geldner that the word *pathyā* here refers[5] to the fate's path (*Schicksals pfade*), and that consequently there is here a

[1] Such an idea is repeatedly stressed in the Ṛgveda (X. 14. 12, 18. 3); cf. also Keith, *J.R.A S.*, 1910, p. 215; *Veda of the Black Yajus School*, I. cxxviii, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 570; Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, II. 212.

[2] Macdonell, *Vedic Reader*, p. 174.

[3] *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, loc. cit.

[4] *Vedische Studien*, II. 288 f, III. 3 f.; II. 142.

[5] *Ibid.*; this is entirely based on Sāyaṇa's suggestion.

reference to transmigration. The word *jajñānāḥ* is best construed as a participle[1] rather than as a finite verb[2] In the latter-half of this half-verse, the reference is quite naturally to the survivors and their children who, when their time comes, will also have to traverse by the very way their ancestors went To read anything more into this passage, is to strain the text too much.

So also, in RV. IV 42 1, the interpretation given by Geldner[3] to the words *vavri* and *upamā*, as also the rendering of the last quarter to mean 'I control the future form of existence of man' (*ich gebeite uber die kunftige Daseinsform der Menschheit*), seems to be very forced.[4] The passage is quite naturally interpreted otherwise[5] without connecting it in any way with the doctrine of transmigration

Still less acceptable is Geldner's[6] interpretation of RV. VII. 33 9 wherein, following Sāyaṇa, he sees a reference to a former birth of Vasiṣṭha (*præxistierende Seele des Vasiṣṭha*), and to his taking up a new body (*ihres dehaparigraha*). There is, no doubt, a reference in the second-half of the verse to the taking up of a body by Vasiṣṭha, but it is not at all certain that it means his doing so for a second time. The reference may only be to the familiar story[7] of his strange birth from Ūrvaśī. The word *sahasravalśa* in the verse need not necessarily be taken to mean the thousand-fold

[1] Sāyaṇa simply renders it by *jātāḥ*, Grassmann (*Wörterbuch zum Rigveda*, p. 470) takes it as a perfect medial participle derived from the root *jan*, the same derivation is accepted by Roth and Bohtlingk, *PW*, III. 16, and Macdonell, *Vedic Reader*, p 166.

[2] Geldner (*loc. cit.*) seems to be inclined this way, this is objected to by Keith, *Z.D.M.G.* (1909), Vol. LXIII, p. 347; *Veda of the Black Yajus School*, loc. cit., Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, II. 212, and Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, II. 8 n.

[3] *Vedische Studien*, III. 3.

[4] cf. Keith, *Veda of the Black Yajus School*, loc. cit.

[5] Grassmann, *Der Rigveda*, I. 150, Ludwig, *op. cit.*, II. 587; Griffith, *op. cit.*, I. 448.

[6] *Vedische Studien*, II. 142; Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 570 f.

[7] For a full narration of the story given in the *Bṛhaddevatā*, see Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, I. 321.

tree of transmigration. It is more likely[1] a reference to Indra conceived as a solar god. In the earlier verses,[2] there is a reference to the laudation of Indra by Vasiṣṭha, and it is quite probable that the theme is continued even in this verse by a further allusion to it.

Much need not be made of Wilson's rendering of the word *bahuprajāḥ* in RV. I 164. 32 into "subject to many births." Since the word can more naturally mean "has many children" or "has many offsprings," the verse can possibly have no connection whatever with the doctrine of transmigration.[3]

That the Vedic verses considered so far are connected in no way whatsoever with the doctrine of transmigration does not, however, mean that even traces of this doctrine, not to speak of the doctrine itself, were entirely unknown at the very earliest stage of Vedic belief. There are a number of other verses[4] which will prove that it is not at all a fruitless attempt to seek in the Ṛgveda the genesis of the doctrine of transmigration A study of these verses points out most unmistakably that "at least with the conceptions that later led to the formulation of the theory of transmigration, the Vedic poets were not unfamiliar."

The doctrine of transmigration is quite a complex conception. More than one doctrine is involved in it, and more than one presupposed by it. It involves within it the Karma doctrine that every man must reap what he has sown, and that every action on earth shall have its result. Presupposed by it are the conceptions of the eternality of the soul, of its continued existence even though its present body is destroyed, and of its being the doer and the sufferer. The suffering of

[1] cf. Grassmann, *op. cit.*, I. 552; Griffith, *op. cit.*, II. 35

[2] RV. VII. 33. 5 ff.

[3] Goldstucker, *Literary Remains*, I. 213; Grassmann, *op. cit.*, II. 459; Ludwig, *op. cit.*, II. 582; Griffith, *op. cit.*, I. 225; Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 18 n.; Hume, *Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, p. 54 n.

[4] H. G. Narahari, *op. cit.*, pp. 178 ff.

the soul implies a place or places other than this world to which the soul moves after the body which encased it is destroyed on the pyre, and such a travel implies in its turn a path or paths by which movement is possible. This is the justification for including in the Indian theory of transmigration the ideas of *Brahmaloka* and *Pitṛloka*, and of *Devayāna* and *Pitṛyāṇa*.

On a careful study of the Ṛgveda, it becomes clear that almost all these conceptions were known to the Vedic seers. There should thus be little scope for doubting that the genesis of the doctrine of transmigration can quite definitely be traced to the hymns of the Ṛgveda

The Ṛgvedic seers were well aware of the existence of the soul as distinct from the body,[1] of its eternality,[2] and of its nature as the experiencer of the reward of man's actions.[3]

The Upaniṣads cannot probably claim much originality for their conception of *Devayāna* and *Pitṛyāṇa*.[4] Both the words occur even in the Ṛgveda where the idea is already familiar that the *Devayāna* is the path which leads to the gods, while the *Pitṛyāṇa* is that by which the manes travel. I think that, even in RV. X. 88. 15 (=VS. XIX. 47), it is only this distinction between these two paths that is posited.[5] That the *Devayāna* is bright and lustrous, and that all those passing through it must pass through Agni, is also another idea with which the seers of the Ṛgveda are already fully conversant.[6] Further, the distinction which the Ṛgveda makes among the virtuous who die, into those eligible for immortality and those who are not and who only reach the

[1] RV. I. 113. 16, 164 4; X. 59. 7; the soul is called by such names as *Brahman*, *Ātman*, *Satya*, *Tman*, *Ajo bhāga*, *Jīva*, *Prāṇa*, *Manas*, *Suparṇa*, and *Asu* in the Ṛgveda.

[2] RV. X. 16. 4.

[3] RV. I. 164. 20.

[4] H. G. Narahari, *op. cit.*, pp. 93 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 104 ff.

[6] RV. VII. 76. 2, X. 51. 2, 5, cf. H. G. Narahari, *op. cit.*, pp. 94 ff.

Heaven of Yama, must have greatly inspired the Upanisadic ideas concerning the *Devayāna* and the *Pitryāṇa*.[1]

One Ṛgvedic verse (I. 164. 20) appears to draw attention to the fact that, while the individual soul reaps the benefit of its *Karma*,[2] the Supreme Soul is under no such compulsion.[3]

Of the same trend seems to be the following verse (RV X. 16. 3) which speaks of the nature (*dharma*) of the soul which is on its onward journey after its earthly habitation is destroyed on the funeral pyre

सूर्यं चक्षुर्गच्छतु वातमात्मा द्यां च गच्छ पृथिवीं च धर्मणा ।
अपो वा गच्छ यदि तत्र ते हितमोषधीषु प्रति तिष्ठा शरीरैः ॥

The individual destinations of each portion of the dead man is mentioned here, his eye is directed to go to the sun, and his spirit to go to the wind; as for what remains, it is asked to go to heaven or earth in accordance with its nature (*dharma*), or even to waters or plants if it so suits it. It is idle to dispense with the verse saying that the journey of the soul envisaged there is only a wild poetic fancy, the artist in the poet being stirred, perhaps, by the resemblances between the limbs of the dead man and their analogues in the *makranthropos*. The verse supplies a clear evidence of the presence of the belief, even in the Ṛgvedic period, of the incorporation, at times, of the souls of the dead in animals or plants.[4]

With this verse must be considered two more which are also found in the Ṛgveda, and which appear to be closely related to it in theme:[5]

[1] H. G. Narahari, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[2] RV. VII. 86. 5 cannot be taken to suggest, as R. Shama Sastry (*Festschrift M. Winternitz*, p. 141) would have, that the Karma theory cannot have been known to the Ṛgvedic poets. It is to give too much importance to the verse to think that it is more than an enthusiastic utterance while in devotional ecstacy.

[3] H. G. Narahari, *op. cit.*, pp 12 ff

[4] cf. Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 571

[5] cf. R. D. Ranade (*Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy*, pp. 145 ff.) who sees in these two verses and their predecessor a portrayal

यत्ते दिवं यत् पृथिवीं मनो जगाम दूरकम् ।
तत्त आ वर्तयामसी ह क्षयाय जीवसे ॥
यत्ते अपो यदोषधीर्मनो जगाम दूरकम् ।
तत्त आ वर्तयामसी ह क्षयाय जीवसे ॥[1]

The entire hymn of which these two verses form parts is an address to the departed spirit of Subandhu, recalling it from wherever it might have gone to for a fresh existence on earth. Whether it has passed on to earth and heaven, or to the waters or plants, the spirit is invited to return to earth to live and sojourn here. It can only be the spirit of a dead man that is addressed here, not that of one who is unconscious, for, in the verse just noticed above, the soul, which has just left the dead body, is asked to go to heaven or earth, or even to waters and plants, whichever of these may be to its taste. It is noteworthy that these two verses speak of the return of the soul from the very places to which it is directed to go in the previous stanza.[2] It should not thus be too much to infer that, in the formation of the later Upaniṣadic theory of *Pitṛyāṇa*, these three verses must have exerted considerable influence. The Vedic doctrine of the departed soul going to and returning from the waters or plants must have greatly inspired the Upaniṣadic theory of the soul, on its way back to the earth from the *Pitṛloka*, passing through rain and the plants.[3]

The nature of the soul as a moving life-principle, and its capacity to get into the body and go out of it, also find mention[4] in the Ṛgveda. RV. I. 164. 30 obviously

of an 'animistic or hylozoistic view of the world' which is the first stage of the evolution of the idea of transmigration.

[1] RV. X. 58. 2, 7.

[2] AV. VIII. 2. 3 which speaks of a return from the *wind* and *sun* also is complementary in this connection, cf. Muir, *op. cit.*, V. 298 n. who also gives parallels to this idea in early Greek and German literature.

[3] cf. Macdonell (*Vedic Mythology*, p. 166) who believes that RV. X. 16. 3 and 58. 7 speak of a conception which 'perhaps contains the germ of the theory of metempsychosis.'

[4] R. D. Ranade, *op. cit.*, p. 151 f.

emphasizes[1] the superiority of the soul (*jīva*) over the body, in life and after death: in life, it is the animating principle of the body which enables it to carry on its work; and, after death, it continues moving about, subsisting on the manes which are continually offered to the dead. There is no need to indulge in an involved explanation of the kind advocated by Ludwig[2] and Griffith[3] who would have Agni as the subject of the first-half of the verse, while, to the second, the Moon serves so in a like capacity.

In RV. I. 164. 38 reference is made to the backward and forward movement made by the immortal principle, moving in the opposite direction of its brother, the mortal principle. So ceaseless is this movement that men can mark the latter but not the former during its gyrations. To Grassmann[4] and Ludwig[5] these two elements, the mortal and the immortal, spoken of here, signify only Agni and the Sun. Oldenberg[6] thinks that the reference here is only to the morning and evening stars (*Tages- und Nachtsonne*). But the context in which this verse occurs appears to justify the philosophic sense given to it by Sāyaṇa. Roth[7] and Böhtlingk[8] believe that this and the previous verse supply evidence for the existence of the theory of transmigration (*Seelenwanderung*) in the Ṛgveda.

The same theme is continued in a third verse (RV. I. 164.31) which, however, lays stress on the frequent return to

[1] H. G. Narahari, *op. cit.*, p. 10 f.
[2] *op. cit.*, V. 455 f.
[3] *op. cit.*, I. 224 n.
[4] *op. cit.*, II. 459.
[5] *op. cit.*, V. 456.
[6] *op. cit.*, I. 160.
[7] *Z.D.M.G.* (1892), XLVI. 759 ff., Keith, [*Z.D.M.G.*, (1909), LXIII. 347 ff.] rejects the view on the ground that the finite use which Roth finds here for the present participle is unwarranted.
[8] *BKSGW.*, XLV. 88 ff., cited by Keith, *Veda of the Black Yajus Sohool*, I. cxxviii; R. D. Ranade (*op. cit.*, p. 151) follows him; Geldner (*Der Rigveda*, I. 210 n.) also appears to hold a similar view, the suggestion is rejected by Pischel (*Vedische Studien*, II. 219, 221) and by Keith, *J.R.A.S.* (1910), p. 215; *Veda of the Black Yajus School*, loc. cit.; *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p 570.

earth of the guardian (*gopa*) Sāyaṇa feels that the subject of the verse is the Sun Grassmann,[1] Ludwig[2] and Griffith[3] agree with him. But, as in the case of the previous verse, the sequence of the verse suggests that the reference here is to the "soul"[4] and its repeated journeys to earth.

A return to this world after enjoying the fruits of good deeds in the world of the manes seems to be referred[5] to once (RV. X. 14. 8) in the Ṛgveda. Evidence is not also wanting to prove that a sort of belief in survival after death and in repeated rebirths did exist at the time of this Veda.[6]

"The ideas that the birds are the forms of the Fathers, and that the Fathers creep about the roots of the plants, and the practice of using an insect or other animal, which alighted on a garment spread out with an invocation to the soul of the dead, when his bones cannot be found, to serve in place of his mortal relics," suggest, to Oldenberg,[7] the groundwork on which the Indian belief in transmigration developed.

It is thus clear that, while it is not possible to see direct references to the doctrine of transmigration in the Ṛgveda, we have, in this text, almost all the material that is necessary for a theoretical formulation of it, so much so that it can even be said of the Upaniṣads that their endeavour is not so much to give a novel theory of transmigration, entirely unknown before, as it is to consolidate the various elements of this complicated doctrine found scattered in earlier Vedic texts like the Ṛgveda.

[1] *loc. cit.*

[2] *loc. cit.*

[3] *loc. cit.*

[4] R. D. Ranade, *loc. cit.*, cf. Geldner (*loc. cit.*) who thinks that the allusion here may be to the *Lebenshauch* (*prāṇa*).

[5] C. Kunhan Raja, *Cultural Heritage of India*, I. 31.

[6] H. G. Narahari, *op. cit.*, p 180.

[7] *Die Religion des Veda*, pp. 563, 581, summarized by Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 571, for a similar view, see Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, pp. 255 ff.

SANSKRIT AUTHORS STUDIED IN RĀJPUTĀNĀ IN THE 12TH AND 13TH CENTURIES

BY

DR. DASHARATHA SHARMA

OUR information on the subject of the Sanskrit authors studied in Rājputānā in the 12th and 13th centuries is rather scanty. But we can, on the basis of three Jaina works, the *Kharataragacchapaṭṭāvalī* of Jinapāla (died Saṁ. 1295), *Gaṇadharasārdhaśatakavṛtti* of Sumatigaṇi, a co-disciple of Jinapāla, and Jinadatta Sūris' *Carcarī*, state that the Jainas here studied at least the following writers

1 KĀLIDĀSA

Sumatigaṇi mentions the *Meghadūta*. Jinapāla shows the high regard in which Kālidāsa was held by quoting the following verse:[1]

कवयः कालिदासाद्याः कवयो वयमप्यमी ।
पर्वते परमाणौ च वस्तुत्वमुभयोरपि ॥

2. MĀGHA

That Māgha too had attained the high position which he even now holds in the minds of the Paṇḍits of the old school may be seen from another verse quoted by Jinapāla:[2]

[1] Comment on the 5th verse of the *Carcarī*.
[2] Comment on the 4th verse of the *Carcarī*.

मायेन विघ्नितोत्साहा नोत्सहन्ते पदक्रमं ।
स्मरन्ति भारवेरेव कवय कपयो यथा ॥

3. VĀKPATIRĀJA

Of Prakrit authors, Vākpatirāja attained the greatest celebrity. Here is Vākpati's wife's opinion, as reported by Jinapāla.[1]

होहिन्ति केचि जे ते न याणीमो जे गया णमो तान . . . ।
मम्पइ इह जे कविणो ते मह पइणो न सरिच्छा ॥

4. BĀṆA

Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* is mentioned more than once. It was widely read and regarded as the best model of Sanskrit prose His contemporary Mayūra too is mentioned in the *Carcarī*.

5. HARIBHADRA

Equally great from the Jaina point of view and widely studied was the great Jaina scholar Haribhadra Sūri, the father of the *Vidhicaitya* movement which purified Jainism in Northern India and prevented it from following in the wake of the decadent Buddhism of the period His *Anekānta-jayapatākā* is regarded as a very great work.

6 S'RĪDHARA

The *Nyāyakandalī* of S'rīdhara seems to have been popular enough and has been referred to in the *Kharatara-gacchapaṭṭāvalī* of Jinapāla. The Jaisalmer Bhaṇḍāra has two copies of it. Naracandra, a contemporary of Vastupāla, wrote on it a gloss called *Nyāyakandalī-ṭippaṇa*.

[1] Jinapāla's comment on the *Carcarī*, v.

7 UDAYANA

Nyāyakiraṇāvalī is the only work of Udayana mentioned in our sources But his other books too may be presumed to have been known and studied in Rājputānā [1]

8 S'AṄKARA

S'aṅkara, the great *Advaita* philosopher, needs no introduction.

9. KAMALAS'ĪLA

Kamalas'īla is obviously the great Buddhist scholar who commented on S'antarakṣita's *Tattvasaṅgraha*.[2] He lived somewhere between 720 and 780 A D. The reference to him in our sources shows that not only were his works copied out in Western India, but also studied with all the respect that they deserved.

10. PĀṆINI AND HEMACANDRA

Eight systems of grammar have been referred to; but the grammarians mentioned by name are only two; Pāṇini and Hemacandra.

11. MURĀRI

Though some 84 dramas have been referred to, Murāri is the only dramatist mentioned by name.

12. MAMMAṬA, RUDRAṬA, UDBHAṬA, BHĀMAHA, VĀMANA

Of the writers on poetics we find reference to Rudraṭa, author of the *Kāvyālaṅkāra*; Udbhaṭa, author of the

[1] Some of these are found in the Pattan and Jaisalmer Bhandars.
[2] Published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series

Kāvyālaṅkārasaṅgraha; Bhāmaha, author of another *Kāvyālaṅkāra*. Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* was regarded as the standard work on Poetics.

13. JAYADEVA

This Jayadeva is the writer of a work on Sanskrit metres.[1] He is not probably identical with the famous Jayadeva of the *Gītagovinda*.

Being based barely on three books whose real business, again, is not to give us any history of Sanskrit literature but to describe the lives of certain Jaina *ācāryas*, the above list can hardly pretend to be exhaustive or even moderately complete. But as the history of education in Rājputānā in the 12th and 13th centuries has till now been almost a closed book to us, even this meagre account will perhaps be found to be of some use.

[1] There is an old Manuscript of the work at Jaisalmer.

SUMANORAMAṆĪ—A COMMENTARY ON MEGHASANDEŚA

BY

V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

OF all the commentaries on Kālidāsa's *Meghasandeśa* available in print, the *Vidyullatā* of Pūrnasarasvatī[1] is perhaps the most lucid and comprehensive But *Sumanoramaṇī* of Parameśvara, which is now published in the Journal of the Travancore University Oriental Manuscripts Library, often surpasses it in its elaborateness, though it is only next to it in brilliance. Both the commentators hail from Kerala and the text followed by them is practically the same. Chronologically *Sumanoramaṇī* comes after *Vidyullatā*, as many of the views criticised in the former can be seen to be those of the latter.

An examination of the different manuscripts of *Sumanoramaṇī* available in the University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum, reveals that it has two recensions, a shorter and a longer, the longer one being more or less an elaboration of the shorter with certain additional śāstraic discussions. The longer recension is the one now published.[2]

The following verses seen at the end of the longer recension furnish some information about the author, Parameśvara :

अनुदिनमभिनवरूपा सुमनोरमणीव जगति जयतितराम् ।
हरिचरितकाव्यसहभूः व्याख्या सा मेघदूतस्य ॥

[1] Published in Vani Vilas Sanskrit Series, No. 15, Srirangam.

[2] There is only a single complete MS. for the longer recension and it is presented to the Library by the Koodalloor mana, near Pattambi, Malabar, while there are several MSS. for the shorter recension.

मन्त्रब्राह्मणसूत्रवित् कृतमतिः शास्त्रे च कौमारिले
कर्ता न्यायसमुच्चयस्य कणिकाव्याख्याप्रणेता कविः ।
उत्पत्तिस्त्वघमर्षणप्रवरजाद्गौर्यामृषेरासवान्
कर्तास्याः परमेश्वरो नतशिराः पूज्ये गुरौ शङ्करे ॥

लब्धभवदासभावो भगवति भक्त्याख्यया च भवदासः ।
वादी वेदान्तरतो यस्य पितृव्यः स एव कर्तास्याः[1] ॥

From these verses we understand that Parames'vara was a Brahmin, born in the Aghamarṣaṇa-pravara as the son of Ṛṣi and Gaurī; that his preceptor was one S'aṅkara; that he had a paternal uncle Bhavadāsa, who was a great devotee, a controversialist and a great scholar in Vedānta; and that he is the author of *Haricaritakāvya* and the Mīmāṁsā works *Nyāyasamuccaya* and a commentary (or commentaries) on *Kaṇikā* (*i.e.* *Nyāyakaṇikā*) of Vācaspatimis'ra. He has written two commentaries on *Nyāyakaṇikā* known as *Juṣadhvaṅkaraṇī* and *Svaditaṅkaraṇī*, the former being the earlier production:

इति श्रीमदृषिगौरीनन्दनश्रीभवदासपितृव्यश्रीमच्छङ्करपूज्यपादशिष्यपरमेश्वर-कृतौ स्वदितङ्करण्यां तृतीयश्लोकः ।

(Madras Govt Oriental MSS. R. No. 3595, p. 68.)

जुषध्वङ्करणी व्याख्या रचितास्माभिरादितः ।
स्वदितङ्करणी व्याख्या सम्प्रतीयं वितन्यते ॥ (*ibid.*, p. 1)

Parames'vara belonged to Payyūr, the family of the famous Mīmāṁsakas, the Payyūr Bhaṭṭatiris, near Kunnamkulam in Cochin State. The family was in the village Porkalam (Sanskritised *Raṇakhala*) and has produced many scholars of outstanding merit. Among the several scholars here, there were three Ṛṣis and three Parames'varas. Of

[1] The shorter recension has only one verse at the end:
कौमारिलाचार्यवरस्य नाम्ना कृतेन मूर्त्यापि च शङ्करस्य ।
शिष्येण सृष्टा परमेश्वरेण व्याख्येयमेनां विमृशन्तु सन्तः ॥

these Parameśvara I, the son of Ṛṣi I, is the author of *Sumanoramaṇī* and the other works mentioned above. His grandson Parameśvara II, was the son of Ṛṣi II and Gopālikā, and is the author of the commentaries on Maṇḍanamiśra's *Sphoṭasiddhi* and *Vibhramaviveka*, and Vācaspatimiśra's *Tattvabindu*. His grandson was Parameśvara III, also son of a Ṛṣi, and he is the author of *Mīmāṁsāsūtrārthasaṅgraha*, and a commentary on the *Kāśikā* of Sucaritamiśra. The dates of these Parameśvaras cover nearly a period of 250 years between 1300 and 1550 A.D[1] and so our author can be assigned to the fourteenth century A.D.

The work commences with the following introductory verses.

गणपतिरभिमतमनिशं दिशतु महान् मध्यमसुसमासहित· ।
हरिहरमदनवराहाः सेवन्ते यं सदैव सहदयिता. ॥

अह्लाय जह्नुतनयेव मदीयमुच्चै-
राद्या निरस्यतु तमन्तिरक्षराणाम ।
नानाचराचरविधानमिषेण यस्या
व्याख्यां विचक्षणमतिर्विदधाति वेधाः ॥

सुमनोरमणीव्याख्या मेघदूतस्य रच्यते ।
नादृश्या न विमानार्हा तथाप्यन्वर्थविश्रुता[2] ॥

It has been already observed that Parameśvara criticises the views of Pūrṇasarasvatī in his *Sumanoramaṇī*. A few instances may be cited here and examined:

[1] Vide the writer's edition of *Tattvabindu* (Annamalai University Sanskrit Series, III, Introduction pp. 87-92) where an account of the other scholars of the Payyūr family is given

[2] The shorter recension reads this verse in a slightly different way.

क्रियते मेघव्याख्या नादृश्या न च गता विमानपथम् ।
अथ च विबुधोपभोग्या सुमनोरमणीयमद्भुता जयति ॥

It has got an additional verse:

निबन्धनानि सन्तीति नाविधानानिबन्धनम् ।
न ज्ञानल्पेषु श्लेषु न कल्पकमकल्पयत् ॥

1. Pūrṇasarasvatī takes the word कश्चित् in the first verse in *Meghasandeśa* as denoting *maṅgala* He splits it up into कः and चित् and interprets them as meaning *paramātman* and *jīvātman* respectively, and argues that the combination or identity of these two is the highest truth and means of salvation, and that thus the word denotes *maṅgala*. Parameśvara objects to this on the ground that the word चित्, which means knowledge, is always used only in the sense of *paramātman* and not *jīvātman*. He observes it is better to regard that the work is commenced with *vastunirdeśa*, *maṅgala* being not done expressly in the work, and that even if an express *maṅgala* is necessary it is suggested by the words जनकतनया and राम in the expressions जनकतनयास्नानपुण्योदकेषु, and रामगिर्याश्रमेषु, for as is observed in *Raghuvaṁśa* the name of Rāma is very sacred :

राम इत्यभिरामेण वपुषा तस्य चोदितः ।
नामधेयं गुरुश्चक्रे जगत्प्रथममङ्गलम् ॥

2. The Yakṣa was cursed by his master Kubera for having failed in his duty. Pūrṇasarasvatī observes that separation from his beloved (कान्ताविरह) is the object of the curse. This Parameśvara objects to and explains that the object of the curse (शापविषय) can only be the total destruction of the divine powers of the Yakṣa, for the expression is शापेनास्तंगमितमहिमा. He observes that the causal suffix (णिच्) in the word अस्तंगमित also explains that the curse is responsible for the loss of the Yakṣa's powers and not for the separation

3. In the second verse तस्मिन्नद्रौ etc., the word तस्मिन् has the antecedent रामगिरि in the compound रामगिर्याश्रमेषु in the first verse. This is generally objected to on the simple ground that a pronoun would not refer to any object or person denoted by a component part of a compound since it is usually subordinate to the chief idea of the compound. Pūrṇasarasvatī mentions this but justifies the usage by citing some parallel passages like अथ शब्दानुशासनम् । केषां शब्दानाम् , where केषां

refers to शब्द in the compound शब्दानुशासनम्, and तवास्य नीलोत्पल-चारुचक्षुषां मुखस्य तद्रेणुसमानगन्धिन: where तद् in तद्रेणु refers to नीलोत्पल a component in the compound नीलोत्पलचारुचक्षुष:, but remarks क्लेशकृतोऽस्य परामर्श:.[1] Parames'vara refers to this and clearly explains the correctness of the usage. He observes that in all these cases the pronouns are used only along with words conveying their antecedents. Here the word तस्मिन् is followed by the word अद्रौ which denotes its antecedent referred to by the component part रामगिरि in the compound रामगिर्याश्रमेषु. Similarly in the Mahābhāṣya passage केषां is followed by the word शब्दानाम् which supplies the necessary antecedent, though the word शब्द is a component part of the compound शब्दानु-शासनम्.

Instances like these can be multiplied, but these are adequate to give some idea of the nature of the commentary. Suffice to say at present that *Sumanoramaṇī* is an elaborate commentary often drifting into s'āstraic discussions.

[1] This expression क्लेशकृतोऽस्यं परामर्श:, though quoted by Parames'vara, is seen neither in the printed edition of *Vidyullatā* nor in any of the manuscripts of the work available here.

S'IVĀNANDAGOSVĀMIN

BY

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA

IN mediæval times many South Indian scholars migrated to the North and settled down there under the patronage of the great Rajput kings. Besides grants of lands, high honours were conferred upon them.

In the sixteenth century *S'rīnivāsa Dīkṣita*, son of *S'rīniketana Dīkṣita*, of *Paṇampaṭ* village on the banks of *Peṇṇār*, South of *S'ivakāñcī* which is well known for its temple of *Hastigirinātha*, was on a tour in the North The *Dīkṣitas* were highly learned in the sacrificial science and well—known for their piety. At Jullundhur *S'rīnivāsa Dīkṣita* met a great *Tāntrika* named *Sundarācārya* who initiated him into *S'rīvidyā*, and later settled down in Benares. In his *S'ivārcanacandrikā* (composed in *Saṁvat* 1640) of which there are four MSS. in the Anup Sanskrit Library, we have the following at the beginning:

देशोऽस्ति दक्षिणदिशि द्रविडाभिधानः काञ्चीति यत्र वसतिः स्मरशासनस्य ।
पुण्या पुरी पुरनिषूदनभागधेयसौभाग्यदन्तुरितकीर्तिरचञ्चलश्रीः ॥

आविर्बभूव हयमेधमखे विरिञ्चेर्यत्र स्वयं स भगवान् रमया रमेशः ।
अद्यापि हस्तगिरिनाथ इति प्रसिद्धः संदृश्यते सकललोकसमर्चिताङ्घ्रिः ॥

तस्या दक्षिणदिग्भतः क्षितिसुरैः षट्शास्त्रविद्भिश्चतु-
र्वेदैः सोपनिषद्भिरङ्गसहितैराढ्यैः सदाधिष्ठितः ।

पाणम्पट्टिनि विश्रुतः क्षितितले पेण्णानदीतीरभू-
दुर्गे यागगृहाकुल. सकलदिक्ष्वास्तेऽग्रहारो महान् ॥

आत्रेयगोत्रशतपत्रविकासमित्रस्तत्रातिरात्रसमहाव्रतसत्रकर्ता ।
भर्तार्तदीनकृपणान्धसुहृज्जनाना षट्शास्त्रवित्समरपुंगवदीक्षितोऽभूत ॥

तस्यात्मजः फणिपतिर्वरपाणिनीये मीमांसकेष्वपि गुरु· श्रुतिषु स्वयंभू · ।
स द्वादशाहचयनान्वितवाजपेयसोमाध्वरी भुवि तिरुम्मलदीक्षितोऽभूत ॥

तन्नन्दन· सकलवेदविदां वरिष्ठः श्रौतक्रियासु निपुण· श्रितसोमदीक्षः ।
आसीदशेषगुणरत्ननिधि· पृथिव्या श्रीश्रीनिकेतन इति प्रथितोऽध्वरीन्द्रः ॥

तत्सूनु· श्रीनिवासः सकलनिगमवित्सर्वशास्त्रार्थवेत्ता
श्रौतस्मार्तेषु कर्मस्वतिशयनिपुणः सत्कवि· स्वीयदेशात ।
पीठं जालन्धराख्यं प्रकटितविभवं प्राप्य यात्राप्रसङ्गात
तत्र श्रीसुन्दराख्यं सकलगुणनिधि प्राप्य सद्देशिकेन्द्रम् ॥

तत्पादपङ्कजयुगं परिचर्य तस्मात् प्राप्याभिषेकमखिलागमप्यधीत्य ।
तस्याज्ञया समधिगम्य पुरीं स काशीं तत्राकरोद्वसतिमात्मविदां वरिष्ठ· ॥

तत्र स्थित. सकलतन्त्ररहस्यवेत्ता शिष्टै· शिवार्चनपरै· श्रितशैवदीक्षैः ।
अभ्यर्थितो वितनुते सकलागमार्थसारोदयां भुवि शिवार्चनचन्द्रिकां स· ॥

S'rīnivāsa had a son called *Jagannivāsa*. He migrated to Bundelkhand. King *Bāraksāhi* of Bundelkhand was among his disciples. *Jagannivāsa* had three sons, *S'ivānanda alias S'iromaṇibhaṭṭa*, *Janārdana* and *Cakrapāṇi*. *S'ivānanda* was a contemporary of *Devisiṁha* of Bundelkhand. It was under the patronage of this ruler that he wrote his *magnum opus*, the *Siṁhasiddhāntasindhu*. *S'ivānanda's* son *S'rīniketan* settled down in Jaipur. *S'ivānanda*, his brother *Janārdana* and *Lakṣmīnivāsa* (son of *Janārdana*) visited Bikaner in the reign of *Mahārāja Anupsinghji*. They were honoured by the *Mahārāja* with a grant of two villages. *Rādhāramaṇa*, son of *S'rīniketana* seems to be the first to settle down in Bikaner.

It is not known when and how these *Dīkṣitas* acquired the surname *Gosvāmin*. The genealogy of the family is given in a Sanskrit work named मथुरास्थभट्टानां संक्षिप्त इतिहासः. A MS. of this is in the possession of Pt. Megharaj Goswami, a modern descendant of the family and a member of the staff of the Anup Sanskrit Library. I am indebted to him for placing the MS. at my disposal. It contains nineteen verses and a Hindi translation of these Pt. Megharaj Goswami informs me that the Hindi translation is by his father, Pt. Narasinglal Goswami, a former Librarian of the Anup Sanskrit Library. The Sanskrit original stops with *S'rīramaṇa* (*Rādhā-ramaṇa* as given in the genealogical tree in the Hindi translation). I give below verses 12-18 dealing with the genealogy from *S'rīniketan* to *Rādhāramaṇa*.

श्री श्रीनिकेतन इति स्मरतुल्यरूपः सुश्लाघ्यकाव्यपरितोषितनैकभूपः ।
दाता विभात्यधिधरित्रि जगन्निवासज्यायस्सुतस्य सुत उग्र महोग्रतेजाः ॥

तस्यानुजो दिवसकृज्जयदीर्घतेजाः क्ष्मापालमौलिमिलदङ्घ्रिसरोजयुग्मः ।
दानावधीरितबुधावनिजो मनीषी विद्यानिवास इति भाति भुवि प्रतीतः ॥

श्रीमज्जनार्दनजनुर्जगतीशमुख्यैरानन्दितस्तुतिभरेण करेण कर्णः ।
सर्वागमानुविधिरत्नचयाकरोऽत्र लक्ष्मीनिवास इति भाति विभाकरश्रीः ॥

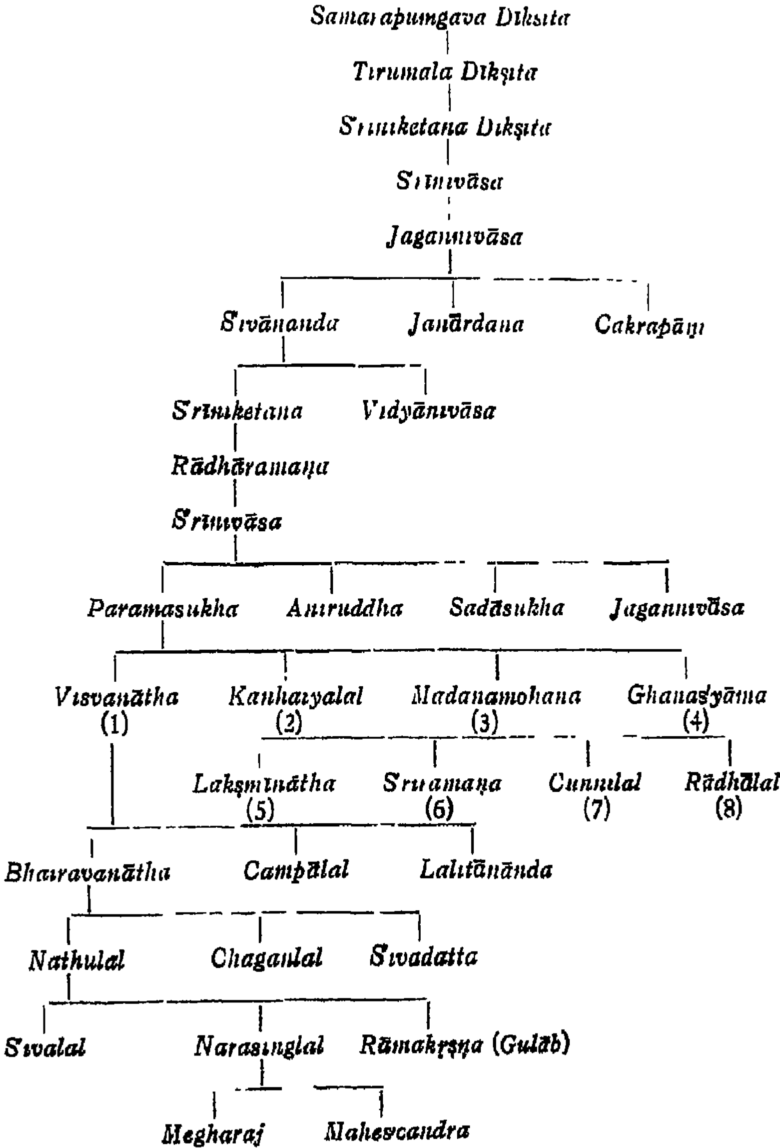
बुधजनविस्मयकारी स्मरस्फुरद्रूपनिवहेन ।
विलसति सुकृतप्रवणः श्रीरमणः श्रीनिकेतनजः ॥

देशश्चेद्विर्षैत्रवत्या पवित्रो जागेश्वर्या जाग्र उग्रप्रभावः ।
बुन्देलाख्यैर्भूपवर्यैरुपेतस्तन्मध्यस्था लाभगोणी विभाति ॥

स्थितिस्तत्र नानासुरार्चालसत्सन्सरोवापिकाकूपकुण्डान्वितायाम् ।
महाक्रीडवृन्दैर्भृशं मण्डितायां महासौधहर्म्यादिसंशोभितायाम् ॥

पञ्च ग्रामा दुर्गसिंहेन दत्ताश्चत्वारोऽन्ये विष्णुसिंहेन राज्ञा ।
द्वौ सुश्रीकौ कर्णपुत्रेण भक्तैरेवं प्रायः प्रासितोऽत्र स्थितिर्नः ॥

In his Hindi translation Narasinglal Goswami gives fuller information. He gives the genealogy from *Samarapuṁgava* down to his son Megharaj Goswami. It is as follows



There is a fragment of the horoscope of one of the eight sons of *Paramasukha* in the possession of Pt. Megharaj Goswami. It is dated *Saṁvat* 1844 (A.D. 1787).

The above genealogical tree brought down to its modern descendant is not contained in an article on this *Tāntrika* family of Deccan in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1939) by Chintaharan Chakravarty, and is given here for the first time.

We are concerned here mainly with *Sivānanda*. He was a versatile genius of the 17th century A.D., and, unlike his ancestor *S'rīnivāsa* who devoted his attention solely to *Mantra-s'astra*, wrote on various subjects. A large number of his works available in the Anup Sanskrit Library have not so far found a mention anywhere. That the Anup Sanskrit Library has preserved most of his works is due to his contact with Maharaja Anup Singhji. In some his name appears as *S'ivānanda* and in others it appears as *S'iromaṇibhaṭṭa*. In one case, *viz*, that of the *Lalitārcanadīpikā* both the names appear together and place it beyond doubt that *S'iromaṇibhaṭṭa* is an *alias* of *S'ivānanda*.

The Anup Sanskrit Library has the following works of *S'ivānanda*:

(1) *Mahābhāratasubhāṣitasaṁgraha* MS. No. 1000; dated *Saṁvat* 1736. (A.D. 1679). Author mentioned as *S'ivānanda*.

(2) *Āhnikaratna*. No 1877 Author mentioned as *Dākṣiṇātya S'iromaṇibhaṭṭa*.

(3) *Saṁkṣepaprāyas'citta*. Nos. 2061-62, Author mentioned as *S'ivānanda*

(4) *Tithinirṇaya*. No. 2169. Author mentioned as *S'iromaṇibhaṭṭa*. The work is noticed by Prof. Kane in his *History of Dharmas'āstra* (I, 750).

(5) *Vyavahāranirṇaya*. No. 2234. Author mentioned as *S'ivānanda*.

(6) *Ācārasindhu*. No 2246. A *Nibandha* in 27 *Taraṅgas*. At the end the extent is given as 9000 *S'lokas*. MS. dated *Saṁvat* 1741 (A.D. 1684). Author mentioned as *S'ivānanda*.

(7) *Vaidyaratna* with *Ṭīkā*. No. 4155. In 7 *Prakās'as*. MS. dated *Saṁvat* 1734 (1677 A.D.) Very brittle and damaged.

Author mentioned as *S'ivananda* Aufrecht notices MSS of this (C. C II, 146)

(8) *Khecaratuṅgadīprakās'ikā.* No 4381 Nine verses on the exaltation etc of the nine planets Author mentioned as *S'iromaṇibhaṭṭa.*

(9) *Bālaviveka.* Nos 4749 and 4750. A *Jyotiṣa* work mainly concerned with *Muhurtas* Author mentioned as *S'ivānanda* in the former and as *S'iromaṇibhaṭṭa* in the latter

(10) *Muhurtaratna.* No. 4834 Author mentioned as *S'iromaṇibhaṭṭa.* MS dated "*Vasunetradricandra*" *Saṁvat* 1728 (A.D. 1671)

At the end:

देशोऽस्ति दक्षिणदिशि द्रविडाभिधानो यत्र द्विजातिनिवहा निवसन्ति पुण्याः ।
ये पण्डिताः श्रुतिसमार्तकर्मदक्षा अध्यापनेन यजनेन नयन्ति कालम् ॥
तत्राभवन्निखिलशास्त्रसदर्थवेत्ता भेत्ता स्वशिष्यहृदयस्थतमश्चयस्य ।
छेत्ता निजाश्रितजनाशिवदुस्तरूणां श्रीश्रीनिकेतन इति प्रथितो द्विजेन्द्रः ॥
तस्यात्मजन्माभवदार्यवर्यः श्रीश्रीनिवासो निखिलागमज्ञः ।
तपोनिधिं यं गुणरत्नसिन्धुं शिवेन तुल्यं निगदन्ति सन्तः ॥
तत्सूनुरासीज्जगतीतलेऽस्मिन्नाचार्यगोस्वामिजगन्निवासः ।
शिरोमणिस्तत्प्रभवो निबन्धं मुहूर्तरत्नाख्यमिमं व्यतानीत ॥

Here only *Jagannivāsa* is surnamed *Gosvāmin* and not *S'rīnivāsa*; but in the colophon of No. 9 *S'rīnivāsa* also is surnamed so.

(11) *Siṁhasiddhāntadīpikā.* No. 5885. A work on *Vyākaraṇa* (*S'abdādhikāra* and *Sandhi*). Author mentioned as *S'ivānanda.* The work derives the title from the patron *Devīsiṁha.*

(12) *Vibhaktyarthavivaraṇa* or *Kārakakos'a.* No. 5931. Author mentioned as *S'ivānanda.*

(13) *Taddhitakos'a.* No. 5936. At the end:

इति श्रीगोस्वामि श्रीनिवासपौत्रश्रीगोस्वामिजगन्निवासात्मजश्रीशिरोमणिनिर्मितस्तद्धितकोशः संपूर्णः ।

(14) *Samāsakośa* No. 5940 MS dated *Saṁvat* 1731 At the end

इति श्रीगोस्वामि जगन्निवासभट्टज्येष्ठात्मजगोस्वामिशिवानन्दविरचित: समासकोश: संपूर्ण. ।

(15) *Strīpratyayakośa*. No. 5968. Author mentioned as *Śivananda*.

(16) *Īśvarastuti*. No. 6103. Author mentioned as *Śiromaṇibhaṭṭa*.

(17) *Jalapāstuti*. No. 6244. Author mentioned as *Śiromaṇibhaṭṭa*.

(18) *Durgāstuti*. No 6267. Author mentioned as *Śiromaṇibhaṭṭa*. MS. dated *Saṁvat* 1721.

(19) *Gaṅgāstotra*. No. 6229. Author mentioned as *Śiromaṇibhaṭṭa*.

(20) *Prātaḥsmaraṇa*.[1] No. 6344.

(21) *Saparyākramadarpaṇastotra*. No. 6627. Author mentioned as *Śivānanda*. MS. dated *Samvat* 1721.

(22) *Tripurāstuti*. No. 6742. Author mentioned as *Śiromaṇibhaṭṭa*.

(23) *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇārcākaumudī*. No. 7128 Author mentioned as *Śivānanda*. Written under the patronage of Maharaja Anupsinghji The work is noticed by Prof. Kane

[1] Attention is here drawn to the *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇastotra* of Anūpasiṁha. There are three MSS (No. 6510-12) of this in the Anup Sanskrit Library. The oldest of this is probably No. 6510. Here the second half of the first verse is first written as विचित्रपदसंपद्धा कुर्वेऽहं स्तुतिमुत्तमाम् ॥ This is rubbed over by yellow pigment by a later hand which in the right hand margin writes instead: कुर्वेऽनूपनृपतिर्लक्ष्मीनारायणस्तुतिम् ॥ This later is the reading in the other two MSS The first half of the verse is: लक्ष्मीनारायणप्रीत्यै नानाच्छन्द: समन्विताम् ॥ With the reading of the later two MSS, *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa* occurs twice in the verse On the cover of No. 6512 there is this entry: लक्ष्मीनारायणस्तुति । शिवानंदकृत. The colophons of Nos. 6511 and 6512, however, mention *Anūpasiṁha* as the author. The colophon of No. 6510 first mentioned *Śivānanda*, but has been corrected by a later hand. There is a *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇapūjāsāra* in Hindi in the Anup Sanskrit Library. Here at the beginning *Anūpasiṁha* is mentioned as patron and at the end *Janārdana*, brother of *Śivānanda* is mentioned as the author A Sanskrit colophon at the end attributes the work to *Anūpasiṁha*.

in his History of Dharma S'āstra (I, 750) The third verse of the introductory part is as follows

नानाग्रन्थान्विलोक्योत्तमगुणविदितैर्निर्मितान्वैष्णवाग्र्यै-
    र्लक्ष्मीशस्य प्रसादात्पटुतरधिषणः श्रीशिवानन्दनामा ।
आदिष्टो भक्तियुक्तैः क्षितिपतितिलकश्रीनृपानूपसिंहै-
    र्लक्ष्मीनारायणार्चाविधिमिहनिखिलं संलिखाम्यर्चनार्थम् ॥

S'ivānanda's visit to Bikaner, during the reign of *Maharaja Anup Singhji* and the grant of two villages to him by the latter are referred to by Narasinglal Goswami also in his Notes to the MS. of the *Āryākhyāna Kalpadruma* in the Anup Sanskrit Library (p. 244).

(24) *Mahāvidyāpramodalaharī*. No 7283. Author mentioned as *S'ivānanda*. MS. dated *Saṁvat* 1732

(25) *Lalitārcanadīpikā*. No 7325.

At the end ·

इति श्रीगोस्वामि शिवानन्दापरनामक शिरोमणिभट्टविरचिता श्रीललिताचार्दीपिका संपूर्णा ॥

(26) *Lalitārcanakaumudī*. No. 7308. Author mentioned as *S'iromaṇibhaṭṭa*. Breaks off in *Prakās'a* 15.

(27) *Kārtavīryavidhiratna*. No. 7723. Author mentioned as *S'ivānanda*.

(28) *Siṁhasiddhāntasindhu* Nos. 8281-82.

This work on *Mantras'astra* in 92 *Taraṅgas* is the author's *magnum opus*. It was written under the patronage of *Devīsiṁha*[1] of Bundelkhand. It is one of the most voluminuous works in Sanskrit literature. At the end of the former MS. the extent is given as 35310 S'lokas by the copyist. As stated by the author at the end, the work was finished on Wednesday of the bright fortnight of *Mārgas'īrṣa* of *Saṁvat* 1731 (A.D. 1674). The former MS. is

[1] He is the author of a medico-Tantric work named *Siṁhasudhānidhi* of which a MS. is available in the Anup Sanskrit Library.

dated in the *Pauṣa* of *Saṁvat* 1732 (A.D, 1675) and the latter in the *Māgha* of *Saṁvat* 1739 (A.D. 1682). Both were copied by *Mayārāma*. The work is noticed by Aufrecht (C. C. I. 716).

Begins :

यस्याङ्घ्रिद्वयपूजनेन निखिला सिद्धिर्लभन्ते नरा
वृद्धी: प्राप्य वसन्ति वेश्मसु पराश्चैषां समा: संपद: ।
भक्तस्वान्तनितान्तमोहदलने दक्षं विपक्षं वरं
विघ्नाना प्रणमाम्यनारतमहं तं श्रीगणाधीश्वरम् ॥ १ ॥
सर्वं संतमसावृतं जगदिदं भाभि: समुद्भासय-
न्नम्भोजानि विकासयन्विरहिण: कोकान्समाश्वासयन् ।
शीतांशुं परिहासयन् गतरुचिं संत्रासयन्वैरिणो
भक्तक्लेशमुदासयन्स भवतु क्षेमाय भासापति: ॥ २ ॥
अंसासक्तोत्तमस्रग्वनभुवि सततं योरिरंसानुरक्तो-
गुञ्जोत्तंसाभिराम: प्रतिभयसमरे यो नृशंसारिहन्ता ।
भक्ताशंसाभिपूर्तौ सकरुणहृदयो यो बलं सावलेपं-
विभ्रद्ध्वंसाभकीर्त्तिर्वितरतु विविधं शर्म कंसाहितस्ते ॥ ३ ॥
भाले प्रालेयरश्मिं दधदतिरुचिरं शोभने कण्ठदेशे
तारं हारं फणीन्द्रै: फणमणिसुभगैर्निर्मितं दीप्तिमन्तम् ।
वामां वामाङ्कदेशे नलिननिभमुखीमुन्मुखीमिष्टदाने
भक्तानां विश्ववन्द्यो भसितसिततनु: शं विधत्तां महेश: ॥ ४ ॥
उदारचरिताद्भुता सुरगणै: समस्तै: स्तुता युता निखिलसद्गुणैर्द्रुतधुताघसंहा नृणाम् ।
कृपाकलितसेवनोद्यततमात्ममक्तायुता शुभं तव निरन्तरं कलयतु क्षमाभृत्सुता ॥ ५ ॥
कर्पूरस्फुटकैरवेश्वरगिरिप्रालेयगोत्राधर-
स्व:सिन्धूदकपूर्णशारदविधुस्वच्छप्रभाभासुराम् ।
सद्वृत्तामलमौक्तिकावलिकृतैर्भूषागणैर्भूषितां
वाग्गुम्फाद्भुतशक्तिदाननिपुणां वागीश्वरीमाश्रये ॥ ६ ॥
दृप्यद्वैरिसमुच्चयक्षयकर: कीर्तिद्युतिद्योतिता-
शेषाकाशदिगन्तर: पटुतर: प्राज्ञौघवित्तार्पणे ।

राजद्राजसमासभाजितगुणग्रामोऽभिरामो भृशं
भक्तः श्रीनृहरेर्विभाति भुवने बुन्देलभूपान्वय. ॥ ७ ॥

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युद्धे युद्धविदोऽर्जुनं नयविधौ धीरं गिरामीश्वरं
सौन्दर्ये सुदृशः स्मरं महसि च तेजस्विनो भास्करम् ।
धर्मे धर्मविदोऽपि धर्मतनयं दानेऽर्थिसार्थावलि
मन्यन्ते स्म महीतले समभवच्छ्रीरामसाहिर्नृपः ॥ १३ ॥
आसीत्तदीयतनयो विनयोपपन्नः स्वच्छाशयो बहुदयो विबुधव्रजेषु ।
युद्धे निकाममभयो विजयोर्जितश्रीः सङ्ग्रामसाहिरिति भूमिपतिः प्रसिद्धः ॥ १४ ॥

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तस्यात्मजो बलरजोभररुद्धभानुर्दृप्तद्विषद्दलनतीव्रमहः कृशानुः ।
अत्यद्भुतो गुणगणैः प्रथितो धरण्यां श्रीभारतो बहुलदानरतो बभूव ॥ १६ ॥

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तत्सूनुः परिपन्थिमन्थिविलसद्वीरोऽतिधीरो रणे
वेल्लत्तुङ्गतुरङ्गनिष्ठुरखुरक्षुण्णक्ष्मामण्डलः ।
दानाम्भःशमितार्थिनैस्व्यदहनः ख्याताभिधानः क्षितौ
देवीसिंहनरेश्वरो निरुपमो राजोत्तमो राजते ॥ २२ ॥

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आसीत्तस्य गुरुर्गुरुर्गुणगणैर्मन्त्राब्धिपारंगमः
श्रीगोस्वामिजगन्निवास इति सन्नाम्ना जगद्विश्रुतः ।
यस्याज्ञावशवर्तिनः क्षितिभुजस्तेनेऽभवन्भूरिशो
येषां कीर्तिरतीव भाति भुवने दाने कृपाणेऽपि च ॥ ३३ ॥
तत्सुतस्तु तथाभवद्भवसमः श्रीश्रीनिवासः कृती
ज्ञानोदारकुठारदारितजगज्जाड्योरुभूमीरुहः ।

नानातन्त्रविबोधमाप्य मनुजा यस्यानुकम्पानिधेः
शिष्या दैवतमेवनैरभिमतामह्नाय सिद्धिं गताः ॥ ३४ ॥
यस्याङ्घ्रिपद्मकृपया प्रथितः प्रथिव्यामेतादृगत्र जयति स्म जगन्निवासः ।
यः सर्वसिद्धिसहितो जगति द्विजानां तोषं व्यधादविरतं विविधोपकारैः ॥ ३५ ॥
ज्येष्ठस्तस्य सुतो जनोदितशिवनन्दाभिधानः क्षितौ
श्रीविद्याचरणारविन्दयुगलध्यानैकतानोऽनिशम् ।
देवीसिंहनृपेण धर्मकलितस्वान्तेन संप्रार्थित-
स्तत्प्रीत्यै वितनोति धार्मिकजनश्रव्यं निबन्धोत्तमम् ॥ ३६ ॥

The following is a list of quotations in the first ten *Tarangas.*

नारदपञ्चरात्र	fol. 7b	विष्णु	fol. 10a
सारसंग्रह	8a	गर्ग	,,
शारदातिलकटीका	,,	पञ्चमीश्वरतन्त्र	,,
दक्षिणामूर्तिसंहिता	,,	वसिष्ठसंहिता	10b
भैरवीतन्त्र	,,	अपरार्क	,,
शैवागम	,,	तन्त्रराज	11a
पराशर	8b	वह्निपुराण	11b
निबन्ध	9a	वृद्धमनु	12a
मनु	,,	चतुर्विंशतिमत	,,
अङ्गिरस	,,	स्मृतिसमुच्चय	12b
यम	,,	नरसिंहपुराण	,,
याज्ञवल्क्य	,,	ब्रह्माण्डपुराण	,,
स्मृत्यर्थसार	,,	ब्रह्मपुराण	,,
पुरीष	9b	व्यास	13a
मदनपारिजात	,,	गौतमीतन्त्र	,,
आदित्यपुराण	,,	प्रयोगपारिजातसंग्रह	,,
कपिलपञ्चरात्र	,,	भविष्यपुराण	13b
मरीचि	,,	स्मृतिसंग्रह	,,
प्रयोगपारिजात	,,	जाबालि	,,
अत्रि	10a	स्कान्द	,,

लिङ्गपुराण	fol. 13b	शम्भु	fol. 23b
वायवीयसंहिता	14a	ललितार्चनचन्द्रिका	,,
धर्मसार	15a	गौतमीय	,,
अग्निस्मृति	,,	कुलार्णव	,,
दक्ष	,,	ब्रह्मयामल	24b
शौनक	15b	पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका	,,
कूर्मपुराण	16a	आपस्तम्ब	25b
महाकपिलपञ्चरात्र	,,	योगिनीतन्त्र	,,
साख्यायन	17a	भैरवीतन्त्र	,,
शङ्खलिखितौ	17b	कालिकापुराण	26b
बौधायन	,,	नृसिंहकल्प	27a
कार्ष्णाजिनि	,,	दक्षिणामूर्तिकल्प	,,
हारीत	,,	प्रयोगसार	,,
शङ्ख	,,	सनत्कुमारीयगोपालकल्प	,,
लघुहारीत	18a	ज्ञानार्णव	27b
कात्यायन	,,	कुम्भसंभव	,,
मार्कण्डेय	,,	कात्यायनीतन्त्र	28a
हेमाद्रि	18b	योगशास्त्र	,,
मन्त्रप्रकाश	19a	रुद्रयामल	,,
उत्तरतन्त्र	,,	त्रिपुरासारसमुच्चय	,,
नन्दिपुराण	20a	अगस्तिसंहिता	28b
बृहन्नारदीय	,,	डामर	29b
तिथितत्त्व	,,	संहिता	30a
छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट	,,	आचार्य	,,
देवीपुराण	,,	त्रैलोक्यसमोहनतन्त्र	31b
नन्दिकेश्वर	20b	सिद्धसारस्वततन्त्र	32a
शिवधर्म	,,	मन्त्रतन्त्रप्रकाश	32b
नारायणीय	23a	कुलप्रकाशतन्त्र	38b
तूर्णापद्धति	,,	गुहकल्प	,,
सोमशंभु-	,,	पदार्थादर्श	,,
यामल	,,	प्रपञ्चसार	,,
तूर्णायाग	23b	गौतम	39a

The dates noted above may be tabulated as tollows :

No.	Date Saṁvat	A. D.
1	1736	1679
6	1741	1684
7	1734	1677
10	1728	1671
11	1731	1674
18	1721	1664
21	,,	,,
24	1732	1675
28	1731	1674

Here we find that *S'ivānanda* composed the *Siṁhasiddhāntasindhu* in A.D. 1674, while the MSS of his *Durgāstuti* and *Saparyākramadarpaṇastotra* are dated A.D. 1664. We may therefore assign his literary activities to the latter half of the 17th century.

S'ivānanda's brother *Janārdana* also wrote some works. There are MSS. of his *Mahālakṣmīstuti* (No. 6442) and *Mantracandrikā* (No. 7992) in the Anup Sanskrit Library. The latter is dated *Saṁvat* 1731 (A.D. 1674). Reference has already been made to his *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇapūjāsāra* in Hindi (See foot-note to No 20 above). In the *Kāvyamālā* Series are included two works *viz. Vairagyas'ataka* and *S'ṛṅgāras'ataka* by one *Gosvāmi Janārdanabhaṭṭa*. He is probably the same author.[1]

[1] Among later descendants of the family Narasinglal Goswami wrote *Kariṇīpañcāṅga, Durgānuṣṭhānacintāmaṇi, Durgārcanapaddhati, Vivā-*

I have mentioned here only those works of *Sivānanda* which are available in the Anup Sanskrit Library There may be other works available elsewhere; but those mentioned above are sufficient to show that he is an important author of the 17th century A D.

hapaddhati, *Yajñopavītapaddhati*, *Sundarīgopālapaddhati*, *Dviliṅgasivapūjanā*, *Āratisaṁgraha* and *Jagadambābhajanamālā*. Pt. Megharaj Goswami informs me that there are MSS. of these in his possession.

VĀSUDEVA, AUTHOR OF THE YUDHIṢṬHIRAVIJAYA

BY

K. KUNJUNNI RAJA

THE *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* which has been published as No. 60 of the Kāvyamālā Series, is one of the best Yamaka Kāvyas in Sanskrit literature. From the preamble to the poem[1] we learn that its author Vāsudeva was the student of Bhārataguru who was a great expounder of the Purāṇas, an erudite scholar and a rich and kind Brahmin contemporary of King Kulaśekhara.

The editors of the Kāvyamālā Series suggest that Vāsudeva belonged to Kashmir, since manuscripts of the poem are found mostly there, and since Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha, a Kashmir scholar of the seventeenth century, has commented on the poem. This view is impossible; as Zacharıae says,[2] there is no doubt about the fact that Vāsudeva belonged to South India. Hundreds of manuscripts

[1] तस्य च वसुधामवतः काले कुलशेखरस्य वसुधामवतः ।
वेदानामभ्यासी भारतगुरुरभवदर्थिनामभ्यासी ॥ ६ ॥
यं प्राप रमा चार्यं देवी च गिरां पुराणपरमाचार्यम् ।
यमशुभसन्तोदान्तं परमेश्वरमुपविशन्ति सन्तो दान्तम् ॥ ७ ॥
समजनि कश्चित्तस्य प्रवणः शिष्योऽनुवर्तकश्चित्तस्य ।
काव्यानामालोके पटुमनसो वासुदेवनामा लोके ॥ ९ ॥
कीर्तिमवद्यां तेन स्मरता भारतसुधामवश्रान्तेन ।
जगदुपकाराय मिता पार्थकथा कल्मषापहा सा यमिता ॥ १० ॥

[2] "Vāsudeva gehört, daran ist kein Zweifel, dem Süden Indiens an" ZII, Vol. IV, p. 224.

of the poem are available in Kerala,[1] and several commentaries have been written on the poem by Kerala scholars The popularity of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* in Kerala is attested by Paulino de San Bartholomeo (A.D 1748-1806) who came to Kerala in the 18th century A.D., he says that the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* was considered as one of the "*tres celeberrimi libri*" in the land, the other two being *Māgha* and *Bhāgavata*.[2] He himself studied the poem under some Malabar scholars, one of them being Ciangra Aashān (Śaṅkara Āśān)[3]. In his *Sidharūbam*, p. 73, he writes about the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*: "*Poema hoc elegantissimum est, et a tironibus linguæ Samscrdamicæ cumprimis legendum, quia Scriptum est stilo facili, nitido, claro, correcto et eleganti, ob quod etiam prime a magistris Brahmanicis post grammaticum et vocabularium Samscrdamicum discipulis prælegi solet, ut ex eo modum construendi verba conjugandi et phrases Samscrdamiscas addiscant.*"[4]

Moreover, according to the two commentaries on the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*, the *Vijayadarśikā* by Acyuta and the *Ratnapradīpikā* by S'ivadāsa, there is a reference in the text itself which suggests that King Kulas'ekhara had his court at Mahodayapura (modern Tiruvañcikkula in Cochin State), the capital of Kerala in ancient times.[5]

[1] Travancore Palace Library itself has a large number of manuscripts (1877-1900).

[2] *ZII*, Vol. IV, p. 231 (*Vide* also pp. 227-234).

[3] "Lingue Samscrdamicae peritissimus vir Ciangra Aashan"—*Systema Brahmanicum*, p. 194; quoted in *ZII*, Vol. IV, p. 230.

[4] *ZII*, Vol. IV, 231.

[5] "कुलशेखर इति अभिषेककृतं नाम पित्राविकृतं तु रामवर्मेति । वसुनि धनानि धाम महोदयाख्यं पुरं चेति द्वन्द्वः ।"

Vijayadarśikā by Acyuta, Madras Govt. Oriental MSS. Library. R. 3007.

"कुलशेखरस्य कुलशेखर इति नामवतः एतदभिषेककृतं नाम पित्राविकृतं तु रामवर्मेति । वसुधामवतः वसु धनं धाम महोदयाख्यं पुरम् ।"

Ratnapradīpikā by S'ivadāsa, quoted by Vaṭakkuṅkūr Rājarājavarma Raja in *Keralīya Saṁskṛta Sāhityacaritram*, part I (*KSSC*), p. 183.

The popular tradition in Kerala[1] makes Vāsudeva a Bhattatiri[2] of the Pattattu family of Nambūtiri Brahmins in the village of Perumanam, a few miles to the south of Trichur in Cochin State The development of his alliterative genius is attributed to the divine blessing of the Deity of the S'āstā temple at Tiruvellakkāvu in Perumanam village. The story goes that one stormy night he was forced to take shelter in that temple. God took pity on him and gave him some fuel and fire to warm himself, and a plantain fruit to feed on. By eating that fruit he became an inspired poet. The sweeper woman who came early in the morning noticed the metamorphosis of Vāsudeva from a stupid boy to an inspired poet, and taking the rind of the fruit which had been thrown away, she ate it herself and became a poetess.[3] It is true that we cannot rely much on such stories, but still it shows that Vāsudeva had some connection with Perumanam in Kerala.

Vāsudeva and his Yamaka poem are mentioned in some early poems written by Kerala authors: in the *Pāṇḍavacarita*, Vāsudeva, author of the Yamaka poem on the Mahābhārata story, is praised;[4] again in the *Gajendramokṣa*

[1] *Travancore State Manual*, Vol II, p 427, *J.R.A.S.*, 1925, p. 270 f. *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 638, *Bhāṣācaritram*, by A. Govinda Pillai, p. 14, *Sāhitya Pariṣat Traimāsikam* (*S.P.T*), Vol. I, pp. 320 f, *Kerala Bhāṣā Sāhitya Caritram*, by R. Narayana Panikkar, part I, p. 71 f.

[2] Vide also "वासुदेवनामा . . . द्विजन्मकुलतिलकः ।" commentary by Rāghava. Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti's statement that Vāsudeva was a Nambiar [Appendix to *S'ri Mukundamālā*, A.U.S. p. IV] cannot be accepted.

[3] Tradition identifies this Vārassyār (the temple sweeping woman) with the author of the *Pāṇḍavacarita*.

[4] R. 3390.

"तस्मै नमोस्तु कवये वासुदेवाय धीमते ।
येन पार्थकथा रम्या यमिता लोकपावनी ॥"

M. Krishnamachariar says that the author of the *Pāṇḍavacarita* salutes a Vāsudeva Kavi who wrote a Yamaka poem *Pārthakathā* and that it is not known what this *Pārthakathā* is. *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* (*HCSL*), p. 252 f. But *Pārthakathā* is certainly the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* itself, see

जगद्गुरुप्रसादाच्च मिता, पार्थकथा कल्मषापहा सा यमिता ।

[illegible] 1·10 *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*

there is a reference to Vāsudeva being inspired to write the Yamaka Poem by the blessing of God S'āstā (of Tiruvellakkāvu Temple) at Perumanam.[1]

Kulas'ekhara is a common royal name in Kerala, and though it may not be easy to identify Vāsudeva's patron with any one of the known Kulas'ekharas, it is quite probable that he was a king of Kerala. Cokkanātha expressly states that Vāsudeva was a Keralīya.[2] All these point out clearly that Vāsudeva belonged to Kerala and not to Kashmir

Regarding Vāsudeva's other works it is difficult to say anything definitely. Two more alliterative poems, the *Tripuradahana*[3] and the *S'aurikathodaya*[4] are generally attributed to the author of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*.[5] There is nothing which militates against this view; Nīlakaṇṭha, who has commented on both these works, says that Vāsudeva is the author of the poems[6] and the similarity of the style and

[1] R. 3637 i

"कल्याण कुरुताद्वो भूतानामधिपतिः स करुणाब्धिः ।
रक्षार्थं सुजनानां सन्निदधत् पुरुवने पुण्ये ॥
शक्त्योभयरूपः सन् यं किल नाथः स भुवनचक्रस्य ।
चक्रिणि मातरि जनयाम्बभूव जगदवनजनितरसम् ॥
यस्य च भाजकल्पप्रसादतो विश्वविततविमलयशाः ।
रचयामास सुमेधाः कथासुधां वासुदेवकविः ॥

Bhūtanātha or S'āstā, the Son of S'iva and Viṣṇu, is the Deity at the temple of Tiruvellakkāvu, in Perumanam.

[2] "वासुदेवनामा केरलीयकविः" the *Bālavyutpattikāriṇi*, a commentary on the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*, Adyar, XXI-Q-5 etc.

[3] Adyar, XX-5-1, Travancore Palace 1775 A, 1776, Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, R. 1852 (a), etc.

[4] Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, DC. 11815, R. 1852 (b).

[5] *JRAS*, 1925, p. 265 ff; *KSSC*. p. 157, *S.P.T.* Vol. I, p. 325 etc.

[6] "त्रिपुरदहनसंज्ञं काव्यमेतद्विधातुं कविरथ रविसूनुर्वासुदेवाभिधानः ।
निरुपमचरितोक्त्या देवमीशानसंज्ञं नतजनहितकार्यं स्तौति विघ्नातिभीतः ॥"

"रविभुवा रविर्नामास्य कवेः पिता, ततो भवतीति रविभूः, तेन वासुदेवनाम्ना ।"

Arthaprakās'ikā, commentary on the *Tripuradahana*, Adyar, XXI.5.1.

"अहमिति कविरात्मानं निर्दिशति वासुदेवनामाहमित्यर्थः ।"

Tatvaprakās'ikā, commentary on the *S'aurikathodaya*, DC. 11815.

the alliterative structure also suggests a common authorship for all the three poems.

In the introductory verses of the *Tripuradahana* it is said that the poem was composed by Ravibhū (Son of Ravi) during the reign of King Rāma.[1] In the *S'aurikathodaya* also the poet eulogizes a king named Rāma.[2] It is quite possible that this King Rāma is identical with the King Kulas'ekhara praised in the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*, for Rāghava, Acyuta and S'ivadāsa, in their commentaries on the poem, have stated that Rāma (Rāma Varma) was the personal name of the king who received the title of Kulas'ekhara at the time of coronation.[3] The idea that King Rāma mentioned in the *Tripuradahana* and the *S'aurikathodaya* is the son and successor of Kulas'ekhara eulogized in the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*, which was first suggested by A. S Ramanatha Ayyar and later accepted by Zachariæ and Keith,[4] is against the express statements of the two commentators and has to be discarded.[5]

A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar has elaborately propounded the theory that the *Nalodaya* is also the work of this Vāsudeva.[6] One commentator attributed it to the son of Ravi,[7]

[1] "अस्ति स कविलोकनत: क्षितिभृत् . .
रामस्मस्त्रावत्र लष्टा रामाख्यमकृत मत्वा देवः ।
मतिबल्मासाद्य मितं पुरदहनं रविभुवा समासाद्यमितम् ॥"

[2] "जयति सुधामा राम: क्षितिपाल: काव्यवीरुधामाराम: ।"

[3] *Vide* note (7). Also the commentary *Padārthacintana* by Rāghava, Govt. Oriental MSS Library, Madras, R. 5119:

"कुलशेखरनाम्न: कुलालङ्कारो भवतीति विचार्य गुरुभिस्तथाकृतनामधेयस्य, पट्टबन्धादित्यर्था- त्कृवति प्राक् रामनामशालिन्यात् ।"

[4] *JRAS*, 1925, p. 273; *ZII*, Vol. IV, p. 225; Keith, *History of Sanskrit-Literature*, p. 97.

[5] The view held by Ullur S Paramesvara Ayyar, that Kulas'ekhara was the sucessor of Rāma (*S.P.T.* Vol I, p. 334) is equally inadmissible.

[6] "Authorship of *Nalodaya*," *JRAS*, 1925, pp. 263-275: "Nalodaya and its author," *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. 14, pp. 302-311; "Nalodaya, a further note," *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. 16, p. 134 f.

[7] "रवितनुभूयमितायाः कृतेर्मतिः शब्दचित्रभूयमितायाः ।
जनहासाय मितायाः धियश्च विहृता मयाधुना यमितायाः ॥"

quoted in *JRAS*, 1925, p. 268. The verse is found in the commentary called *Vivaraṇa*, Travancore Palace Library, 1795, 1796 Ramanatha Ayyar attributes it to Viṣṇu.

and there is one colophon making Vāsudeva the author of the poem.[1] As in the *Tripuradahana* and the *S'aurikathodaya* King Rāma is mentioned here also.[2] Zachariae and Keith are also inclined to accept this view.[3]

But there are some difficulties in accepting this view. For a long time the *Nalodaya* had been attributed to Kālidāsa; and since the discovery by Peterson of a manuscript of the poem where the commentator Rāmarṣi (*c.* A.D. 1600) attributed it to Ravideva,[4] scholars began to consider it as the work of Ravideva. Some manuscripts attribute it to Ravideva, the son of Nārāyaṇa.[5] Winternitz accepts this view and assigns the *Rākṣasakāvya* also to him.[6] There are other manuscripts which ascribe the poem to one Kes'avāditya.[7] Hence the evidence of a single manuscript cannot be taken as decisive. Moreover, in the *Nalodaya* there is a reference to one Rājāditya,[8] and according to the commentator Viṣṇu, Rājāditya is the name of King Rāma after his coronation.[9] In that case he must be different from King Rāma who

[1] "इति नलोदये वासुदेवकृते चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः।"
quoted in *JRAS*, 1925, p. 268

[2] "अस्ति स राजा नीते रामाख्यो यो गताः परा जानाति।"

[3] *ZII*, Vol. IV, p. 225 where he gives another argument that all the works end with a verse in the *Pramāṇika* metre. Vide also Keith, "That rimed poem of intolerable affectation is perhaps . . . . the work of Vāsudevā protégé of Kulas'ekhara and Rāma." *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 97 f.

[4] *JRAS*, Extra No. 1887, p. 337.

[5] Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Catalogue, Kavya Section. Vol. 13, Part 1, No. 306, Tanjore Library, No. 3811.

[6] "Der Verfasser des Nalodaya ist wahrscheinlich Ravideva, Sohn des Nārāyaṇa, ... Ravideva ist auch der Verfasser eines kleinen Gedichts von 20 Strophen, *Kāvyarākṣasa* oder *Rākṣasakāvya*." *Geschichte*, Part III, p. 65.

[7] Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Catalogue, Kavya Section, Nos. 307, 309. Aufrecht attributes a commentary of the *Nalodaya* to Kes'avāditya, but he refers to the same manuscript.

[8] अविदूराजादित्या कृतात्मभेदेव भूः स राजादित्या।
येन स राजादित्या-विदित्वात्संयुक्तपुराजादित्या। verse 8.

[9] "राजादित्यं इत्यमुष्यैवाभिषेकप्रयुक्तं नाम।"
quoted by Ullur S. Parameswara Ayyar, *S.P.T.*, Vol. I, p. 334.

became Kulaśekhara after his coronation. It may be possible to explain away some of these difficulties.[1] Still it has to be remembered that Vāsudeva's authorship of the *Nalodaya* does not stand on any irrefragable evidence.[2]

Recently Mr. V. Venkatarama Sarma has tried to identify the author of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* with Vāsudeva of the Payyūr Bhaṭṭa family,[3] the author of the Yamaka poems *Acyutalīlā*, *Śivodaya*, *Devīcarita* and *Satyatapaḥkathodaya*, and the semi-scientific poems *Kumārilayuktimālā* and *Vākyāvali*.[4] This is impossible. His identification of Vedāraṇya, near Kunnamkulam in Cochin State, mentioned in the poems of Payyūr Vāsudeva, with Puruvana, about twenty miles away from Kunnamkulam must be due to an incomplete knowledge of the Geography of Kerala. His view that the word *Bhāratasudhāmadabhrāntena* in the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* refers to the Bhāratappula is not accepted either by tradition or by any of the commentators. His arguments based on style are equally misleading; excepting the fact that both the poets wrote in Yamaka style, there is no other similarity between them. Payyūr Vāsudeva was a great scholar, no doubt; but, as a poet, he is far inferior to the author of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*.

Moreover it can be proved that the author of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* was earlier than Payyūr Vāsudeva. Rāghava, the author of the *Padārthacintana* commentary on the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*,[5] flourished in the court of King Kerala

[1] See *JRAS*, 1925, p. 268, where Ramanatha Ayyar tries to explain away the colophon attributing *Nalodaya* to Ravideva.

[2] Mention may be made here to the theory of Vaṭakkuṅkūr Rajarajavarma Raja that the *Nalodaya* is the work of Ravideva, the father of Vāsudeva. The *Raghūdaya* (R. 3388) mentions a Yamaka poet Ravideva. (*KSSC*, p. 161)

[3] *Proceedings of the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference* (*POC*) Tirupati, p. 187 ff.

[4] *Vide* R. 3060, a, b, c, d and e: R. 3607 a, b, c, d, e and f.

[5] R. 5119, where the commentator's name is given as Śrīkaṇṭhadāsa, but in the preface to the commentary it is clearly stated that Rāghava, the disciple of Śrīkaṇṭha, is writing the commentary at the instance of King Keraḷavarman of Kola. Śaṅkara, the author of the *Kṛṣṇavijaya* (printed

Varma of the Kolattunād who ruled over the country from 1422 to 1445 A.D. Hence *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* must be at least earlier than the 15th century. Payyūr Vāsudeva was, on the other hand, a contemporary of Rāghava as he lived in the 15th century.[1] Hence, Payyūr Vāsudeva was certainly later than the author of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*

The *Vāsudevavijaya*, a poem in five cantos[2] dealing with the story of Kṛṣṇa and illustrating the rules of Pāṇini, is generally ascribed to the author of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* The name of the poet is Vāsudeva. Melpputtur Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa has written his *Dhātukāvya* in continuation of this *Vāsudevavijaya*[3] and in the commentary to that by his

in the Mangalodayam press, Trichur, 1914), also written at the command of King Keralavarma, refers to Rāghava as his preceptor The date of this Keralavarma is definitely known from Cirakkal Palace Records. he ruled over the kingdom from 1422 to 1445 A.D. (*KSSC* pp. 418, f *Champukāvyas* by Ullur S. Paramesvara Ayyar, p. 52).

[1] This Vāsudeva is the son of Ṛṣi and Gopālikā, and the younger brother of Parames'vara, the great Mimāmsaka, the author of the commentary *Gopālikā* on the *Sphoṭasiddhi*, the *Tatvavibhāvana* on the *Tatvabindhu* etc. Uddaṇḍa S'āstri in his *Mallikāmāruta* refers to Payyūr Parames'vara, who may be identified with Vāsudeva's brother Both Uddaṇḍa and Kākkas's'eri Dāmodarabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Vasumativikrama* have praised *Rsi*, Parames'vara's father, in their works And they were the court poets of Mānavikrama, the Great, of Calicut, who flourished in the early half of the 15th century (See Introduction to the Sphoṭasiddhi, Madras University Sanskrit Series "The date of Mānavikrama" by K. Kunjunni Raja, *Mangalodayam*, Vol. 19, pp. 590-594. 635-640.

[2] The first three cantos, with the commentary by Vāsudeva himself, are published in the Kavyamala series (X. pp. 62-121) in 1894. Travancore Palace Library No. 1945, has five cantos with commentary, see also No. 1946.

[3] Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is the great scholar and poet, the author of the *Mānameyodaya*, the *Prakriyāsarvasva*, and the *Nārāyaṇīya*; He flourished in the latter half of the 16th and the early half of the 17th centuries. [See 'The Date of Melpputtūr' by K. Kunjunni Raja, *Kairali*, Vol. 30, pp. 46 ff].

Winternitz is wrong in ascribing the *Dhātukavya* also to Vāsudeva (See *Geschichte* III p. 73 "Aus unbekannter Zeit stammen zwei Gedichte *Vāsudevavijaya* und *Dhātukāvya* von einem Dichter Vāsudeva . . .").

Keith also is wrong in saying that the *Dhātukāvya* is a continuation of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* and that it deals with the Bhārata story. (See *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 153, note: "A *Yudhiṣṭhirāvijaya* with a continuation *Dhātukavya* dealing with Bhārata story, is ascribed to a Vāsudeva, possibly the Vāsudeva of the rimed poems."

classmates it is stated that Vāsudeva, the author of *Vāsudevavijaya*, was a Brahmin of Perumana[1] Tradition makes the author of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* also a Brahmin of Perumana. Zachariae,[2] Keith[3] and others[4] are inclined to identify these two Vāsudevas

Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti,[5] on the other hand, identifies the author of the *Vāsudevavijaya* with Payyūr Vāsudeva, Mr. Krishnamachariar also accepts this identification,[6] but the commentator on the *Dhātukāvya* has definitely stated that the author of the *Vāsudevavijaya* belonged to Perumanam[7] which is about 20 miles away from the Payyūr house near Kunnamkulam and hence the identification is absolutely impossible.

Vāsudeva, the author of the *Vāsudevavijaya*, seems to be identical with Vāsudeva who is the author of the *Govinda carita*, the *Saṃksepabhārata*, the *Saṁkṣeparāmāyaṇa*, the *Kalyāṇanaiṣadha*,[8] and probably also the *S'vetāraṇya Stuti*,[9] all written under the patronage of King Ravivarma of Veṭṭat

[1] "वासुदेवो नाम पुरुवनग्रामजन्मा कश्चिद्द्विजन्मा ।"

The commentary was written by Nārāyaṇa's classmates, printed with the text, Kāvyamālā, X, 121 ff.

[2] *ZII*, Vol. 4, p. 225 "Vielleicht ist auch dass grammatische Gedicht *Vāsudevavijaya* von unserem Vāsudeva verfasst worden, ebenso der *Bhramarasandeśa* eine Nachamung des *Meghadūta*."

[3] *Op cit p.* 153, n quoted above. He has confused the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* with the *Vāsudevavijaya*, but he refers correctly to the Kavyamala edition of the *Vāsudevavijaya* itself.

[4] Ullur S Paramesvara Ayyar. *S.P.T.* Vol. I, p. 384.

Vaṭakkuṅkūr Rajarajavarma Raja. *KSSC*, p. 175, V. Venkatarama Sarma, *P.O.C.*, Tirupati, p. 196, etc

[5] "Rāma Katha, a study," *B.S.O.S.* Vol. V, p. 798 f

[6] *H.C.S.L.* p. 252

[7] See above.

[8] See R 76, DC. 11838 in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras. Adyar Library XXI-p. 31, R. 2895, R. 2969 and R. 2972 of the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras. See also 'Manuscript Notes' by H. G. Narahari, *Adyar Library Bulletin*, May, 1945, p. 61 ff; *The Author of Vāsudevavijaya*, by K. Kunjunni Raja, *SPT*. Vol. 13, Part 4.

[9] R. 3798 (b) where also King Ravivarma of Prakāśa country is mentioned; it may also be by the Vāsudeva himself, but there is no conclusive evidence.

Kingdom (Prakāśa).[1] For the introductory verse to the commentary on the *Vāsudevavijaya* written by the author himself[2] resembles very closely the introductory verse of the *Govindacarita*,[3] and the verse:

कुन्दसूनमनोहारिमन्दहासविराजितम् ।
नन्दगोपकुलोत्तंसमिन्दिरारमणं भजे ॥

occurring in the *Govindacarita* and the *Saṃkṣepabhārata* is found in the author's own commentary on the *Vāsudevavijaya* also. The simplicity of the language in the *Govindacarita* and the other poems can be due to the fact that they were primarily intended for the beginners; a different style is found in the *Vāsudevavijaya* which is intended to illustrate the grammatical rules of Pāṇini. It is quite possible that Vāsudeva, a native of Perumana, went to the court of King Ravivarma of Veṭṭat. The author of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* whose patron was Rāmavarma Kulaśekhara of Mahodayapura must be different from this Vāsudeva.

The author of the *Rāmakathā*, who was the son of Umā and Nārāyaṇa, and who composed the prose Kāvya at the instance of King Āditya varma,[4] is identified with the author

[1] Mr. C. Sankara Rama Sastri's theory identifying this Ravivarma with a 17th century King of Travancore (Introduction to the Rāma Kathā pp. 8 f.) has been disproved by Prof. K Rama Pisharoti (*BSOS*, Vol. V, p. 798 f).

[2] *Vide* "काव्यं मया वासुदेवविजयाख्यमकारि यत् ।
व्याख्यापि तस्य तन्वीयं क्रियते पदचन्द्रिका ॥" in the commentary.

[3] विघ्नेशभारतीव्यासगुरुशाम्भवमूर्तये ।
नमोस्तु पत्ये भूतानां सदानन्दचिदात्मने ॥ commentary on the *Vāsudevavijaya*.

श्रीमद्विघ्नेशवाग्देवीकार्तिकेयादिमूर्तये ।
नमोस्तु पत्ये भूतानां सदानन्दचिदात्मने ॥ *Govindacarita*.

[4] Edited by C. Sankararama Sastri, Sri Balamanorama series, No 11, Madras. See the last verse.

" यं वासुदेवमनुरूपमवाप पुत्रं नारायणो विमलबुद्धिरुमा तथाम्बा ।
प्राणायि तेन मनुवंशपतेः कथेयमादित्यवर्मनृपतेः कृतिनो निदेशात् ॥ "

The editor identifies Ādityavarma with the king of Travancore (1661-1677 A.D.); but Prof. Rama Pisharoti makes him a king of Veṭṭat country.

of the *Govindacarita*, etc. on insufficient grounds by Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti,[1] and Mr. C Sankararama Sastri.[2] Undoubtedly he is different from the author of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* and the *Tripuradahana*, who is the son of Ravi.

Th. Zachariæ suggests[3] that the *Bhramarasandeśa* might be by the author of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*. This cannot be, for the *Bhramarasandeśa* is a work of the 17th century as it contains clear reference to Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, his father Mātṛdatta and his teacher Acyuta Piṣāroti[4] The view held by P. S. Anantanarayana Sastri,[5] Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti[6] and others that the *Bhramarasandeśa* and the *Vāsudevavijaya* are by the same author is also inadmissible; for whereas the Sandeśakāvya was written by a contemporary of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the *Vāsudevavijaya* is certainly earlier than Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa who composed a supplement to it.

The *Gajendramokṣa*,[7] a short poem of five cantos describing the story of Indradyumna as given in the *Bhāgavata*, and illustrating at the same time the different metres given in the *Vṛttaratnākara* in the same order, is also attributed to the author of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*. The poet praises the Deity at Puruvana—the Bhūtanātha of Tiruvellakkāvu temple—and may have been a native of the place. The reference found in the poem to Vāsudeva composing a Yamaka poem by the blessing of the deity at the temple there[8] suggests that this author was different from Vāsudeva,

Both these identifications are based on the assumption that the *Rāmakathā* is by the author of the *Govindacarita* for which there is no definite evidence.

[1] *B.S.O.S.* Vol. V, p. 797.

[2] Introduction to the *Rāmakathā*, p. 10.

[3] *ZII*. Vol. IV, p. 225.

[4] *TSS*. 128, part I, verses 89-92.

[5] *SPT*. Vol I, p. 154

[6] *BSOS*. Vol. V, p. 798.

[7] R. 3637 f. See *KSSC*, p. 175 ; *SPT*, Vol. I, p. 383.

[8] See p. 361, n. 1 Some scholars give this reference as an evidence to prove that the poet is identical with the Yamaka poet, but really it proves

the Yamaka poet. Also it shows that he was acquainted with the tradition of God S'āstā as the cause of Vāsudeva's poetic genius. Krishnamachariar's suggestion to identify him with Payyūr Vāsudeva[1] shows only his want of acquaintance with Kerala geography I am inclined to identify him with the author of the *Govindacarita* and of the *Vāsudevavijaya*.[2]

V Venkatarama Sarma and V. Rajarajavarma Raja ascribe a commentary on Bhaṭṭa Bhauma's *Arjunarāvaṇīya* to the author of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*. We can only say that there is no evidence for such an identification except the identity of names.

the contrary He is only praising the Deity with whose blessing the famous Vāsudeva had composed the Yamaka poems. Mr Venkatarama Sarma's statement (*POC*, Tirupathi, p. 193) that here the reference is to Vāsudeva's writing a Yamaka poem on S'iva's story with the help of S'iva, the passage cannot follow from *Bhūtādhipati* or *Bhūtanātha* is not S'iva, but is S'āstā, the god whose father is S'iva, and mother Viṣṇu, this is also alluded to in the introductory verses quoted above

[1] *HCSL*, p. 252. Puruvana (Perumanam) is about 20 miles away from the Payyūr house.

[2] The author of the *Gajendramokṣa* is also a Vāsudeva.

" वृत्तरत्नाकरप्रोक्तवृत्तलक्ष्यतया क्रमात् ।
गजेन्द्रमोक्षः संदृब्धो वासुदेवेन सादरम् ॥" *Gajendramokṣa.*

The reference to the Deity S'āstā of Tiruvellakkāvu temple (Bhūtanātha) found in both the works, and also in the *Gajendramokṣa* etc, suggests a common authorship for all these poems, the author belonged to Perumanam, but was different from the Vāsudeva of Yamaka fame.

[3] R. 2954; *POC*, Tirupati, p 195; *KSSC*, p. 176. M. Krishnamachariar (*HCSL*, p. 253) says that this *Arjunarāvaṇīya* might also be by a member of the Payyūr family; but it is the same as the *Rāvaṇārjunīya* of Bhaṭṭa Bhauma edited in the Kāvyamālā Series, No. 68.

DAIVA AND PURUṢAKĀRA IN KĀLIDĀSA

BY

U. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO

BHĀSA wrote his dramas *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* and *Svapnavāsavadatta* to prove the far-reaching nature of *Puruṣakāra* as blessed by destiny. His *Karṇabhāra* and *Ūrubhaṅga* were written with the object of explaining the futility of human endeavour as against divine dispensation. Following in his footsteps, Kālidāsa, in his *Kumārasambhava*, illustrated both these ideals; Kāma's futile efforts meet with deserved discomfiture; Pārvatī's efforts are blessed by Daiva or Īśvara in the end. The message of his *Śākuntala* is also the same and is allegorically put for us in the second verse of the fourth act:

यात्येकतोऽस्तशिखरं पतिरोषधीनामाविष्कृतोऽरुणपुरःसर एकतोऽर्कः ।
तेजोद्वयस्य युगपद्व्यसनोदयाभ्यां लोको नियम्यत इवात्मदशान्तरेषु ॥

The lord of potent medicinal herbs (which can revive even the dead) has to meet his doom; but the other luminary of the sky, the sun, manages to make his brilliance felt with the help of a legless charioteer. This idea is also expressed for us in the popular verse of the *Hitopadeśa*:

अरक्षितं तिष्ठति दैवरक्षितं सुरक्षितं दैवहतं विनश्यति ।
जीवत्यनाथोऽपि वने विसर्जितः कृतप्रयत्नोऽपि गृहे न जीवति ॥

The *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* defines *Daiva* as *abhivyaktaṁ pauruṣaṁ paurvadehikam* or the manifested result of human

actions in a past life, thus contrasting it with Karma or Puruṣakāra which is restricted to our present life It also unequivocally declares दैवे पुरुषकारे च कर्मसिद्धिर्व्यवस्थिता, (I 349) that a harmonious co-operation of both alone leads to success in action. The *Bhagavad Gīta* also declares the same thing allegorically when it says·

देवान् भावयतानेन ते देवा भावयन्तु वः ।
परस्परं भावयन्तः श्रेयः परमवाप्स्यथ ॥

that men should honour Gods by performing sacrifices and the gods shall in return reward them with agricultural prosperity, both working out their highest good in mutual co-operation. The *Hitopadeśa* echoes this idea in a popular verse·

यथा ह्येकेन चक्रेण न रथस्य गतिर्भवेत् ।
एवं पुरुषकारेण विना दैवं न सिध्यति ॥

declaring that *Puruṣakāra* and *Daiva* are like the two wheels of the same chariot which can function only when yoked together. Daiva is also referred to as *Adṛṣṭa* or the "unseen." It is the hidden hand directing like the Sūtradhāra in the green-room of our life-stage, all the threads of the incidents of our life, generally in a very sympathetic manner. There is always the authoritative assurance from our Śāstras that man can mould his destiny only if he treads a perfectly moral path. लोके गुरुत्वं विपरीततां वा स्वचेष्टितान्येव नरं नयन्ति—That man is the architect of his own fortune is, as it were, the burden of our philosophy. Here again the *Bhagavad Gīta* shows us the path to do our duty:

कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन ।
मा कर्मफलहेतुर्भूः मा ते सङ्गोऽस्त्वकर्मणि ॥

Do your duty for duty's sake, regardless of the fruit; do not ask, "Why should I do it"; do not attach yourself to

improper actions. The spirit of dedication to God is emphasized throughout the Gītā:

सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं भज ।
अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोचयिष्यामि मा शुचः ॥
यत्करोषि यदश्नासि यज्जुहोषि ददासि यत ।
यत्तपस्यसि कौन्तेय तत्कुरुष्व मदर्पणम् ॥

And peculiarly enough, the allegorical message of the *S'ākuntala* is also the same. *Daiva* is the hidden hand prompting almost every incident. The divine sage Kaṇva could easily see the past, present and the future, but destiny blinds him purposely in connection with his daughter's future. He vaguely anticipates some misery in store for her and goes to Somatīrtha to avert the same because of his more than maternal affection for her. But at the same time, destiny arranges that S'akuntalā should fall into the arms of Duṣyanta. It again prolongs the stay of Kaṇva to such a time as is sufficient for Duṣyanta and S'akuntalā to meet stealthily a number of times before the former bids an affectionate farewell inserting the 'momentous' ring into her finger. Here again, it must be noted that Kaṇva is, from a different angle, an agent of destiny also, and as such, must not be seen by Duṣyanta who represents *Puruṣakāra* in flesh and blood. In the interval between Duṣyanṭa's departure and Kaṇva's return (which by the way must be less than a day and a half because the time to go to the capital wherefrom Duṣyanta must send his emissary is three days) Durvāsa's curse is interposed by the seemingly adverse destiny. The divine Kaṇva understands from a *Yajñapuruṣa* that his daughter is married and is pregnant. He leaves a sigh of relief that his "offering." or *Āhuti viz.* S'akuntalā has fallen only into the fire "पावके एव" though his eyes were blinded with smoke "धूमाकुलितदृष्टि", in as much as he himself was away at *Somatīrtha*. He feels that her simple *Gāndharva* rite had dispensed with the real Pariṇayana ceremony of going round the fire and arranges for the

same at least on her part He decides to send her to her husband's palace since her place is always by her husband's side But blinded by destiny, again, he sends her on a very bad day—astronomically,—the day after the full-moon, which will always end in disaster. The ring is lost in a river with tragic consequences.

But destiny also slyly suggests that it is not exclusively adverse. Duṣyanta is not the same as in the epic, he is अर्हता प्राग्रसरः Even the irascible sage Durvāsas relented and fixed a limit for his curse. Ornaments and silk clothes befitting a "queen" are mysteriously presented to the bride past before she starts for her husband's palace and the auspicious, cool, gentle breeze blows. When she is cruelly repudiated and stands forsaken and helpless, some heavenly form comes to her rescue and leaves her in Hemakūṭa, where away from the cruel world, she could be consoled in Mārīca's *āśrama*. The ring, again, is not allowed to be lost but is deposited safe in the stomach of a fish which is caught by a fisher-man. Even the characters, Priyamvadā, Anasūya, and Sānumatī seem to have been introduced by Kālidāsa in the wake of a favourable destiny which is ready to make use of any man or incident when once its desire to help becomes manifest. Even nature sympathises with man in his grief. When Śakuntalā is cast away by her father and mother, birds take care of her as though to provide a name for her. When she bids farewell to the *āśrama*, everybody, even the deer and the creepers, weep in grief. The same is the case when Sītā is exited, the peacocks abruptly stop their dance, the trees cast off flowers in grief, and the female deer throw away the half-chewed 'darbha' grass from their mouths:

> नृत्यं मयूराः कुसुमानि वृक्षाः दर्भानुपात्तान्विजहुर्हरिण्यः ।
> तस्याः प्रपन्ने समदुःखभावमत्यन्तमासीद्रुदितं वनेऽपि ॥ Raghu XIV.

That the ways of destiny are thus mysterious is implicit in every page of the *Śākuntala*. The drama also seems to

urge that there should be a harmonious cooperation between the two. Vis'vāmitra is a mortal, Menakā is a divine being, and S'akuntalā is their offspring; the moral is clear, *viz.* that there must be a harmonious combination human of effort and divine destiny, to lead us to universal welfare. The poet may have his own reasons for making Menakā, the mother, a divine and Vis'vāmitra, the father, a mortal.

Kaṇva should be regarded as the true friend of the universe, though having no family ties, he fathers, rather mothers the baby cast adrift in the forest, puts aside his spiritual preoccupations, finds time to meditate in Somatīrtha to avest her future misfortunes, and sobs at her departure.

Human effort must be properly directed. Even the incarnation of the highest divinity Rāma must deserve first by wielding his bow and then desire for Sītā's hand either in Mithilā or Lankā S'iva, the God in highest heaven, himself prayed to by devotees, has to perform penance, actuated by mysterious motives. Pārvatī, destined to be his wife, has to do penance, surrounding herself by four fires, gazing all the while at the sun. A poet says that the fruit of Pārvatī's penance was Īs'vara and the fruit of Īs'vara's penance was Pārvatī. Sages like Kaṇva, Vālmīki, Mārīca and Vas'iṣṭha, though dwelling in the forests, know the ways of the world fully (वनौकसोऽपि लौकिकज्ञाः); indeed they are there always in society; if only we care to know them and implicitly follow them, our redemption is sure. A sort of healthy rivalry between *Puruṣakāra* and *Daiva* seems to be envisaged in the last act of the S'ākuntalā. *Puruṣakāra* or Duṣyanta seems to underrate his services as being undeserving of Indra's high honour and *daiva* or Indra can simply gaze with wonder at the valour of Duṣyanta, regretting all the while that it can't be duly honoured. Can we not conclude with the *Hitopadesa* that Lakṣmī or destined fortune eagerly waits to find out her industrious votary उद्योगिनं पुरुषसिंहमुपैति लक्ष्मीः

But the second line of the verse दैवेन देयमिति कापुरुषा वदन्ति— 'Wretched people alone assert that 'everything must be the

gift of destiny'—Kālidāsa does not subscribe himself at all to this creed fully. Bhartṛhari later on adumbrates the theory that *Daiva* is all powerful:

> भग्नाशस्य करण्डपिण्डिततनोर्म्लानेंद्रियस्य क्षुधा
> कृत्वाखुर्विवरं स्वयं निपतितं नक्तं मुखे भोगिनः ।
> तृप्तस्तत्पिशितेन सत्वरमसौ तेनैव यातः पथा
> मूढाः पश्यत दैवमेव हि परं वृद्धौ क्षये कारणम् ॥

Kālidāsa does not have any sympathy with this or the theory in the line दैव निहत्य कुरु पौरुषमात्मशक्त्या—Knock destiny on the head and strive on your own account. He clearly condemns this attitude and declares that a whole Paradise might be lost by such a defiant attitude. Pārvatī or S'akuntalā could regain their Paradise only by their being devotional worshippers at the altar of truth and destiny. The message of all our religious teachers is also the same. In the *Saundaryalaharī* or in the *Bhajagovinda*, or in the *Mukundamālā* of Kulas'ekhara or in the stotras[1] of Vedānta-des'ika, or even in the *Dvādas'astotra*[2] of S'rī Madhvācārya, the central theme is the surrender of human service at the feet of the Divine.

[1] न्यस्य त्वत्पादपद्मे वरद निजभरं निर्भरो निर्ममोऽस्मि ।
[2] कुरु भुंक्ष्व च कर्म निजं नियतं हरिपादविनम्रधिया सततम् ।

SOME ADDITIONAL SUTRAS OF ĀPASTAMBA-DHARMASŪTRA

BY

A. N. KRISHNA AIYANGAR

THE Āpastambakalpasūtra of the Taittirīyaśākhā is an enormous work under the name of Āpastamba running into thirty praśnas in all and comprising the various sections such as śrauta, gṛhya, paribhāṣā, pravara, śulba and dharma.[1] The Dharmasūtras constitute the 28th and the 29th praśnas of the Kalpasūtra of Āpastamba.[2] These have been edited and published several times. Bühler's edition in the Bombay Sanskrit Series contained large extracts from the *vṛtti* of Haradatta, called *Ujjvalā*, and even when he published the second edition of the work in the same series, only the extracts were published and the full text of Haradatta was not published by him.[3] This omission of Buhler was supplied by R. Halasyanatha Sastri from Kumbakonam when his edition of the Dharmasūtra of Āpastamba was printed at the Sri Vidya Press in 1895, with the full text of the *vṛtti* of Haradatta.[4] This was followed by the Mysore edition of the same work edited by A. Mahadeva Sastri and Paṇḍitaratnam K. Rangacharya in 1898.[5] Both the later editions had access

[1] *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. II, p. xi; P V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 32.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Bombay Sanskrit Series, First edition, 1868; Second edition, 1892.

[4] The *Dharmasūtra of Āpastamba* by Āpastamba, with the commentary called *Ujjvalā* of Haradatta Miśra with bare text separately added. Edited by Pandit R. Halasyanatha Sastri, Kumbakonam, 1895.

[5] *Āpastambadharmasūtra* with Haradatta's *Ujjvalā*, edited by A. Mahadeva Sastri and Panditaratnam K. Rangacharya, 1898.

to the edition of Buhler and have utilized the result of his studies.

Among the three printed editions of the text of Āpastamba, variations of an important nature can be noticed. The text adopted by Halasyanatha Sastri, while, in general, following the lead given by Haradatta in his *Ujjvalā*, differed from that adopted by Buhler in certain respects. A comparison of the three available editions reveals that they do not agree as to the number of the sūtras in each section though they agree in some of the sections. In certain sections the last sūtra of the previous section is brought under the next section as the first sūtra.[1] In other cases, what is put as a sūtra, is put under the commentary and treated as part of the commentary, with the result that this sūtra is not counted at all.[2] In yet other cases, what is treated as a single sūtra by one edition is split up into two three or even four, thus increasing the number of the sūtras in that particular section.[3]

[1] *cf.* 16th khaṇḍa of the Ist praśna where the last sūtra of this khaṇda of the Mysore edition (sūtra 33) is made sūtra 1 of the 17th khaṇḍa. Again sūtra 21 of Praśna I, khaṇḍa xxviii in the Mysore edition is taken over to the next section as part of the 1st sūtra of khaṇḍa xxix.

[2] I. ix, 21 of the Kumbakonam edition reads, सर्वां रात्रिं नाधीयीत । This sūtra is omitted by Bühler in the Bombay edition, p. 17. The Mysore edition reads this as well as the commentary on this sūtra, वर्षर्तावित्यम् । अन्यस्मिन्नधिक वक्ष्यति as part of the commentary on the previous sūtra of the same section.

[3] To cite a few instances:

I, xi, 9 to 11 of the Mysore edition is treated as a single sūtra by the Kumbakonam edition.

Similary, sūtra 14 in the same section of the Kumbakonam edition is split into sutras 16, 17 and 18 by the Mysore edition.

I, xiv. In this section the Mysore edition follows the lead given by Bühler. Still the last sūtra of the section is treated as two sūtras by the Mysore edition.

I, xvi. The Bombay edition splits this last sūtra into two sūtras.

I, xvii. Sūtra No. 34 of the Kumbakonam edition is treated as sūtras 34 to 36 of Bombay and Mysore.

I, xxiv. The last sūtra is treated as two sūtras by the Mysore edition.

I, xxv. Sūtra 6 in the Bombay edition is treated as two sūtras in both Mysore and Kumbakonam texts.

A critical examination of all the printed texts is, therefore, not only necessary but worth attempting.

The text of the Āpastambadharmasūtra is considered to be fairly settled and the several printed editions so far brought out must rule out normally the possibility of additional sūtras being discovered. But the wealth of the manuscript material in this country is such that, as much of the manuscript material is yet unused, the possibility of such additional material being brought to light is present to a large degree.

While engaged in the preparation of the Descriptive Catalogue for the section on Dharmaśāstra for the Adyar Library, I happened to examine the manuscripts of Āpastambadharmasūtra. Of the twenty-four manuscripts of this Dharmasūtra in the Library, sixteen manuscripts contain only the sūtras. Of these, seven are in Grantha character, seven in Telugu and two in Devanāgarī. Of the eight manuscripts with commentary, six are in Grantha character and two in Telugu. A critical examination of these manuscripts has revealed the following additional sūtras in the places indicated against each.

1. At the end of the 24th khaṇḍa of the first Praśna the following matter is added as the last sūtra :

गवां हत्वा त्रिः चान्द्रायणं चरेद्द्वादशे यथालिङ्गं पशून् दत्वा ।

This additional matter is found in six manuscripts—22 B 47, 22 E 1, 22 E 18, 22 E 22, 29 A 24, and 41 D 16.

I, xxvi. Sūtra 13 of Bombay, is split as 13 and 14 of the other two editions.

Similar instances of one or more sūtras of one edition being coalesced into a single sūtra can also be noted.

I, v. Sūtra 16 and 17 in the Mysore edition form a single sūtra in the other two.

I, x. The Bombay edition coalesces two sūtras into one sūtra. e.g. sūtra 13 of Bombay is equivalent to sūtras 13 and 14 of the other two; sūtra 14, 15 and 16 of the other two.

I, xiv. Sūtras 1 and 2 Bombay form sūtra 1 of Kumbakonam text. Mysore follows Bombay text.

2. At the end of khaṇḍa 9 of the second Pras'na is found the following:

गृहस्थो ब्रह्मचारी वा योऽनश्नंस्तु तपश्चरेत ।
प्राणाग्निहोत्रलोपेन अवकीर्णी भवेत्तु स· ॥

Five manuscripts support the addition of this sūtra *viz.* 22 B 47, 22 E 1, 22 E 18, 22 E 22 and 41 D 16.

3. At the end of the 17th khaṇḍa of the second Pras'na a small addition which is printed in thick type is found and the sūtras run as stated below.

आरब्धे चाभोजनमासमापनादपरिमितं सर्पिः । अन्यत्र गडुदर्शनात् ।

There are 11 manuscripts which contain this sūtra—22 B 47, 22 E 1, 22 E 17, 22 E 18, 22 E 22, 22 E 23, 28 A 17, 23 I 13, 34 F 12, 30 H 22 and 41 D 16.

4. Manuscript No. 30 L 38 contains also the commentary on the additional sūtra found at the end of the 9th khaṇḍa of the second Pras'na. The commentary is reproduced below:

गृहस्थो ब्रह्मचारी वा योऽनश्नंस्तु तपश्चरेत ।
प्राणाग्निहोत्रलोपेन अवकीर्णी भवेत्तु सः ॥

तृतीयश्लोकस्तु पूर्वश्लोकव्याख्याने प्रपञ्चितोऽपि पुनरत्र व्याख्यायति । गृहस्थब्रह्मचारिणोर्विषयोऽयम् । गृहस्थो ब्रह्मचारी वा यः अनश्नन् स्वभोजनकबल-संख्याः विलोपयन् न्यूनं भुञ्जान इत्यर्थः । तपश्चरेत् स्वस्वविहितं कर्माचरेत् । गृहस्थस्त्वग्निहोत्रादि । ब्रह्मचारी गुरुशुश्रूषादि । एवमनश्नन् तपश्चरेद्यदि प्राणाग्नि-होत्रलोपेन भोजनस्य प्राणाग्निहोत्ररूपत्वात्तस्य लोपेन अवकीर्णी भवति । एकस्तु शब्दः नियमं द्योतयति । अवश्यमुक्तं नियमानतिक्रमेण भुक्त्वैव तपश्चरेदिति । अपरस्तु एवकारार्थः । भवेत्तु भवेदेव । तस्माद्भुक्त्वैव तपश्चरेन्नतूपवासेन । ब्रह्म-चारिणो वेदार्थस्य परोपवासोस्तीत्यत्र उपवासशब्दस्य भोजननिवृत्तिवाचकत्वात् । गृहस्थस्याप्येवमेव ॥ श्रीशारदाम्बायै नमः ॥

इति धर्मव्याख्यायामुज्ज्वलायां द्वितीये चतुर्थः पटलः ।

This is the only manuscript of the kind available in the Adyar Library.

Among the manuscripts that contain the additional sūtras six come from the Telugu group. Four manuscripts are in Grantha and one is in Devanāgari. The manuscript containing the commentary is also in Telugu script. The colophon terms it as part of the *Ujjvalā* of Haradatta. To consider these sūtras as exclusively belonging to the Telugu recension, is negatived by the presence of four grantha manuscripts and one Devanāgarī manuscript in paper.[1] The date of the paper manuscript is given as S'aka 1574 Nandana, Āṣāḍhas'uklapakṣa, 4th tithi, Friday, which when equated with the Christian era will be about the middle of August 1652 at the latest. It was copied by the son of Gaṇes'adas'a son of Viṭṭhala, and belonged to the son of Sundaradas'a.[2]

The addition at the end of the 17th khaṇḍa of the second pras'na requires consideration. The Bombay edition reads:[3]

न च नक्तं श्राद्धं कुर्वीत ॥ २३ ॥
आरब्धे चाभोजनमासमापनात् ॥ २४ ॥
अन्यत्र राहुदर्शनात् ॥ २५ ॥

The same portion is treated as two sūtras in the Kumbakonam edition which reads the sūtras as:[4]

न च नक्तं श्राद्धं कुर्वीत ॥ २३ ॥
आरब्धे चाभोजनमासमापनादन्यत्र राहुदर्शनात् ॥ २४ ॥

The Mysore edition omits the portion अन्यत्र राहुदर्शनात् of the sūtra of the Bombay edition and puts it in the commentary as an *apavāda* (exception) to sūtra No. 23 of the same edition.[5]

[1] Folio 51*a* समाप्तौ च धर्मप्रश्नौ । शके १५७४ नंदनाब्दे आषाढ शु. प. ४ शुक्रे, etc.

[2] *Ibid.* विट्ठलसुत गणेशदासपुत्रेण लिखितौ धर्मप्रश्नौ । शुभं भवतु ॥ श्रीः ।
Folio 51*b* सुन्दरदासपुत्रस्य विभागः

[3] Bombay edition, p. 80.

[4] p. 59 for the text and pp. 168-169.

[5] p. 316.

Haradatta comments that it is not generally read as part of the dharma sūtra by the northerners and therefore not commented on by the older writers.[1] But all the three editions have omitted the words *aparimitaṁsarpiḥ* which occur in the manuscripts of the Adyar Library.

The existing editions of the Āpastambadharmasūtra, while having so far served the immediate needs of scholars, require to be revised and re-edited critically with the aid of all the available manuscripts.

[1] औदीच्यास्त्वेतत्प्रायेण न पठन्ति । तथा च पूर्वैर्न व्याख्यातम् ।, p. 316.

A STUDY OF THE ANCIENT INDIAN VETERINARY LORE AND ITS POSSIBILITIES FOR THE FUTURE

BY

A. KRISHNASWAMI IYER

INTRODUCTION

A STUDY of the history of the ancient Indian veterinary medicine necessarily involves a study of ancient Indian medicine in general and a study of the latter requires a knowledge of the ancient civilization in India. There is a notion generally prevalent among many western scholars and also among many of the western-minded eastern scholars as well, that the ancient Indians were a race devoted only to metaphysics and religion, with no other knowledge or any practical interest in the life of the world around them. This is erroneous. Though metaphysics and religion formed the major contribution of the ancient Hindus to world thought, yet every other branch of Science was also developed with equal precision and interest. In the field of astronomy Messrs. Cassini, Bailly and Playfair opine that the observations and conclusions of the Hindu astronomers of Prehistoric India are still holding the day. In the field of Chemistry, Sir P. C. Ray's contribution on the history of Hindu Chemistry throws a flood of light on the advanced state of the knowledge of chemistry in ancient days. In the field of Medicine an acknowledged scholar like Captain P. Johnston Saint has

opined that "even the most irreverant layman would see (in ancient Indian medical literature) the distinct fore-runner of all the scientific and surgical marvels of to-day." The fact that, in every branch of Science, the literature written some thousands of years before Christ still furnishes sufficient materials for research work to the most up-to-date scholars of today, is sufficient evidence to establish the fact that the truths propounded in these literatures are both fool-proof and time-proof.

THE ART OF HEALING—ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

It must indeed be an instinctive desire of every student of medicine to know the original sources from which the basic principles of what can more aptly be called the "Art of healing" have arisen, and how such simple principles have developed in the course of several thousands of years, from a very humble beginning in antiquity, into a very complex art, known as the Medical and Surgical art of to-day. An investigation of this subject affords very interesting study, and in the words of Suddole, is a separate Science by itself.

With the earliest living being, the knowledge of medicine must have been purely an instinctive one. It is probable and more reasonable also to assume that, in the primitive age, the very instinct of self-preservation against the adverse influences of heat, cold and other manifestations of nature, and the consequent struggle for existence, must have resulted in the search for protective habitation and a desire for the knowledge of the preventive and curative means of living against disease, and the hygienic measures of healthy existence. Undue exposure to uncongenial surroundings leads to the feeling of uneasy symptoms, resulting in an ardent desire for a knowledge of the curative methods. As necessity is always the mother of invention, primitive man 'exercised his powers of observation and his faculty of reasoning and must have supplements hide

knowledge thus gained, by a close study of the methods indicated in what is called the 'Book of Nature,' by closely observing, for instance, how lower animals by virtue of their instinct are able to protect themselves and get cured of certain diseases by the use of some herbs, roots and stems of medicinal plants, etc. In the *Atharvaveda*, it is said that man acquired the art of medicine by observations on animals and birds. This statement lends support to the view that the mythological or Vedic aspect of this subject is only a natural outcome of the long evolutionary process and progressive development that occurred during the pre-mythological period, and that mythology is nothing but a codified and systematized form of experiences and observations of the period preceding it.

VETERINARY SCIENCE AS THE PIONEER OF ALL OTHER MEDICAL SCIENCES IN THE WORLD

The object of this reference to the prehistoric era is merely to justify the suggestion made in some quarters, that veterinary science has been the pioneer of all medical sciences in the world and has played a very prominent part in the development of medical science in general. In fact, Schmiedelburg is of opinion that man has imitated animals in detecting remedial agents. That in many instances, lower animals have been the preceptors for primitive men in the matter of selection of medicines and food stuffs, is well authenticated and borne out by many historians. Pliny in his *Natural History* says that the hippopotamus has been our instructor in one of the operations of surgery, venesection. When this animal becomes too bulky due to continued overfeeding, it presses its body against some sharp and recently cut stem of a reed on the banks of rivers and injures a vein in the thigh. As a result of bleeding the animal gets relief and later on covers the wound with mud. Dogs and cats lick their wounds and heal themselves. Dogs eat grass to excite

vomition. It is said that the Egyptian Ibiss uses its own beak for self-administration of enemata Swallows heal their sore-eyes by the juice of calandine. Bears cure their stomach-ache by eating leaves of Aurum. The tortoise eats a plant known as *cunila bubula* which is stated to act as an antidote against snake-venom Stags counteract the effects of poisonous plants by eating the artichoke. Elephants when they get colic have recourse to purging by eating large quantities of saline earth. Thus, it will be observed how primitive men, by a close study and observation of the 'Book of Nature,' were able to compile a science of medicine, which as a sequence of progressive evolution and development assumed a definite shape in the so-called Vedas or codes of the mythological period, and how their knowledge of the instinctive practices of animals probably formed one of the sources, from which the enormous present-day medical science has developed.

THE MYTHOLOGICAL PERIOD

Following on this period of uncodified, unimaginable and indefinite pre-mythological antiquity, we pass on to a period when all the instinctive powers of observation and imitation aided by man's own faculty of reason and discrimination were codified and regularized in the form of myths and legends. Historians have been trying to fix up the date of the origin of the mythological period to some remote antiquity, and to find out a foundation from which they can build up their future history. They have also shown how Dhanvantari became the Vedic father of Hindu medicine, and through him Suśruta, the founder of Hindu surgery, and Caraka the founder of Hindu medicine, to whose authorships, the two famous books on surgery and medicine, *Suśruta Saṁhitā* and *Caraka Saṁhitā*, are respectively attributed. Many authors have subsequently come into the field to elaborate the medical science.

THE IMPORTANCE OF VETERINARY SCIENCE IN ANCIENT INDIA

All the historians are agreed that the ancient Aryans were chiefly agriculturists and that they appreciated the importance of cattle for agriculture. It constituted a part of their national wealth. The cow formed an object of veneration and worship in the Hindu household.

Regarding other animals it is well-known that horses and elephants formed the chief paraphernalia of all the Kings and nobles, and that bullock or horse-drawn chariot (*Ratha*), elephants (*Gaja*) and horses (*Turaga*) formed the three main constituents of an army for warfare. There are also evidences to show that horses and cattle were used as animals of draught and for carrying burden. Oxen were chiefly used for ploughing.

SUPPLY OF ANIMAL PRODUCTS

The animal kingdom served a very useful purpose in the *materia medica* of the Hindus since very early times.

Milk was known to them to be highly nourishing, cow's milk was necessary for daily consumption and for offering oblations to God. Both cow's milk and buffalo's milk were used for preparing butter, ghee, curd, and various kinds of sweetmeats and cakes. Cow's milk, goat's milk, sheep milk, ass's milk and camel's milk were widely used in medicine.

Cow-dung was necessary for manuring the fields and for use as a disinfectant in the common Hindu household. In order to ensure a uniformly slow and steady heat for the preparation of several āyurvedic medicines, dried cow-dung was found indispensable for the druggist's furnace.

Hot fomentation of cow's urine was found to be an infallible remedy for hepatic inflammation. Historians have recorded that many animal products played a prominent part in the *materia medica* of Ancient India.

The supreme indispensability of the animal kingdom to human beings was thus realized, and this realization is well-brought out by the fact, that many animals have been deified in the Vedas and put on a par with the divine. We thus have references to the Cow as the embodiment of the whole earth, to Kāmadhenu as the divine Cow, to the bull as the chief vehicle of God S'iva, to Indra's famous elephant and horse possessing divine properties, to Garuḍa as the vehicle of God Viṣṇu, Peacock as the vehicle of God Subrahmaṇya etc. It is no wonder then, that careful attention was paid to the well-being of these animals, and that guide books and manuals came to be written for their proper up-keep. The most ancient records of such treatises are found in the *Atharvaveda*, wherein treatment for worms in cattle is found. Several chapters on horses, elephants and Cows are found in *Agni Purāṇa*. In *Matsya*, *Gagurda*, and *Brahmāṇda Purāṇas*. some interesting chapters are devoted to this subject. In *S'ukranīti* much information valuable to the veterinary profession is available. In the *Mahābhārata* we find Nakula and Sahadeva described as experts in the science of horses and cattle respectively. In *Hārita Samhitā*, Sage Ātreya is said to have delivered his discourses on the treatment of men, horses, elephants, deer, buffaloes, camels, snakes, mice, trees and plants. *Gajaprīkṣā* (examination of elephants) and *As'vaprīkṣā* (examination of horses) had also been included among the 64 Kalas or arts mentioned in the curricula for the education of girls in Ancient India. This shows that women too were proficient in Veterinary Science in those days. In *Bṛhat Samhitā*, chapters 60, 65, 66, 91, 92 and 95 are devoted to exposition of Veterinary Science. Again much useful information is found in Book II of Kauṭilya's *Artha-s'āstra*. In the law books of Manu (*Manu Saṁhitā*), the establishment of public bodies for the maintenance of pasture land has been described. *Parās'ara Saṁhitā*, contains a description of the care of cows in diseases and pregnancy. In *Caraka Saṁhitā*, we find the disciples asking the Guru,

Ātreya, as to how clisters were to be made and administered in the case of elephants, horses, camels, cows, sheep, goats etc., and the latter describing to them the details. One fact is clear from the above that many of the literary works in Sanskrit, both very ancient and of comparatively recent origin abound in references to veterinary science. And in almost all the works referred to above, we find the Superintendent of horses, Superintendent of elephants and Superintendent of cattle occupied a very prominent position among the ministers of the State.

Subsequently as history developed and Buddhism began its sway in medieval India, Veterinary Science also developed. There were hundreds of animal hospitals all over India. Extensive areas were set apart for pasture, and much care and attention were paid to the welfare of animal creation. The Superintendent of forests, and the Superintendent of cattle occupied places of prominence in the administration of the Buddhistic State. The edicts of the Emperor Aśoka and the glorious accounts given by the two great missionaries Hiuen-Tsang and Fa-hien bear ample testimony to the above. So much for the birth and growth of veterinary science in ancient and medieval India.

It is thus evident that the state in ancient and medieval India took an active interest in the welfare of cattle, horse, elephants and other animals, and employed doctors for their up-keep, and a great deal of literature came into existence, which were also probably carefully preserved. Owing to the influx of time, the long and continued internecine wars that have been going on for centuries, and lastly owing to the lack of facilities for the proper preservation of these ancient manuscript documents, most of the books and manuals appear to have been lost, and detailed information regarding the availability of the few existing literature, and the places where they are available was lacking. It was, however, my firm conviction that much information on Veterinary science must be available in places where ancient manuscripts are

preserved such as Oriental manuscripts libraries, Sanskrit and āyurvedic colleges and also among the families of well-known āyurvedic and Sanskrit scholars.

In December 1937 on the motion of Sri Biswanath Das, the then premier of Orissa, a scheme was inaugurated by the I.C.A.R. sanctioning an investigation into the efficacy or other wise, of the indigenous system of treatment of cattle in India- and authorising the collection and collation of all useful information on Indigenous Veterinary medicine from manuscripts and other sources. In 1939, I was appointed to make the enquiry and this gave me a good opportunity to visit all the Oriental libraries, Sanskrit and āyurvedic colleges, and carry on an extensive search for the available Veterinary literature therein. On account of the limited time sanctioned in the scheme, only a portion of India could be visited. The tour no doubt yielded very good results, and my report to the I. C. A. R. on this subject published at the end of my tour gives information on the indigenous Veterinary lore, which will be found surprising to real seekers of all-round information on Veterinary matters. It is not out of place for me to mention here that of all the places visited, the Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore, furnished me most valuable information. About this library, Dr. Burnell who compiled an exhaustive catalogue of all the manuscripts in this library, in the course of his valuable letter to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras dated 6th August 1878, has remarked that, as far as he could judge, it would not be possible to form a collection like that at Tanjore at a cost less than £ 50,000 and that many manuscripts in this library are unquestionably unique. The last portion of the above remarks proved true in my case. To give an idea of the value of the manuscripts in this library I would like to give this one instance which came to my notice. It was ascertained by me in the course of my investigation that, during the course of an expedition to Mewar in the reign of Shah Jahan, a big original Sanskrit work on horses by name *Sālihotra* was secured from Chittur and

under the orders of Emperor Shah Jahan, this work was translated into Arabic by Saiyad Abdulla Khan Bahadur Feroze Jung. This translated Arabic book is called "Kitab-ul-Vitait" The original Sanskrit work was considered lost Subsequently during the early days of the East India Company, this Arabic work "Kitab-ul-Vitart" appears to have been translated into English Only two copies of this English translation are now reported to be available—one in the London museum and the other in the Berlin library. While trying to find out if the original Sanskrit work will be available anywhere, it was found that a portion of that work is available in the Saraswati Mahal library in the name of *Aśvāyurvedasiddhayogasaṅgraha*—It is considered probable that the remaining portion also may be available either in Kashmir or in Nepal. It is also worthy of note that this Sanskrit work was translated in the Tibetan tongue and it exists in its Tibetan garb in the celebrated encylopaedia, the Tangyur and is mentioned in Cordier's *List of Tibetan Manuscripts.* This library has therefore given us information on Veterinary science not available anywhere else in India so far. In this connection my thanks are due to Dr. Raghavan who is working on the *Catalogus Catalagorum* of Sanskrit MSS. in the Madras University for his valuable information and reference given to me on the availability of literature on veterinary matters in other parts of India.

Authors of Veterinary Science and Their Works

Among the original and authentic authors on veterinary science so far known, may be mentioned the names of Śālihotra. Pālakāpya, Rājaputra, Vaiśampāyana, Vyāsa, Nārada, Mṛgacarma, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Vīrasena, Nakula, Jayadatta, Gaṇa, Malladeva, Paṇḍita, Garga, Simhadatta, Nala etc., and among the authors of later origin come Vatasya, Jayadeva, King Indusena, Bhoja, Sāraṅgadhara, Someśvara, Vāhaṭa, Basavamantri, Gīrvāṇa, Yuddha

vikrama, Viṣanāth Vājpeyin, S'ivarāma Bhūpati, Dipankara and poet Rudradeva etc. Each one of the above authors is reported to have contributed a valuable book on veterinary science, but many of them are lost either partially or completely; and the few fragments of literature now reported to be available here and there in some libraries and oriental institutions are also in an already decaying and crumbling condition. Of all the authors mentioned above the names of S'ālihotra as the author on horses and Pālakāpya as the author on elephants, stand pre-eminent. No doubt other eminent authors have contributed much valuable information Every disease to which the animals are prone to, and the remedies therefor, have been dealt with in great detail.

VALUE OF THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE IN ANCIENT INDIAN LITERATURE

The first noticeable feature that I wish particularly to point out is that profuse information on elephants and their diseases and control is available, and they all remain a sealed book to the lay public and to the profession at large. The only modern treatise on elephants and their diseases now in use is that of Lt. Col. G H. Evans (1910) whose publications contain only the individual observations and experiences of the author and the treatment suggested by him on the lines adopted to other domestic animals together with the common empirical treatment adopted by local mahouts collected and compiled by the author during his distinguished service in Burma and other places. In fact Lt. Col. G. H. Evan himself writes in his preface to the book " The scantiness of the literature on the subject is a source of embarrassment to those in charge of these valuable animals, and the need for some guidance has been widely felt. . . . . . the subject of the elephant diseases apart from its high scientific interest has become a matter of immense economic importance." He also further regrets in his preface that his appeal for information

on notes concerning elephants and their diseases met with little response. I venture to imagine that Lt. Col. G. H. Evans would not have been obliged to make this appeal for information on the notes on elephantology, had he known of the existence of Pālakāpya Muni's Hastyāyurveda dealing exhaustively and exclusively on a subject, on which he felt the scantiness of literature as a source of embarrassment, and for which he made his unresponsive appeal.

Again I may point out another instance, to show how this ancient Indian Veterinary Science contains information, little known to modern veterinarians. Tuberculosis is one of the major diseases commanding world wide attention affecting both men and animals alike. As already pointed out by me, in Lt. Col. G. H. Evans' book on *Elephants and their Diseases* we find the following:

"Tubercular disease, as far as I am aware, is extremely rare in elephants probably owing to their mode of life; however, that it may occur is proved by an interesting case which was reported by Dammann and Stedefer of one of the two elephants which were sent to the surgical clinic of the Hanover Veterinary school in July 1908. The result of Bacterial examination seemed to show that the disease was one of human origin. In any case the disease is not likely to be diagnosed in the jungle" I have now to point out that notwithstanding the claim made by Professor J. T. Edwards to have discovered first Tuberculosis among elephants, and notwithstanding the above remarks made by Lt. Col. G. H. Evans about the rarity of tuberculosis amongst elephants, there are overwhelming evidences in ancient Indian literature to show that this disease was common among elephants and that ancient Indians were able to diagnose and treat such cases in those days. In the book of *Hastyāyurveda* or elephantology which dates back to the period of the *Rāmāyaṇa* epic, this disease has been dealt with in great detail in two different places *viz.* once under the heading of fevers in Part I and

again under the heading of wasting diseases in chapter 40 of Part II.

Apart from the question animal diseases and their treatment, much information on animal husbandary, and general breading operations are available. As the first and foremost measure under this head, we find that killing of cows is drastically forbidden. According to *Matsyapurāṇa*, the *smṛtis* and, Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, drastic and severe punishments have been ordained for cow-killing either wilful or otherwise. Great authors like Atri, Parāśara, Gautama, etc., have laid down definite rules for the use of cattle in ploughs, showing details as to how many are to be used, how and when they are to be used etc. In *Agni Purāṇa* we find the King being enjoined to preserve the breed of cattle in the country. The *Arthaśāstra* mentions a government office called the Superintendent of Cattle and another called the Superintendent of horses whose exclusive duties were to supervise live-stock in the country, keep a census of them and see that they were properly bred and reared. The Superintendent of cattle was expected to maintain cattle census registers under the following classification—Male calves, steers, tame cows, draught oxen, bulls that were to be trained for the yoke, bulls kept for breeding purposes, cattle fit for slaughter, buffaloes and draught buffaloes, female calves, heifers, pregnant cows, milch-kine, barren cattle either cows or buffaloes etc. Under fear of cattle-lifting enemies, owners sometimes kept their animals under the care of the Superintendent giving the state one-tenth of the dairy produces.

Castration of scrub animals was permitted and was allowed to be done only on certain days and months of the year. According to the edicts of the Emperor Aśoka a bull, a goat or a ram could be castrated on all days except on the 8th, 10th, 13th and 15th day of each fortnight, on the punarvasu or any other festival day and also except during the 4th month of the year.

DEDICATION OF BULLS

Brahmanical bulls were inviolable and were objects of special attention on certain festival occasions. Dedication of bulls for breeding purposes was a great ceremony and had to be performed under certain well-laid out rules and regulations Selection and necessary qualifications of a bull for such dedication are interesting. In the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* it is said that the bull should be the offspring of a milch cow with young ones living. It should not be deficient in any limb, and it should be capable of protecting the herd. *Matsyapurāṇa* ordains that the bull should have elevated shoulders and hump, a soft and straight tail, tender, cheeks, broad back, shining eyes, sharp horns and big tuft of hair in the tail. It must be well built with a roar like thunder. high in stature, and walking like an infuriated elephant. In the *Mahābhārata*, cattle census and pedigree registers are described. All these show that the ancient Indians were very particular about the general confirmation and physical fitness of the breeding bulls. The *Arthaśāstra* mentions that every herd of 10 heads of cows or buffaloes should include 4 bulls. Particulars of the time of service are also well described.

In the field of Genetics, the science of conception, the parental disposition, the possible potentialities of pro-genital inheritance from the father and mother and the ante-natal, and post-natal care of animals are all well explained.

LIVESTOCK FEEDING

The manner in which the stock were fed was most important; because the breeds depended primarily upon the feed. Elaborate prescriptions regarding the nature and the amount of ration that a bull or a cow or a buffaloe has been given are as hereunder:

" For bulls equal to horses in speed and loading capacity, half a *bhāra* (maund) of meadow grass, twice the above of

ordinary grass one *tulā* (100 palas) of oil-cake, 10 *ādhakas* of bran, 5 palas of salt, one *kudumba* of oil, for rubbing over the nose, one *prastha* of drink, one *tulā* of fruit pulp, one *ādhaka* of curd, one *droṇa* of barley or cooked blackgram, one *droṇa* of milk, half an *ādhaka* of surā (liquor) one *prastha* of oil or ghee, ten *palas* of sugar and one *pala* of the fruit śṛṅgibera, are recommended. Three-fourths of all the items above will form the food for mules, cows, and asses, and twice the quantity for buffaloes and camels.

DAIRY FARMING

Every village had its own pasture lands and forest lands Common rights in pasture and forestry were important and recognized by the state. In the *Arthaśastra*, the King has been directed to set apart pasture lands in uncultivated tracts In the *Manusmṛti*, it is enjoined that on all sides of a village, a space about 100 *dhanus* in extent should be reserved for pasture and thrice that space round a town. In all Royal grants of villages, special previsions were always made for them. The cattle were allowed to graze freely in these pasture lands, and forest lands supplied fuel to the people, and thus saved much of the cowdung now-a-days used as fuel, with a consequent loss of the available manure for agricultural purposes.

There were professional herdsmen who took the cattle for grazing early in the morning and brought them back in the evening. The ancient Indian lawgivers have given due attention to these herdsmen. In olden days, as now, tinkling bells were attached to cattle so that the whereabouts of those straying in the forests could be easily known. In the *Arthaśastra*, it is suggested that the cattle should be grouped in herds of ten of similar colour while grazing.

The cowherds were expected to have a full knowledge of all the common ailments of cattle and their remedies. They were considered wholly responsible for the safety of the

cattle, while on pasture lands, and any loss due to their negligence should be recouped by them. In cases of death of an animal from natural causes, the cowherd should surrender to the owner, the skin of the dead animal, its fat, bile, marrow, teeth, hoofs, horns and bones. In return for such responsible duties done by these herdsmen, Manu ordains that for tending 100 cows, a heifer shall be given to the herdsman as wages every year; for tending 200 cows, a milch cow; and he shall be allowed to milk all the cows for himself once every eight days.

FODDER FOR CATTLE

Cultivated lands were available for grazing after the crops had been harvested. The weeds on cultivated lands, the plants growing up from the seeds falling both before and during the harvest, the stumps of the crops, and grass on the field borders and along water-channels were made available for the cattle. The cultivation of fodder crops and their conversion into silage was a process known to the earliest Indians, as suggested by the word *sujavas* which occurs in the Rig Veda.

Another interesting point in this connection is, that the nutritive value of standard milk is also described. One *droṇa* of cow's milk was known yield one *prastha* of butter, and that of buffalo milk, one seventh *prastha* more. In the *Arthaśāstra*, it is said that the increase in the yield of milk and butter depend upon the nature of the soil, the quality and the quantity of fodder and water allowed. It is advocated that to increase the supply of milk the cow should be given daily a few morsels composed of several sticks of As'vagandha (Physalis Flexuosa) and sesame.

Some standard works in Sanskrit which are purely of literary value also contain information of Veterinary interest. As an example of this, I may quote Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* where in *śloka* 73 of canto V he says a piece of rock salt

should always be kept in stables for the horses to lick constantly. This is a very healthy rule and is followed by modern Veterinarians of to-day in the case of valuable horses such as race horses and Polo Ponies, and in Royal stables. Needless for me to point out that under such well laid out laws and regulations, there must have been very fine breeds of cattle and horses in ancient India. So far regarding livestock breeding operations.

Regarding other points of general Veterinary interest, we find the following worthy of mention:

1. In the case of horses, colour pigmentation, physical conformation and the nature of volitional in relation to the temparamental qualities of an animal, *i.e.* to find out if an animal is good or bad tempered by its colour, confirmation and voice, are described.

2. In the case of cows colour pigmentation in relation to the nutritive value of its milk is given. Thus the milk of a black cow is considered most nutritious. The milk of a red cow comes next and that of a white cow is least nutritious. Modern Research Scholars have recently found this to be true.

3. In a book called *Sivatatvaratnākara* by Basava mantri, we find all useful information about fowls. Cock-fighting, their colour, form, and their various gait, etc. as an index to their fighting capacity, are well described. In the same book, much information is found about the keeping of sheeps, goats, dogs, serpents etc.; another book of similar encyclopadic nature and which formed one of Basava's somas, the *Mānasollāsa* of king Someśvara of Kalyan also contains treatment of these veterinary topics.

Necessity for Research

It may perhaps be asked if the time and labour involved justify the expenditure in carrying on research on a literature in a language which is generally considered to be difficult to master. The answer to this can be given that it is justifiable.

Now-a-days we come across extensive propaganda work being carried on under the "Grow more Food" and "Drink more milk" campaigns carried on by the Government. We are also well aware of the gradual depletion of cattle wealth on account of the exigencies of war. It is also worthy of note that the latest milk-marketing report published by the Government of India discloses a state of affairs worse than any that was existing before. In the words of the report ' the low milk consumption indicates a serious state of affairs, especially among the poorer classes who consume well below 5.8 oz. a day while many have to go without milk or milk products altogether." It is also distressing to note that the production of milk in Madras has of late been the lowest of all the provinces about 3 ounces against the average in India of over 6 ounces. The prosperity of a country like India lies mostly in its cattle wealth. The urgent need for Veterinary and livestock improvement is thus apparent. The Government of India are also well aware of this. The Imperial Council of Agricultural research have taken up the question of the improvement of livestock and breeding operations seriously and are taking all necessary measures to cope up with the present serious depletion of cattle wealth. On the 4th September 1944 a post war re-construction committee met under the Presidentship of H. E. the Governor of Madras, wherein various post-war reconstruction sub-committees have been announced to deal effectively with the different subjects Veterinary and Livestock is one such sub-committee. For livestock improvement in India to be really successful, the agriculturist and the livestock owner should not be made to depend entirely on foreign medicaments for all their cattle ailments, especially at a time when, on account of war conditions, such foreign medicaments are not available even in a great difficulty. One thing is clear. God has not created cattle alone in India and the remedies for all their ailments elsewhere outside India. Where there are such a large number of cattle, there are also local

remedial agents available Past experience, and existence of such elaborate literature on Veterinary Science, together with the glorious accounts of eminent historians about ancient India show that India in the Past was self sufficient not only in its cattle wealth, but also in all its cattle medicaments and other requisites. In the interest of efficiency and economy, such local and easily available remedies must be made known and available to the Livestock owner Time and labour involved in carrying on research in the ancient Indian Veterinary matters is therefore well worth the expenditure incured therein. In this connection, I cannot but recall the wise words recently uttered by Mr. H. F. Knight, Advisor to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, who, while declaring open on the 17th July 1941, the Rambilas Anadilal Podor Ayurvedic College, the first Government recognised institution for the study of Indigenous system of medicine in Bombay, said: " In these days, every Science has to welcome strangers within its gates, to test and prove them whether they be true or false, and if true to embody them in its own system—if necessary, rejecting them from that system such parts as will no longer stand the test. If a Science fails to do so and adopts a policy of isolation and withdrawal from the stream of human progress, then its power of helping humanity inevitably decreases etc." These remarks serve as a sufficient argument for me to put forth the claim for research work on the Indigenous Veterinary medicine on a par with all other sciences.

CONCLUSION

As already pointed out by me, the Governing body of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research in their meeting held in July 1938, sanctioned a scheme for an investigation into the efficacy or otherwise of the indigenous system of treatment of cattle in India with the following technical programme prepared by the Animal Husbandry Commissioner with the Government of India:

1. Collection and collation of all available useful information from manuscripts and other sources regarding the indigenous system of treatment.

2. Preparation of a list of important vegetable and animal products used in the indigenous system of treatment and wherever possible, a description of their actions and uses. Enumeration of some useful prescriptions.

3. Arranging for trials in collaboration with the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute of drugs alleged to be efficacious in the treatment of contagious and non-contagious diseases or other abnormal conditions.

4. Detailed study of the indigenous system of treatment in selected areas in Orissa and Travancore.

5. Preparation of a report after the completion of the work incorporating all the important findings evolved as a result of this investigation. When the scheme was actually taken up in May 1939 the period sanctioned was only six months, and there was hardly any time for taking up two items of the above technical programme *viz.*, collection and collation of all useful information from manuscripts and other sources and the preparation of a report incorporating all the materials resulting from this investigation. In view of the limited time sanctioned for the scheme it was further decided that the other items of the original technical programme *viz.* preparation of a list of important vegetable and animal products used in the indigenous systems of treatment with, wherever possible, a description of their actions and uses, and enumeration of some useful prescriptions, and arranging for trials in collaboration with the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute of drugs alleged to be efficacious in the treatment of contagious and non-contagious diseases or other abnormal conditions, should, if considered necessary, form the basis of a future comprehensive programme. Accordingly the scheme was worked for 6 months, and an initial report thereon submitted. That the information given in the report is both valuable and useful has been acknowledged by the Imperial

Council of Agricultural Research. The observations of the council on the report are embodied in the Councillor's letter dated 21st October 1940 to the Inter-University board as hereunder.

This then is the present position of the Scheme. I venture to imagine that the work of transcribing, compiling and printing all the available manuscripts most of which are already in a decaying and crumbling condition and lie scattered here and there in the several parts of India, and collecting and collating all the useful materials available therein, cannot be considered to be a suitable work for Sanskrit scholars aspiring for the doctorate degree of Indian Universities. If the work is to be done satisfactorily, it should be the basis of a comprehensive scheme as already decided by the I. C. A. R. This scheme can be taken up either by the Civil Veterinary Department or any University or a State, and, being one of All-India importance, should get the financial support of the I.C.A.R. The Madras University which is one of the leading Universities of India, where knowledge of manuscripts and their places of deposit could be easily had, which is noted for its high academic standard in all branches of Science and which has recently instituted a degree course in Veterinary Science also in its sphere of activities, can well afford to take up this hitherto unexplored field of research, and thus add one more to its feathers of eminence and efficiency. The Travancore state which is one of the leading and enlightened states of India and which has already taken immense interest in the improvement of all indigenous Sciences, or the Travancore University which is already handling several schemes financed by the I. C. A. R. may also take up this scheme. To these, then, my appeal goes and it is my earnest prayer that it may not go in vain.

STUDIES IN COORG VOWELS

BY

DR. K. GODA VARMA

COORG which is spoken in a small district situated amongst the Western Ghats between Mysore on the East and North Malabar and South Kanara on the West, has been regarded by Caldwell as standing about midway between Old Kannada and Tulu.[1] Dr. Mögling, a German missionary who had resided for some time amongst the Coorgs, appears to have entertained the view that the language is more closely allied to Tamil and Malayālam than to Kannada.[2] Sir George Grierson is seen to observe that Coorg, along with Tulu, Toda and Kōta, must be classed as lying between Tamil and Kannada, nearer to the latter than to the former.[3] In the light of the researches that I had occasion to make during my visit to the Province of Coorg in 1939, I have been able to procure ample evidences to show that the Coorg language agrees more with Tamil and Malayālam than with Kannada in point of phonology, structure and vocabulary, although it has latterly to some extent been influenced, in these respects, by Kannada, the language now employed for literary and court purposes in the country. In this paper, it is proposed to draw attention to certain important vowel changes in Coorg in relation to the vowel systems of other Dravidian languages closely connected with it.

[1] Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian* (Third Edition). p 35.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[3] *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV, p. 284.

The front vowels in Coorg are found invariably to change to sounds intermediate in accoustic effect between strong vowels and the week vowels when they are followed by retroflex consonants. ex. Kiṇḍi 'a spouted vessel'; Kiṭṭ- 'to get'; Īḍ- 'to put'; Kiṇṇə 'youngster'; Keṭṭa 'bad'; ëṇṇ- 'to speak'; elut- 'letter', ėmbadɯ ∠eṇbadɯ 'eighty' (Cf. Mal Eṇbadə); Tïndatɯ 'ended'. The intermediate pronunciation of i is due to the influence of r which had originally existed in the word. Cf. Mal. Tīrnnu 'finished'. Coorg had obviously the consonant group -rnd- in the earlier form of the word. Subsequently it has been simplified into -nd- through assimilation; Kēkɯ ∠Kelakɯ 'east'. Cf. Mal. Kiḻakkə. It may be noted that the appearance of e in the word shows that there must have been a confusion between l and ḻ in Coorg as in Tamil and Kannada. With the assimilation of l to k, there has occurred the lengthening of the previous vowel. ex. ēṇi 'ladder'; Kēḍɯ 'harm'. A similar intermediate pronunciation of the front vowels followed by cerebral consonants could be observed in Coll. Tamil and Coll. Malayālam also. Cf. Mal. Kiḷi for written Kiḷi 'bird', Kiṇṇam for written Kiṇṇam 'cup'; Tiṭṭa for written Tiṭṭa 'a raised ground'; Kiṇar for written Kiṇar 'well'; Kirukkə for written Kirukkə 'madness'; Piḷḷa for written pilla 'child'. The change may be said to result from the adjustment of the position of the tonguesurface to facilitate the lowering and the folding of the front of the tongue before the tongue-tip is made to touch the hard palate.

u in unaccented positions frequently appears with a centralised value. ex. kurük 'fox'; kaḍükɯ 'ear-ring'; irümbārç 'crow-bar'; elüvaḍɯ 'seventy'. This tendency of centralising unaccented u is to be met with in almost all the South Dravidian Languages. See Tam. kaḍüvāy 'tiger'; Mal. kaḍüvā 'tiger'; Tulu, kaḍüvāyi 'a kind of fish'; Tam. kāṭṭüpāmbɯ 'forest-snake', Mal. kāṭṭüpāmbə 'forest-snake'; Tulu, kūḍükeṭṭɯ 'association'.

In Coorg, as in Tamil and Tulu, there is to be heard a close back vowel ụ with the lip position for i. This sound

occurs as an enunciative after final consonants. ex. tuṇḍɯ 'piece'; pallɯ 'tooth'; tiyyɯ 'fire'; uppɯ 'salt'. It is usually in nouns ending in consonants and in declensional endings and conjugational terminations that this sound appears. The dative ending also shows this vowel. See Rāvaṇana Rāmə kondatɯ, 'Rāvaṇa was killed by Rāma'; āyaṇḍuṇḍɯ 'is being finished'; Nākɯ Rāmaṇḍalliñji idɯ kiṭṭici 'I got this from Rāma', Avə oru mūlelɯ muṇḍāte altatɯ 'he sat quietly in a corner'. In Malayālam the corresponding vocalism is very much akin to the neutral vowel although in North Malabar and in the vulgar dialect of the South ɯ is frequently pronounced. Thus kāl 'leg' becomes in the dialect of Cirakkal and places round about kālɯ. The full u of the verbal forms of the present and the past as varunnu 'comes', pōkunnu 'goes', ninnu 'stood' and uṇḍu 'took meals' in Malayāḷam also evinces a tendency to be pronounced as ɯ in the northern dialect as also in the vulgar dialect of the south. In Kannada the final u has been preserved without any modification. See kaṇṇu 'eye' against kaṇṇə of Malayālam and hālu 'milk' against pālə of Malayālam.

Another vowel which deserves notice in Coorg is ə occurring in verbs as the termination of the first person singular as well as in certain noun-formative suffixes Of these, the first always appears as long and is probably a reduced form of ē ∠ē ∠ēn. ex. Nānu nindiyə̄ 'I stand'. Nānu nində̄ 'I stood', Nān nippiciṭṭə̄ 'I make him stand' The second is short and slightly nasalised. This seems to be a variant of ā ∠an ex. appə 'father' mūgə 'a dumb person', kumbārə 'potter', gūmə 'owl', kaḷḷə 'thief'. The corresponding Tamil and Malayālam forms show-an. See Tam., appan, Mal., mūkan, Tam., kumbagāran, Mal., kūman, and Tam. and Mal., kaḷḷan. In Coorg itself the original- an will be found to have been preserved when the possessive suffix is added to the declensional base. See appaṇḍa 'of the father', mūgaṇḍa 'of the dumb person', kaḷḷaṇḍa 'of the thief' etc.

In final positions of certain nouns, there is to be heard in Coorg the half open front vowelɛ. Ex. kērɛ 'rat-snake', ānɛ 'elephant', bālɛ 'plantain' paḍɛ 'army', eraṇɛ 'lacerta interpunctula'. In this respect Tulu agrees with Coorg. Against this final ɛ we find- ei in Tamil,- e in Kannada and- a in Malayālam. See Tam., malei, Kan., male, Mal., mala, 'mountain', Tam., talei, Kan., tale, Mal, tala, 'head'; Tam., arei Kan., are, Mal., ara 'half'. It is possible that this is derived from original—ay which may have passed into Tamiḷ—ey, a of—ay having changed into e through the influence of the palatal, y. This however, has subsequently been represented in writing in Tamiḷ by ai pronounced—ei. In Malayāḷam the change was in the direction of the final y being elided. That—ay was the earlier form in Malayāḷam is evidenced from the inflected forms like malaykkə, talaykkə, araykkə where y is obviously a case of historic survival. In Coorg and Tuḷu, however, —ay developed into a half open front vowel.

Another interesting vowel change we find in Coorg is the labialisation of the front vowels preceded by labial consonants and followed by retroflex consonants ex. puccu 'madness', Cf. Tam., piccɯ 'bile' and Mal., piccə 'madness'; puḍita 'catching' Cf. Tam. and Mal. piḍittam; muṇḍate 'silently' Cf. Mal., miṇḍāte; būṭi 'black-wood' Cf. Mal., vīṭṭi; būṇe 'lute' Cf. Tam., vīṇei and Mal., vīṇa; boḍi 'explosion of a gun' Cf. Tam. and Mal., veḍi; boṇṇeney 'butter' Cf. Mal. veṇṇa-ney; boḷḷi 'silver' Cf. Tam. and Mal., veḷḷi; bōṇḍa 'need not' Cf. Mal. vēṇḍa; bōre 'different' Cf. Tam., vērɯ 'that which is different' and Mal. vēre 'different'. Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Iyer observes that in some speech varieties of Tuḷu o is heard against e of other South Dravidian dialects.[1] He quotes poṇṇu 'girl' and pōḍi- 'to fear' corresponding to Tam., peṇ and Mal., pēḍi. With regard to short back vowels, such a change is exhibited in certain dialects of Tamiḷ and

[1] *Bulletin of the Linguistic Society of India*, Lahore, Vol. VI, 1936. Part I—VI, p. 396.

Malayālam also. Cf. Tamil potti (coll.) for peṭṭi 'box', poṇṇə (coll.) for peṇṇə 'girl'; Malayālam puṇṇākkə (coll.) for piṇṇākkə 'oil cake', puṭṭə, (coll.) for piṭṭə 'flour', purannāl (coll.) for pirannāl 'birthday', 'purakə (coll.) for pirakə back.' The lowered position of the front of the tongue in the pronunciation of the back vowels perhaps makes it easier for the front of the tongue to be folded backwards with the tip touching the hard palate—the position required for the production of the cerebral consonants. That the change in Coorg is not manifested when any consonant other than the cerebral follows can be seen from words like bēruɯ 'root', bĕli 'fence', billɯ 'bow', bera 'finger', bikkɯ 'stammering'.

The above changes will make it clear that the Coorg Language takes more after Tamil and Malayālam than Kannada in the nature and development of the vowels in its sound system.

TWO VERSIONS OF THE PADYATARAṄGINĪ OF VRAJANĀTHA

BY

N. A. GORE

THE anthologies in Sanskrit have proved valuable landmarks in the history of classical Sanskrit literature, as they often record the names of poets whose stanzas are contained in them, and thereby many an author is brought to light who would otherwise have remained in oblivion. Several important and voluminous anthologies like the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*, the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, the *Subhāṣitāvali*, the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, the *Sūktimuktāvali* are edited by able editors and their valuable introductions contain much useful information about the individual poets quoted in them. But a comprehensive work which would bring together the different stanzas of various poets in the several anthologies[1] known so far (or at least in the more important among them) with variant readings, consolidated *pāda*-, poets-, and topics-indexes for ready reference is yet a desideratum. To facilitate such a huge undertaking it is necessary that the ground-work should be prepared by a careful and analytical study of hitherto unpublished anthologies, if it is not possible or feasible to publish all or most of them, by the compilation of indexes and the discussion of their dates and authorship. Occasionally papers dealing with anthologies are published in Oriental journals and it is gratifying to note that Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri of the Prācya Vāṇī Mandira,

[1] According to M. Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 384-390*a*, there are about 80 anthologies in Sanskrit and even this list is not exhaustive.

Calcutta has started a series devoted to the publication of Sanskrit anthologies (*Saṁskṛt Koṣa-Kāvya-Saṅgraha*) and so far six volumes in it are published.[1]

Here it is proposed to deal with the *Padyataraṅgiṇī* of Vrajanātha. Though it is comparatively a late anthology, there are not many MSS. of it. According to the *Catalogus Catalogorum*[2] there are only four MSS., Peters 4, 27 (2 MSS.); Il; and Bd 421. Three of these are in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona and are described under numbers 394-396 in Vol. XIII part 2 of the Descriptive Catalogue of the Govt. Collection of MSS. deposited in the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute. Though it is stated in this Catalogue that these MSS. are complete, on actual examination it is found out that they contain only the twelfth *taraṅga* or section with the commentary. In addition to these three MSS. there is one more incomplete MS. in the possession of the Asiatic Society, Bengal.[3] It contains only the first eight *taraṅgas* and 51 verses of the ninth.

As is evident from the introductory verses[4] of the Asiatic Society MS. and the colophons[5] of the three MSS. in

[1] The names of the six anthologies are: the *Padyāmṛtataraṅgiṇī*, the *Sūktisundara*, the *Sabhyālaṅkaraṇa* of Govindajit, the *Subhāṣitasāra-samuccaya*, the *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* of Hari Kavi and the *Padyaveṇī* of Veṇīdatta.

[2] CC. II. 70 III. 69. Bd, Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1887-1891. IL, *List of MSS. in the Indian Institute*, Oxford: Peters, Peterson's IV *Report*, on p. 27 of which two MSS. are mentioned.

[3] *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* by MM. Haraprasada Shastri, Vol. VII No. 5465.

[4] सज्जनानां प्रशंसात्र प्रशंसा गुणिनां तथा ।
विदुषां चैव लक्ष्म्याश्च प्रशंसा दातुरेव च ॥ ३ ॥
मित्रस्य च प्रशसात्र वैराख्यानमतः परम् ।
ऋतुमाख्यानमप्यत्र तथा निन्दातरङ्गके ॥ ४ ॥
मूर्खदुर्जनकृष्णानां दुर्गतस्य च निन्दनम् ।
नीतिः प्रकीर्णकाख्यानमन्योक्तिश्च समासतः ॥ ५ ॥
अन्योक्तीनामभिप्रायसूचनं च समासतः ।
तरङ्गा द्वादशैवात्र तरङ्गिण्यामुदाहृताः ॥ ६ ॥

[5] इति पद्यतरङ्गिण्यां व्रजनाथकृतश्लोकसङ्ग्रहे द्वादशस्तरङ्गः ॥

the Bhandarkar Institute, all these four MSS. represent a version of the *Padyataraṅgiṇī* which was complete in *twelve taraṅgas.*

But in contrast to this longer version of the *Padyataraṅgiṇī* there is a shorter version in ten *tarangas* of the same found in two other MSS and what is more, in this version the work is completely preserved. When I prepared a list of MSS. in the Mīmāṁsā Vidyālaya, Poona, for the New Catalogus Catalogorum Office, Madras, I noticed that there was in this collection a *complete* MS. of the *Padyataraṅgiṇī* in ten *taraṅgas.* Similarly, the MS. in the Indian Institute, Oxford, contains the complete work in ten *taraṅgas* only.[1] This smaller number of chapters in the shorter version is not due to accidental omission. Introductory stanzas[2] 3 and 4 give the contents of the work as preserved in this version and it is clearly seen therefrom that the complete work contains ten *taraṅgas* only.

A comparison of these two versions, so far as is possible shows that the number twelve of the longer version is made up by adding two chapters to those in the other *viz.*, the *daivākhyāna* (7th *taraṅga*) or the inscrutable ways of Fate or Providence, and the *prakīrṇaka* (11th *taraṅga*) or miscellaneous matters. As regards the arrangement also of the ten chapters which are common to the two versions there is a difference, which will be clear from the following:

[1] I am very thankful to Mr. S. Burrow, the Keeper of the Indian Institute, Oxford for kindly supplying me with an extract of the description of the MS. as given in the Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prākrit MSS. in the Indian. Institute Library, Oxford, by A. Berriedale Keith, Oxford, 1903. In this Catalogue, the MS. of the *Padyataraṅgiṇī* bears the number 156.

[2] सज्जनानां प्रशंसात्र गुणिनां विदुषां तथा ।
मित्रप्रशंसा लक्ष्म्याश्च प्रशंसा चातुरेव च ॥ ३ ॥
उद्यमस्य प्रशंसात्र मूर्खाणां च निन्दनम् ।
नीतिरन्योक्तयश्चेति तरङ्गा दश कीर्तिताः ॥ ४ ॥

Shorter Version	*Longer Version*
1. सज्जनप्रशंसा	1. सज्जनप्रशंसा
2. गुणि ,,	2. गुणि ,,
3. विद्वत्कवि ,,	3. विद्वत् ,,
4. मित्र ,,	6. मित्र ,,
5. लक्ष्मी ,,	4. लक्ष्मी ,,
6. दातृ ,,	5. दातृ ,,
7. उद्यम ,,	8. उद्यम ,,
8. दुर्जननिन्दन	9. निन्दातरङ्गक
9. नीतिपरिच्छेद	10. नीति
10. [अन्योक्ति]	12. अन्योक्ति

Similarly the number and sequence of the stanzas in the tenth chapter of the shorter version which corresponds with the twelfth of the longer, are different. The shorter has 93 stanzas[1] only as against 102 of the longer; in the latter 16 stanzas in the former are omitted and 26 new ones added; and thus there remain only 76 stanzas common to both the versions, and even these 76 occur in different sequences.

In both the versions, the names of poets or works are not given and, as such, this anthology is not important from a historical point of view.

As, in a work like this which consists of stray verses taken from different sources and grouped together according to their subject matter, the tendency towards enlargement and amplification is more likely than not quite natural, it may be surmised that the shorter version represents the earlier and more genuine text-tradition.

[1] Though the number of stanzas in the 10th *taraṅga* is given as 92, it is wrong as the number 19 occurs twice.

Incidentally it may be stated that, according to the colophon of the commentary[1] which accompanies the twelfth chapter in the longer version and the sixth introductory stanza[2] of the Calcutta MS, Vrajanātha himself is the author of the commentary. In two of the MSS. in the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, there is a lengthy *praśasti* in 36 stanzas in praise of Mādhavasiṁha, the ruler of Jaipur, under whose patronage the author lived, and from the concluding portion of it,[3] it becomes clear that the date of the compilation of the *Padyataraṅgiṇī* is 1753 A.D.

[1] इति पद्यतरङ्गिण्यामन्योक्तिपद्यभावप्रकाशो व्रजनाथकृतः समाप्तः ।

[2] See note 5 above.

[3] पूरयन्नर्थिनामर्थान् विदुषः परिपालयन् ।
विद्विषः संहरन् सर्वांश्चिरं जीयात्स भूपतिः ॥ ३५ ॥

. . . . .

नन्दाभ्रवसुशीतांशु(१८०९)मितेऽब्दे मासि पौषके ।
एकादश्यां रविदिने ग्रन्थः संपूर्णतामगात् ॥

ṚGVEDIC RIVER-GODDESSES AND AN INDUS VALLEY SEAL

BY

DR. O. H DE A. WIJESEKERA

THE problem of the chronological relationship between the Aryan culture as preserved in the Ṛgveda and the civilization of the Indus Valley as brought to light mainly by the excavations at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā yet remains to be solved. But the consensus of opinion seems to favour the view that the Indus civilization preceded the advent of the Ṛgvedic Aryans at least by several centuries if not a millenium or more.[1] The following study, therefore, is not necessarily intended to be taken with any chronological implication, the writer's wish being only to direct the attention of scholars to an important aspect of the two religions, on which the available facts seem to point unmistakably to some connexion, whatever that might be chronologically. However, the data here presented may hint at the probable evolution of ideas in this prehistoric period and thereby help to throw some light on this chronological problem which is so very important for the history of religion in India.

[1] Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation*, Vol. I, pp. 111-112, V. Rangacharya, *Pre-Musalman India*, Vol. II, pp. 154-155; Lakshman Sarup, *Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference*, pp. 1-22, The Indus Valley in the Vedic Period by Ramprasad Chanda, *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, No. 31. (1926); K. N. Dikshit, *Pre-historic Civilisation of the Indus Valley* (*Sir William Meyer Lectures*) 1935, Madras; Proto-Indic Religion by S. Srikantha Sastri, *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 8 ff.; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 19; Mohenjo-daro and Aryans by E. J. Thomas, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, pp. 327 ff.

Among the archaeological discoveries of the Indus Valley area is an important seal unearthed by Dr. Mackay[1] at Mohenjo-daro about 1927 and reproduced by Sir John Marshall in his monumental work, *Mohenjo daro and the Indus Civilization*, in Plate XII, No. 18. It is also found in Dr. Mackay's own book, *The Indus Civilization*, in Plate M, No. 8. Both these authorities have discussed its importance for the understanding of the Indus Religion, but unfortunately there does not seem to be much agreement on most details relating to its interpretation. Sir John Marshall describes it thus: "One of the most interesting of these (*i.e.*, the seals) is that reproduced in Plate XII, Figure 18, in which the epiphany of the deity in the tree is portrayed in a half realistic, half conventional way. The tree itself at the right-hand top corner of the seal is represented by two branches only springing from a circle on the ground, and treated in a formal fashion. Between them appears the deity: a standing nude figure, with long hair, *triśūla* horns and armlets . . In front of the tree is a half-kneeling figure of a suppliant, also with long hair, armlets and horns, but with the addition of a leaf-spray or plume between the horns. Behind this suppliant is a composite animal .... In the field below is a line of seven small standing figures, with dresses reaching to the knees, with a long plait of hair falling down the back, and a plume on the head." (p. 64). Similarly Mackay refers to "the horned goddess in the midst of a *pipal* or sacred fig-tree, before which another horned deity is kneeling and doing obeisance. Both the goddess and her worshipper wear long plaits of hair, have their arms adorned with bangles, and, in the case of the latter and possibly of the former as well, there is a floral or leafy spray springing from the head between the horns ... A row of seven spirits or deities ... occupy the lower, register of the seal-amulet, each figure wearing a spring on the head, a long pig-tail behind, but no horns." (p. 73). A complete study of

[1] See Sir John Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 52, n. 5.

this seal in relation to Ṛgvedic myths and beliefs would demand more space than available here, and, therefore, the present discussion will be restricted to the identification of the female figures only, particularly the seven in the lower register, the other objects on the seal being referred to only by way of elucidation of the former.

As for the identification of *the female figures, the seven in the row, in particular*, there appears to be marked uncertainty among the scholars who have attempted to interpret the seal in question. Sir John Marshall remarks with some hesitation: "The seven figures in a line at the bottom I take to be female officiants or ministrants of the goddess" (p. 66) and adds later on: "The plumes on their head might be feathers; but it is more probable that they are small branches . . ." (ib.). Dr. Mackay, however, says. "The figures in the lower row of the *pipal*-tree seal-amulet are generally[1] seven in number, and as they wear similar head-dresses to the goddess above them, they must also be regarded as deities" (p. 75) To cite two more recent writers on the subject, V. C. C. Collum takes them as "human figures"[2] while S Srikantha Sastri thinks they are "perhaps the seven Mothers going in procession round the fertility god".[3] Thus, there is indeed little agreement among the critics either as to the real significance of the number *seven*, or as to the exact nature of the seven figures or the female figure just above them. It is hoped that the ensuing discussion, mainly based on the evidence culled from the Ṛgveda,[4]

[1] It is difficult to see why he uses the word "generally," for there is no other seal or tablet having *seven figures* cited either by him or Sir John Marshall. The nearest approach to the number *seven* is found in a rectangular seal (Sir. J. M., Plate CXVI, No. 1, CXVIII, No. 7), where, however, only *six* male or female figures occur, cp. Mackay, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. II, p. 393.

[2] *The Tressé Iron-Age Megalithic Monument*—Its Quadruple Sculptured Breasts and Their Relation to the Mother-Goddess Cosmic Cult, p. 109.

[3] *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXXII, p. 13.

[4] This evidence has been collected for a book on *Ancient Indian Vitalism* to be published shortly by the present writer.

may at least settle the problem of the seven figures if not the significance of the whole seal.

Considering that the basis of the cult depicted on the seal is undoubtedly the conception of *fertility* and *fecundity*[1], it is of paramount significance to observe that in the Ṛgveda there are several river-goddesses who appear quite frequently in contexts emphasizing the *fertility* aspect of the Ṛgvedic religion,[2] particularly in association with Sarasvatī who, as will be seen below, represents a distinct form of the Mother Goddess Sir John Marshall has himself stressed the importance of the fertility aspect of the river cult in the Indus religion,[3] and it would not be a mere matter of coincidence if the fertility idea is also prominent in the Ṛgvedic myth, for it is an established principle in mythology that like *milieu* must inevitably produce like myths and cults. This aspect of the Ṛgvedic religion, however, has not received the attention due to it, chiefly owing to the 'atmospheric' bias of earlier interpreters like Max Müller, and due also, perhaps, to the general belief held consciously or unconsciously that all Ṛgvedic myths must have an 'Indo-European' basis. It is only quite recently that the value of vegetation and other cults in the formation of Ṛgvedic myths has been appreciated by such writers as J. J. Meyer.[4]

It is their importance as sources of fertility and therefore as harbingers of prosperity for the dwellers on their banks that prompted the early Aryans to deify the waters and the rivers, just as probably it prompted the Indus-Valley

[1] Cp. Sir John Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. I. pp. 49, 64; Mackay, *op. cit.*, p. 73, Collum, *op cit.*, p. 105, S. Srikantha Sastri, *loc. cit*

[2] That Ṛgvedic religion is not wholly 'priestly religion' but contains a good deal of 'popular religion' as well has not been sufficiently emphasized by previous writers.

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. VII-VIII, 6, 75; cp. Mackay, p. 82, Dikshit, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[4] See his *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation* reviewed by Benoy Kumar Sarkar, IHQ, Vol. XIX, No. 4, (1943), pp. 373 ff,

people to do the same. Thus the (seven) rivers are said to increase the vital vigour (*vayas*) of the fertilizing and virile (*vṛṣabhasya śuṣmiṇaḥ*) god Indra, the bountiful (*maghavan*) lord over precious wealth (10. 43. 3): the rivers in kindness gave nurture to Purūravas so that he may destroy the Dasyus (10. 95. 7); the blessings that the seven rivers bring are called the "seven-mothered guerdon" (10. 107. 4). Hence the seven rivers come to be regarded as "the seven glories" (*śriyas*, 8. 28. 5) or "the seven jewels" (*ratnā*, 5. 1. 5; 6 74 1), or "the seven hands of fatness" (4. 58. 3, 4-7, 9), bringing rich food in seven portions (8. 61. 16). Even when the rivers or the river-goddesses are collectively spoken of as being more or less than seven, the idea of fertility is present just the same The rivers thrice-seven, that is the seven triply flowing from the three heavens or reservoirs, are described as the "sweet streams sprinkling down their treasure" (7. 101. 4) and are often described as the thrice-seven *milch-cows* implying their fecund nature (4. 1. 16; cp. 1. 72. 6: 7. 87. 4: 9. 70. 1, 86. 21: 10. 75. 1). Although in some of these contexts the reference is rather to the seven usual rivers multiplied three-fold according to the three spheres in which they flow, it must be observed that the Ṛgvedic Aryans also had the notion of twenty-one natural streams, for there is clear allusion to "the twenty-one close-pressed ridges (*sānu*) of mountains" (8. 85. 2) through which they flowed. In fact in a late hymn an obvious attempt is made to enumerate these twenty-one rivers (10. 75). Elsewhere they are spoken of as the "twenty-one wandering rivers" (10 64 8) just as reference is made to the "two much-wandering mothers or sisters" (10. 120. 7, 9). The two rivers Vipāś and Śutudrī are glorified in many verses in a hymn praising Indra who impels them to flow (3. 33). In another place the fertility is attributed to the "four rivers" made to flow pleasantly by Indra (1. 62. 6), and, doubtless, the same four are meant by "the exhaustless ones with a thousand currents, the kindred four descending with procreant power (*prajāvatī*) from the heavens, dripping

with fat and bringing *amṛta*" (9. 74 6) When generally the rivers are described as "the fair ones, wives of the Steer (*vṛṣṇaḥ patnīḥ*)", *viz.* Indra, who is the impregnator (*vṛṣan*) *par excellence*, the point stressed is again no doubt their fertility (5 42. 12). No wonder then that they are figuratively conceived as being pregnant (*citta-garbhāḥ*, 5 44. 5; cp. *ardha-garbhāḥ*, 1. 164. 36). It is thus as a result of this fertility connexion that the rivers come to be invoked along with other fertilizing and progeny-bestowing deities such as Pūsan, Viṣṇu and Earth (5. 46. 2; 8. 54. 4).

In view of the above facts it is not difficult to conceive how Sarasvatī regarded as the mightiest and the noblest among these rivers comes to be worshipped as the Mother Goddess presiding over good fortune and progeny. Although, as Keith[1] says, "it is perhaps doubtful whether the rivers can claim to be regarded as among the great gods of the Rig-veda", nevertheless, their importance in the minds of the Ṛgvedic Aryans was great enough to find them personalized and anthropomorphized beyond doubt, and, consequently, deified. The *divinity* of the waters and the rivers is mentioned in several places in the Ṛgveda (*āpaḥ devīḥ*, 10. 104. 8, 109. 1; *devīḥ. nadyas*, 7. 50. 4; 9. 9. 4, 6; 10. 17. 10). And this divinity is most marked in the case of Sarasvatī. To the Ṛgvedic mind Sarasvatī is by far the greatest of rivers[2] and this notion of her superiority to all other streams must be regarded more as due to an early veneration of water (*saras*) going back perhaps even to Indo-Iranian times (cp. Avestan *Haraquaiti*)[3] rather than to the importance of the Indian river so-called mentioned beside Sarayus and Sindhus (10. 64. 9) and beside Dṛṣadvatī (and Āpayā?) elsewhere in the Ṛgveda (3. 23. 4). This surmise is strengthened by the fact that in one place at least

[1] *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 172.

[2] Cp. Deshmukh, *Origin and Development of Religion in Vedic Literature*, p. 294.

[3] Cp. Gordon V. Childe, *The Aryans*, p 33; Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

Sarasvatī is styled *Sindhu* (7. 95. 1). Thus as a river-goddess she is more strongly anthropomorphized and deified than all other such goddesses, and it is expressly stated that she surpasses the latter by her divine might (*asurya*, 7. 95. 1). Hence she is addressed as the mightiest of rivers (*asuryā nadīnām*, 7. 96. 1) or the *most divine* of them (*devitame*, 2. 41. 16). She is especially called "the holy Sarasvatī", (*yajatā Sarasvatī*, 5. 43. 11), being described elsewhere as being gracious by virtue of her holy thoughts (7. 35. 11). Naturally, therefore, she is invoked as the foremost among the "Watery Queens ruling over wealth" (*āpo revatīḥ kṣayatha*) to prolong vitality (*vayas*) for the singer (10. 30. 12). Such gods of prosperity as Indra and Agni are said to be her associates (8. 38. 10) and her wealth-bestowing nature is compared to that of Pūṣan (6. 61. 6). Her male counterpart is Sarasvān, who bestows wives for the unmarried and sons for the deserving, the kind protector with waves laden with the good things of life and granting food and progeny (7. 96. 4-6).[1] Her own procreant or progeny-granting function is clear from her being invoked in conjunction with Sinīvālī the prolific Mother whose main blessing to mankind is the granting of progeny (2. 32. 6-7); in fact, the two goddesses are almost identical in that particular function (2. 32. 8, 41. 17; 3. 54. 13; 6. 61. 1; 10. 184. 2). It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Sarasvatī like other fertility goddesses of the Ṛgveda is several times called the "Mother" (*mātar*, 2. 14. 16; 7. 36. 6; 10. 64. 9), an appellation that certainly helps to identify her with the primitive Mother Goddess or the Universal Mother common to most cultures.[2] In view of the importance of the characteristic breast-symbolism[3] in the delineation of this Mother Goddess, it is of particular moment to remark the unmistakable emphasis made in the Ṛgveda on the "exhaustless breast (*stanaḥ śaśayaḥ*) of thine (Sarasvatī's),

[1] Keith. *op. cit.*, pp. 173, 174.
[2] Cp. Cullum, *op. cit.*, pp. 63 *et seq.*
[3] Collum, *op. cit.*, esp. p. 110.

spring of pleasure, wherewith thou feedest all things choicest (*yena viśvā puṣyasi vāryāṇi*), bestowing wealth and treasure-finding" (1. 164. 49). It is significant, further, that similar reference is made to the "swelling breast (*pipīvāṁsaṁ stanam*) of Sarasvān, which is all-beautiful" (7. 96 6)—a fact which establishes beyond doubt the androgynous nature of the "Sarasvat (ī)" concept, and thereby adds further support to the identity of Sarasvatī with the Supernal Mother of most cultures.[1] That the idea of 'breast' here refers to the broad mountain ranges whence the river-beds start is seen from other contexts in the Ṛgveda where clear allusion is made to the "*vakṣaṇā* of the mountains" (1. 32. 1; 3. 33 12) It is with this same natural basis that the Ṛgvedic concept of the Mother Goddess Sarasvatī develops into the particular form that it assumes in connexion with the Seven River-Goddesses, *viz.* her special aspect of being "seven-sistered" (*saptasvasṛ*) which implies that the Seven are also "Mothers".[2]

However, although the application of the compound *sapta-svasṛ* (6. 61. 10) may imply that Sarasvatī is distinct from the Seven Sisters, it is still as *one of the seven* that she was perhaps earlier conceived, for in one place at least she is definitely called the "seventh (*saptathī*), the Mother of Floods (*sindhu-mātā*), swelling and flowing with copious milk" (7. 36. 6). Thus the more primitive and popular conception seems to have been the notion of seven deified Rivers from amongst whom Sarasvatī being the most important was gradually abstracted and elevated to the highest rôle (3. 4. 8; 8. 54. 4; 10. 30. 12, 64. 9). It is also to be remarked that when Sarasvatī is mentioned as separate from and above the Seven, the term might rather refer not to the so-called river of the Punjab valley but to the more primitive deity of waters and floods as clear from the Avestan parallel cited above, the counterpart of 'Sarasvān' which too was applied not only to

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 77, 105 etc.

[2] The epithet *saptasvasṛ* is applied to Sarasvatī at 6. 61. 10-12, just as it qualifies Varuṇa at 8. 41. 2.

the Mountain as the source of rivers but also to the Sun floating in the waters of the atmosphere (1. 164. 52; 10. 66. 5). Whatever the relation between Sarasvatī and the Seven River-Goddesses might have been earlier, there is no doubt that the latter were also regarded as aspects of the Divine Mother. Thus they are specifically called "the seven Mothers, Goddesses" (*mātaraḥ . . devīḥ*, 10. 17. 10; cp. 9. 86. 36; 8. 85. 1; 1. 34. 8, 141. 2). It is with this same 'maternal' notion in mind that the seven are designated the "seven milch-kine" (*dhēnavaḥ*, 1. 164. 3; 5. 43. 1; 9. 86. 25; cp. 10. 32. 4)—an application that is clarified by the metaphor which makes Indra drive the cows out of the cave or the pen (2. 12. 3; cp. 4. 28. 1; 10. 40. 8; 10. 67. 12). In a collective sense, in relation to Sarasvatī as shown above, their *sisterhood* becomes regularly emphasized and they are consequently called "the seven sisters" (*saptasvasāraḥ*, 1. 191, 14; 8. 59. 4; 10. 5. 5; *sapta jāmayaḥ*, 9. 66. 8). In the same breath the *seven sisters* are called "the Mothers" (9. 86. 36), and the epithet "red" (*aruṣīḥ*) is applied to them reminding one of the red colour associated with Rudra, Agni etc. These seven are also called the "seven damsels" (*priyāsaḥ*, 4. 1. 12; cp. 1. 50. 9) probably also "the seven daughters" (1. 50. 9), an idea which clearly points to the Virgin aspect of the Mother Goddess[1]. Reference has been made previously to the other epithets such as the "seven *ratnas*", "seven *śriyas*" etc. It may be mentioned that these same Seven are meant in the Ṛgveda by such expressions as "the seven swift ones" (*visruhas*, 5. 44. 3; 6. 7. 6) or "the seven mighty ones" (5. 43. 1), the "seven wives of the steer" (1, 42. 12), the "seven sisters of Varuṇa" (8. 41, 2, 9; 59. 12), and the "seven murmuring voices" (*vāṇīs*, 3. 1. 6; 7. 1; cp. 3. 4. 5, 7. 7, 31. 5; 4. 42. 8; 6. 22. 2, etc.). Their identity with the Mother Goddess is finally settled by the significant appellation "the seven mother streams (*sindhavaḥ sapta mātaraḥ*, 1. 34. 8).

[1] See Collum, *op. cit.*, pp. 105 *et. seq.*, on the *Bride*-aspect of the Mother-Goddess.

Apropos of this identification, it is of great significance to observe that an early adumbration of the idea of propitiating the "seven mothers" in times of endemic disease—a custom prevalent up to the present day in countries like Ceylon—is already found in the Ṛgveda where "the rivers, the gracious goddesses swelling with water" are implored "never to cause the S'ipada and the S'imidā" (7. 50. 4).

In view of the above facts it would be reasonable to assume that the seven figures in the lower register of the Mohenjo-daro seal are symbolic representations of the seven deified Rivers of the Indus Valley. That the Indus civilization which had its main centres at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā was diffused all throughout the area of the Punjab is generally admitted.[1] It is therefore legitimate to hold the view that the Indus people could have had the same cult of the Seven Rivers, symbolized as Mothers or Sisters, or even Cows and Virgins, as evidenced in the Ṛgveda. That the frequently mentioned seven rivers (*sapta sindhu*) of the Ṛgveda 'applies at least in the majority of contexts to the five rivers of the Punjab and two others, whether tributaries[2] or mother-streams[3] of the same, need not be doubted even if the notion of seven rivers could be traced back to Indo-Iranian or even Indo-European times.[4] It would seem idle, in view of the evidence herein adduced, to attribute the use of 'seven' in the case of these rivers to a mere "Vedic predilection for the number seven" as Keith has done[5]; in fact, in most places their geographical basis is made quite

[1] Sir John Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Chaps. I and VII.

[2] See Griffith, *Hymns of the Rigveda*, Vol. I, p. 44 and p. 562 n.; Rangacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

[3] Sir John Marshall thinks "that there were two large rivers instead of one, flowing in parallel courses to the sea, and that these two rivers divided between themselves the vast volume of water from the five rivers of the Punjab . . . ", *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 6.

[4] See Gordon V. Childe, *The Aryans*, p. 33; Deshmukh, *op. cit.*, pp. 295, 296; K. Chattopadhyaya, *Proc. and Transactions of the Sixth Oriental Conference*, Patna (1930), "The Cradle of the Indra-Vṛtra Myth"; Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 174.

clear as when reference is made to the seven settlements (*saṃsadaḥ*, 8. 81 20) or the seven regions (*diśaḥ*, 9. 114. 3, *dhāma-*, 1. 22. 16; 4. 7. 5; 9. 102. 2) or the seven places (*pada-*, 8. 61. 16; 10. 8. 4), implying the seven areas in the Punjab Valley peopled by the Aryans.

A closer examination of the details of the seven figures on the seal in the light of the Ṛgveda adds further strength to this identification. As both Sir John Marshall and Dr. Mackay point out in the above quotations, the seven figures on the seal are characterized by "long plaits" or "pig-tails." It is therefore interesting to find that the fertility goddesses of the Ṛgveda too are generally marked out by their long and broad tresses. Thus Sinīvālī,[1] associated, and identified at least in function, as shown above, with Sarasvatī, is definitely called "broad-tressed" (*pṛthu-ṣṭukā*, 2. 32. 6). Indrāṇī is also similarly described (*pṛthu-ṣṭu*, 10. 86. 8), who as *śūra-patnī* is a goddess closely approximating to Sarasvatī at least in one important respect, *viz.* in her connexion with Indra (as the latter's consort) who is the ultimate agent for the flow of the seven rivers (1. 32. 12, 55. 2; 2. 12. 3, 12; 4. 19. 3, 55. 6; 10. 43. 3). Another point of identification is found in the fact that Sarasvatī is also found in the company of Maruts[2], the help-mates of Indra (2. 30. 8; 7. 96. 2), just as Indrāṇī (10. 86. 9). Even Rodasī, usually the consort of Rudra and the spouse or mother of the Maruts (5. 56. 8; cp. 1. 101. 7; 5. 61. 4), is similarly said to follow the Maruts with her "loose tresses" (1. 167. 5), and it is to be noted that Rodasī, in Ludwig's opinion, is the goddess presiding over child-birth[3]. The *fecundity* aspect of the "long tresses" is clearly implied

[1] The word itself is probably made up of *sina*-(prosperity) and *vāli* (hairy train, cp. *vāra*), thus meaning "she who has luxuriant or prosperity-giving tresses". The second part may also mean "creeper" and metaphorically apply even to a "long winding stream."

[2] Rudra as the father of the Maruts is also marked by his braided hair (1. 114. 5); Pūṣan with braided hair (6. 55. 2, 9. 67. 11).

[3] See my article on "Vedic Gandharva etc." in the *Ceylon University Review*, Vol. III. No. 1 (1945); cp. J. J. Meyer, *op. cit.*, reviewed by Sarkar, IHQ., Vol. XIX. No. 4. p. 373 etc.

when the windy gushing out of Soma juice from the press is compared to "locks of hair unbraided" (9. 97 17), for it is well known that the *Soma-rasa* was figuratively associated with *retas* from Ṛgvedic times.[1] It is thus that the seven streams as sources of fecundity come to be connected with Soma (9. 54. 2, 66. 6, 92. 4; 10. 25. 11, 97. 22). In one particular context (1. 164. 36) they are called, as aspects of Soma who is *retas*, "the seven latent embryos (*arda-garbhāḥ*)".

Another *fecundity* emblem found in the female figures on the seal is the "plume" or "sprig" issuing from their heads This sign is no doubt related to the tree-worship found in both cultures. The idea that the divine noumenon had its abode in the leaves and twigs of sacred trees is as old as Indo-Iranian times if not, indeed, Indo-European[2] and the association of the *pipal* tree with the Mother Goddess in India is too well known to need comment here. Thus in the Ṛgveda the vegetation deities, addressed as "Plants" and called the "mothers, the goddesses"—which doubtless identifies them with the River-Goddesses—*oṣadhīr iti mātaraḥ* . . . *devīḥ*), are said to have the holy pipal (*aśvattha*) as their home and its foliage (*parṇa*)[3] as their abode (10. 97. 4, 5). Futhermore it is a characteristic mark of the vitalistic philosophy of the Ṛgveda that the notion of biological *growth* in general is figuratively or symbolically represented as the *issuing of twigs and branches* (1. 59. 1; 2. 5. 4, 35. 8; 6. 13. 1, 24. 3; 8. 13. 17). It is of great importance, then, for the subject under discussion to find the Ṛgveda expressly stating that "the seven swift-flowing streams (*visruhaḥ*) have grown (*ruruhuḥ*) like sprigs (*vayā iva*)[4] from the head

[1] See J. Wackernagel, cited by Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, p. 422.

[2] See Dikshit, *op. cit.*, p. 33; N. M. Chaudri, IHQ., XIX, 4, p. 318: Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, QJMS., XXIX, p. 126.

[3] It is to be remarked that 'parṇa' in the Ṛgveda never means 'palāśa,' *Butea Frondosa*, as Griffith takes it in this context, *op. cit.*, Vol. II. p. 533; cp. Ṛgveda, 10. 43. 4; 10. 68. 10.

[4] "*Vayā*" is "that which bifurcates", being developed from *dvaya* as pointed out by Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, s. v. *vayā*;

of Agni Vaiśvānara . . . " (6.7.6). It is noteworthy that Agni too, like Indra, is generally regarded in the Ṛgveda as an ultimate agent for the flow of rivers (3. 6. 2; cp. I. 58. 7, 71.7; 3.1.4, 4.7; 5.1.5; 7.19.24; 8.61.16, esp. 5.44.5). These considerations would suffice to show how close the Ṛgvedic popular religion consisting of *vegetation* and similar cults approaches the religious conceptions of the Indus Valley.

In conclusion it may be remarked that the whole seal thus appears to indicate a synthetic picture of procreation, vegetation and fertility cults. In the light of the above identification of the seven figures in the lower register with the Seven River-Goddesses or Mothers of the Ṛgveda, it may seem only natural to find in the half-kneeling female figure just above the seven the representation of Sarasvatī, the Chief of the River-Goddesses, as has been demonstrated in the course of this essay. In this case, the figure between the branches of the *pipal* tree in the right extreme of the seal must be the *procreant* and *virile* deity (*vṛṣan*, *vṛṣabha*, *śuṣmin* etc.) of the Ṛgveda, whose manifold aspects are depicted in the characters of Indra, Varuṇa, Agni, Soma, Pūṣan, Rudra, Parvata and such other gods. For a close examination of the religion of the Ṛgveda reveals the fact that all these deities are gods connected with the phenomena of *fertility* and *fecundity*[1] through their *active fertilising* nature, the ideas of *passive fertility* being symbolized in the myths of Sarasvatī, Sinīvalī, Iḷā, Bhāratī, Kuhū, Gungū, etc., and such collective female conceptions as the River-Goddesses and the Herbal (*oṣadhī*) Deities. The twig or the sprig would naturally be the fittest emblem for them, while the *horns* would indicate male deities. Therefore, it is significant that the head-ornament of the kneeling figure is certainly not a three-forked horn, as implied in the

this is extremely important as showing the basic conception behind both "horns" and "twigs" as emblems of divinity.

[1] See J. J. Meyer, *op. cit.*, reviewed by Sarkar, IHQ., XIX, 4., pp. 373 *et seq.*

citations from Sir John Marshall and others, but a three-clustered twig or bough as a careful examination of the seal reveals. It would indeed be natural to expect that Sarasvati should have a sprig more prominent and luxuriant than her Sisters, the Seven River-Goddesses, who stand behind her in the adoration of the Male Procreant Deity on the *pipal*, whose main emblem of the three-forked horn stands for his virile energy, and whose procreant nature is undoubtedly reflected in his *vāhana*, the composite animal, half-bull, half-goat, that stands behind the suppliant figure of Sarasvati.

भारतीयमहिलानां परिस्थितिः

श्रीमती क्षमाबाई

क्रिस्तशकात्पूर्वं सार्धैकसहस्रवर्षात्मककालो भारतीयाङ्गनानां स्वातन्त्र्यमदः प्रशस्यजीवनपोषकश्च बभूव। तदा हि नियमनिर्बन्धेषु सत्स्वपि स्त्रीस्वातन्त्र्य-विघातुकं न किञ्चिदासीदिति विज्ञायते। वेदोपनिषदः किल भारतीयानामादर्श-साहित्यम्। तत्कालिकसमाजव्यवस्थायां महिलानां जीवनविकासाय महानवकाशो दृश्यते स्म। धर्मसमाजशिक्षणाद्यनेककार्यरङ्गेषु पुरः संचरितुमासां सौकर्याणि पर्याप्तानि बभूवुः। कठिनसंप्रदायानामातङ्काभावाद् गृहेषु जनेष्वपि मान-स्थानमन्वभूवन् योषितः। तदानीमभ्युदयार्थिनामार्याणां जीवनं संग्रामप्रधानमा-सीत्। अत एव बलपौरुषपराक्रमास्तेषां लक्ष्याणि बभूवुः। तस्मान्निरन्तरमेते वीरसन्तानं पुरुषप्रजां च सर्वोपर्यभ्यलषन्त। तथाहि ऋग्वेदे—बृहद् वदेम विदथे सुवीराः। तथा च "बृहस्पते सुप्रजा वीरवन्तो वयं स्याम पतयो रयीणाम्।" इत्यादि मन्त्रेषु तादृशी स्पृहा व्यक्तीभवति। प्रमदाः सार्वजनिकं भाषणं वितेनुः। बाला बालिकाश्च सहशिक्षणं लेभिरे। प्रेमविवाहाश्च बभूवुः। कुमारी स्वजीवनस्य सहचरं स्वयमेव वव्रे। सर्वत्र प्रौढाविवाहः प्रचरितोऽभूत्। तत्का-लिका बालिकाः नृत्यगीतादिकलाः परमासक्तिभाजः परिशीलयन्ति स्म। सर्वापि शिक्षा गीर्वाणवाण्यां प्रतिपाद्यन्ते स्म। सुशिक्षितस्त्रीणां संख्या महती बभूव। बालका इव बालिकाश्चाप्युपनयनसंस्कारं प्राप्य विधिपूर्वकं वेदाध्ययनं चक्रुः। अनेकविद्यानां व्यासङ्गमाकलय्य तत्र पारङ्गता भवन्ति स्म। इत्थं प्रशस्तिमासाः काश्चिदाचार्याः उपाध्याया इति गौरवभाजनानि बभूवुः। अन्याश्च वेदान्त-तत्त्वज्ञानादिगहनविषयान् परिशोधयन्त्यो यावज्जीवमविवाहितास्तस्थुः। ईदृशीनां ब्रह्मवादिन्य इति नामधेयमासीत्। इतराश्च कतिपय्यो वेदमन्त्रान् विरचय्य पुरुषैः समाना मन्त्रद्रष्ट्र्य इति गौरवमापुः। इत्थं प्राकाश्यमागतासु कतिपयासु

घोषा विश्ववारा गोधा अपाळा रोमशा लोपामुद्राशाश्वतीत्यादयः प्रमुखाः। तद्वदेव सुलभा वडवा प्राथितेयी मैत्रेयी गार्गी काशकृत्स्नी इत्येता ब्रह्मवादिन्य इति प्रसिद्धा भवन्ति। सुलभा किल महातत्त्वदर्शिना जनकेन सह अमोघं वाक्समरं कृतवती। मैत्रेयी सामान्यतः स्त्रीमनस्संमोहनाना सुन्दरवस्त्राभरणानामभिलाषं विहायामृतत्वस्यामृताय, स्पृहयमाणा महायोगिनी बभूव। विचक्षणा गार्गी गहनतत्वविचारान्तराळे सूक्ष्मसूक्ष्मा प्रश्नमालिका ग्रथयित्वा ज्ञानचक्रवर्तिनं याज्ञवल्क्यमपि निरुत्तरीचकार। काशकृत्स्नी पूर्वमीमांसामधिकृत्य कठिनप्रमेयप्रतिपादकं ग्रन्थं विरचय्य ख्यातिमती बभूव विदुषीमणिः। अयं ग्रन्थस्तन्नाम्नैव काशकृत्स्नीति प्रसिद्धिमागतः। अयं ग्रन्थः स्त्रीभिः प्राचुर्येण पठ्यते स्म। ताः किल काशकृत्स्ना इति नामाङ्किता बभूवुः। एतादृशीनां महानुभाववनितानां स्मृतिमद्यापि ब्राह्मणः प्रत्यहमनुष्ठेयब्रह्मयज्ञतर्पणे जपन् पालयतीति समुचितमेव।

अथ जाया पत्युरर्धाङ्गमिति नेदं केवलं प्रशंसावचनमासीत। अपि तु प्रतिव्यवहारमनुभवपदमागच्छन् आचारनियमो बभूव। अर्धो ह वा एष आत्मनो यज्जाया इति शतपथब्राह्मणं प्रमाणम्। तत्कालिकानामार्याणां प्रधानधर्मकार्ये यज्ञविधाने पत्न्याः सान्निध्यं महत्वयुक्तमासीत्। वेदमन्त्रान् पठन्ती प्रत्यक्षसन्निहितां जायां विना न कोऽपि यज्ञः पूर्तिमगात्। अविवाहितस्य यज्ञाधिकार एव नासीत्। पत्नी पत्युरसन्निधौ सायं प्रातः अग्नौ स्वयमाहुतिमर्पयामास। स्त्रियः पुरुषसाहचर्यमनपेक्ष्य धान्यसंग्रहकाले सीतायज्ञमाचरन्ति स्म। सीतेति पदस्य लाङ्गलपद्धतिरिति पर्यायः। स्त्रियः स्वयमेव बहूनि वैदिकान्यपि कर्माण्यन्वतिष्ठन्।

अतिथिसत्कारो नाम बालिकानां प्रधानकर्तव्येष्वेकमासीत्। पितुः रिक्थे पुत्रस्येव दुहितुरपि समानाधिकारोऽभूत्। विवाहितकन्या इव जन्मब्रह्मचारिण्यः कुमार्यः पितुः स्वे भागहारिण्यो बभूवुः। उच्चवर्णेषु ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्येषु मिश्रविवाहाः प्रचलन्ति स्म। अनार्यया शूद्रजातीयया कन्यया यद्यपि विवाहो न निषिद्धः तथापि तादृशाः संबद्धा अतीव विरला आसन्। कन्याविवाहानां प्रौढे वयसि प्रवर्तनाद् विधवानां संख्या स्वल्पीयसी बभूव। नियोगपद्धत्या विधवानां सन्तानलाभः शास्त्रसंमत एवासीत्। अयं प्राचीनकालः स्वातन्त्र्ययुगमिति व्यपदेशमर्हति।

अथ क्रिस्तशकात्पूर्वं पञ्चमशताब्दीमारभ्य शकारम्भादनन्तरं नवशताब्दीपर्यन्तं मध्यमकालः। तस्मिन्नार्याः शान्तकलहाः स्थायिजनाङ्गस्य स्वास्थ्यमनुभवन्ति स्म। अत एव तत्समाजघटनायां बहूनि परिवर्तनानि प्रादुरभूवन्। अत्रान्तरे हि तेषामितरजनसङ्घैर्विविधपरिचयं प्राप्तानां व्यवहारभूमिका विस्तारमधिकमापेदे। इतरजनाङ्गैः सह तत्र तत्र रक्तसंबन्धकरणात् सामाजिकी परिस्थितिर्जटिलीभूय जननायकाना पुरस्तान्नवनवाः कतिचित्समस्या उपास्थापयत्। धर्मविद्याव्यवहाराणां व्यापकक्षेत्रेषु नानाविधाः संप्रदायाः समुद्भूय प्रबलीभवन्ति स्म। तान् कचित्कचित्प्रतिरोद्धुं कतिपयं नियमनिर्बन्धाः कल्पिता बभूवुः।

बालिकानामुपनीतानामध्ययनसौकर्यपरिकल्पः संप्रदायः कतिपयशताब्दीपर्यन्तं प्रचरितोऽभूत्। अनेनानेकाः स्त्रियो नियमितं शिक्षणं प्राप्य पारङ्गता भवन्ति स्म। कन्यकानां कृते स्वतन्त्रशालानामभावाद् बालकवत्स्वगृहं विहाय गुरुगृहे निवासस्यास्पृहणीयत्वाच्च उच्चशिक्षणसौलभ्यानि सर्वासामपि न पर्याप्तान्यासन्। ताः प्रायेण पितुः सन्निधौ भ्रातॄणां पार्श्वे वा निवसन्त्यः शिक्षणं प्रापुः। उच्चवर्गस्य कन्यानामधिकसौकर्यस्य विद्यमानत्वात् तासां काश्चिदुच्चशिक्षणं लभन्ते स्म। तत्वज्ञानादिगहनशास्त्रेऽपि गतिमत्य आत्मसाधने निरताश्च महिला अस्मिन् कालेऽपि दृश्यन्ते। नूतनविचारमार्गानङ्गीकृत्य जैनबौद्धादिमतानि पुरस्कुर्वाणाः स्त्रियोऽपि दृश्यन्ते।

उच्चवर्गीया गृहिण्यः प्रायेण विद्यावत्यो नैत्यकान् वैदिकस्मार्ताचारधर्माननवतिष्ठन्। अत्र रामायणभारतादिग्रन्थेषु बहूनि निदर्शनानि विद्यन्ते। तथा हि श्रीरामो वनवासाय गमिष्यन् यदा जनन्याः पार्श्वे गतस्तदा कौसल्या मन्त्रपूर्वकमग्निं जुहोति स्मेति तदुक्तं—

"सा क्षौमवसना हृष्टा नित्यं व्रतपरायणा।
अग्निं जुहोति स्म तदा मन्त्रवत्कृतमङ्गला॥ इति॥

अपि च वालिनः पत्नी तारा मन्त्रज्ञानसंपन्ना बभूव। किं च लङ्कायां सीतामन्विष्यान्विष्य नैराश्यं गतो मारुतिः पर्यन्ते नूनमेषा सायंसन्ध्यामुपासितुं स्रोतस्विनीमायास्यत्येवेति समालोच्य समाधानं प्रपेदे। अस्मिन् काले जैनमतं बौद्धमतं च प्रभावशालिनी भूत्वा सर्वत्र व्यापके बभूवतुः। तद्द्वारा भारतीय-

स्त्रीजीवने कतिचित् परिणामा व्यक्तीबभूवुः। बह्वयो महिला जैनमतमवलम्ब्य श्रद्धया तदाचेरुः। अनेका विद्यावत्यो जैनशास्त्राणि सादरमभ्यस्य जैनतत्वानि प्रसारयामासुः। स्त्रीणां बौद्धसङ्घप्रवेशस्य निषेधाभावात्क्षत्रियवैश्यवर्गमहिलासु धर्मविद्याविषयकाश्चटुलप्रवृत्तयः प्रत्यक्षीबभूवुः। आजन्मब्रह्मचारिण्यस्तत्त्वचिन्तनायामेव कालं यापयन्त्यः काश्चिदङ्गनाः, पुरस्सर्यो बभूवुः। थैरीगाथाख्यो बौद्धधर्मग्रन्थ ईदृशीनां कृतिर्वर्तते। वदन्ति हि पञ्चाशदङ्गना मिलित्वा तं ग्रन्थं रचयामासुः। तासां द्वात्रिंशदविवाहिता अष्टादश विवाहिताश्च बभूवुरिति।

जैनबौद्धमताभ्यां स्त्रीजीवने यथा सुपरिणामः संवृत्तस्तथा समाजस्य मनोवृत्तौ दुष्परिणाम एव प्रादुरासीत्। एते मते तत्रापि विशेषतो बौद्धमतं स्त्रीस्वातन्त्र्यपक्षमवालम्बेताम्। किंतु प्रपञ्चतिरस्कारस्यैव तयोः प्रधानदर्शनाद्वैराग्यपक्षमाश्रितयोः स्त्रीषु हेयता स्थिरो बभूव। स्त्री नाम कण्टकं तथा व्यथा माया मृत्युर्नरका संभवति जैनोपदेशका वर्णयामासुः। स्वतो गौतमबुद्धस्यापि स्त्रीणां विषये सद्भावना नोल्ललास। स्त्री खलु वञ्चिका नेत्रमुन्नम्य तां न पश्यतेत्यसौ घोषयति स्म। पर्यन्ते स्त्री नामाध्यात्ममार्गे प्रबलान्तरायस्तस्याः परित्यागं विना नैव सुखप्राप्तिरित्यादिवचनैः स्त्रीनिराकरणपूर्वकं संन्यासग्रहणे प्रवृत्ती रूढमूला समजनि।

जैनबौद्धादीनामवैदिकदर्शनैर्वैदिकधर्मस्य भूयांसः आघाताः संबभूवुः। तेषां प्रतिभटीभूय वैदिकसंस्कृतिं संरक्षितुमार्यविद्वांसः कतिचिदुपायानङ्गीचक्रुः। वैदिकसंस्कृते मुख्याङ्गभूतयोर्यज्ञसंस्थावर्णव्यवस्थयोः स्वरूपं शुद्धं पवित्रं च स्थापयितुं प्रयत्नः कृतः। तदर्थं धर्मसूत्राणि स्मृतिग्रन्थाश्च निर्मिताः। धार्मिकसामाजिकव्यवहारान् नियन्तुं विधिविधानानि, परिकल्पितान्यासन्। यद्यप्येतानि प्रायेणोच्चवर्गयोः संबद्धानि तथापि कालक्रमेण निखिलभारतस्योपरि स्वप्रभावं दर्शयामासुः। अस्मिन् काले न केवलमार्याणां त्रिष्वपि प्रधानवर्गेषु ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्येषु अन्योन्यविवाहसंबन्धः स्वेच्छया प्रावर्तिष्ट किंतु हीनजातीयैः शूद्रैर्दासवर्गैश्च रक्तसंबन्धः प्ररूढ आसीत्। अनेन वैदिकसंस्कृतेर्विसूरस्यास्य हीनवर्गस्य स्त्रीणामार्यकुटुम्बे प्रवेशात वेदपरम्परा बाधया अस्पृश्यता, संस्कारहीनाभिरीदृशगृहिणीभिर्मन्त्रपठनयज्ञविधानसदृशानि सूक्ष्मकार्याण्यनुष्ठातुं न शक्यमासीत्। तस्माद्वैदिककर्मणां लोपः प्रवृत्तः। स्त्रीणामुपनयनसंस्कारं निषिध्य तासां वेदाधिकार-

यज्ञाधिकारयोरपहरणाय केऽप्युपायाः शास्त्रकाराणां हृदयेषु समङ्कुरिता बभूवुः। ततः किंचित्कालपर्यन्तमयं संस्कारसंप्रदायः क्षीणः क्षीणो भवितुमारब्धः। ततः क्रिस्तशकात् तृतीयशताब्द्याः पूर्वमेवायमाचारोऽत्यन्तमेव प्रनष्टोऽभूत्। अयमुपनयनस्य लोपो बहूनामनर्थानां हेतुः समजनि। यतस्तत्कालिकशिक्षणस्य भूयसा वेदाध्ययनमवलम्ब्य स्थितत्वात वेदाध्ययनस्य विरामेण शिक्षणस्य सौष्ठवमेव प्रनष्टमासीत्। अनेन, स्त्रियो विद्याविहीना बभूवुः। तासां स्थानमानादिकमवसादं प्राप। कालक्रमेण महिलाः शूद्रपङ्क्तौ प्रवेशिताः। तदुक्तं महाभारते—

> स्त्रीशूद्रद्विजबन्धूनां त्रयी न श्रुतिगोचरा।
> इति भारतमाख्यानं कृपया मुनिना कृतम्॥

इति। स्त्रीणां शिक्षणाय पर्याप्तोऽवकाशो लभ्यो भवत्विति मुख्योद्देशेन तद्विवाहयोग्यं वयः सुदीर्घीक्रियते स्म। वेदाध्ययननिषेधानन्तरं वृथा बालिकानां विवाहे विलम्ब इत्यालोचना समजनि। अनेन विवाहस्य वयोमानमल्पीकृतम्। क्रिस्तशकात् पूर्वं चतुःशताब्दीनामन्तराले शास्त्रकारा रजोदर्शनाद्वर्षत्रयेणैव विवाहनीया कन्येति धर्मशास्त्रं रचयामासुः। तदनन्तरं त्रिशताब्द्यनन्तरमेव प्रथमार्तवात् त्रिभिरेव मासैः सा विवाहनीयेति नियमो रूढिमगात्। कालक्रमेण कन्याविवाहास्तदार्तवात्पूर्वमेव कर्तव्या इति स्मृतिरुत्थिता। बाल्यविवाहस्य धार्मिकता मान्यता च स्थैर्यमापतुः। स्त्रीणां विवाह इत्येक एव संस्कारो विधेयो न च स्त्रीणां मन्त्रपूर्वकं संस्कारोऽस्तीति मनुमहर्षिरुद्घुष्टवान्। तथा हि—नास्ति स्त्रीणां क्रिया मन्त्रैरिति धर्मे व्यवस्थितिः इति। किं च प्रौढकुमार्यो बुद्धसङ्घान् प्रविशेयुरिति शङ्कया बाल्यविवाहस्य रूढिः प्रचुराभूत्।

उपरि प्रपञ्चिता विवेचना वैदिकजनाङ्गस्य नियामकत्वेनार्यवर्णानां मूर्धन्यत्वेन च प्रसिद्धिं गतानां ब्राह्मणानां समाजविषयिणी भवति। अत एव चिराय इतरवर्गेषु प्रौढविवाहा एव प्रवर्तन्ते स्म। नृपाणां क्षत्रियाणां च कुमार्यः विवाहकाले, प्रौढवयस्का एव बभूवुः। अत्र संस्कृतसाहित्येऽनेकनायिकानामुदाहरणानि साक्षीभूतानि सन्ति। उच्चजातीयक्षत्रियेषु प्रचरितः प्रीतिविवाहः पश्चात स्वयंवरपद्धतिरूपेण प्ररूढोऽभूत्। स प्रीतिविवाहो गान्धर्वविवाह इति स्मृतिकारैरष्टविवाहानां मध्ये गणितोऽभूत्। गान्धर्वविधिश्चतुर्णामपि वर्णानां प्रशस्त

आसीदित्यनेन प्रेमविवाहस्तत्त्वतः शास्त्रकाराणां संमत आसीदित्यनुमीयते। अस्मिन् काले स्त्रीविद्यावनतिहेतूनां बहूनां संभवेऽपि संपन्नत्वेन गणितकुलानां कन्याः स्वातन्त्र्येण स्वस्वगृहेष्वेव शिक्षणसौलभ्यं प्राप्य काव्यसाहित्यादिलौकिकविद्यासु परिणता बभूवुः। तत्कालिकस्त्रिय उच्चवर्गस्थाः विद्यावत्यो बभूवुरित्येतद् वात्स्यायनस्य कामसूत्राद् व्यक्तीभवति। तदुक्तप्रकारेण नृपाणां मन्त्रिणां च स्त्रियः वेश्याश्च विविधशास्त्रेषु विचक्षणा आसन्। संस्कृतप्राकृतयोः काव्यशक्तिं प्रकटितवतीनामनेककवयित्रीणामुदयश्चास्मिन् काले बभूव। तासां मूर्धन्या विजयाङ्का नाम विदुषीमणिः। मण्डनमिश्राणां पत्नी उभयभारती नाम साहित्यमीमांसावेदान्तप्रभृतिविद्यासु निःसीमपाण्डित्यवती बभूव। राजशेखरकवेः क्षत्रियपत्नी कविरासीत्। काश्चन स्त्रियो वैद्यकज्योतिषशास्त्रेषु पारङ्गतास्तत्तद्दर्शनेषु प्रमाणग्रन्थान् लिलिखुः। अस्मिन् काले भूयसादरेण बह्वयो महिला उच्चवर्गेषु विविधकलाः शिक्ष्यन्ते स्म। एतादृशललनाभिः पोषितकलानां मध्ये गायनं वादनं नृत्यं चित्रणं ग्रथनं वेषरचना गृहालङ्कारश्च मुख्या भवन्ति। स्त्रियो गृहे समाजेऽपि मान्यस्थानमापुः। ताः किल जनपदस्य सामाजिकधार्मिकजीवने गण्यं पात्रं वहन्ति स्म। ताः स्वातन्त्र्येण मठदेवालयानां कार्यकलापेषु सादरा बभूवुः। आप्तमित्रप्रियैः सह यात्रोत्सवनाटकादिसमारम्भेषु व्यापृता बभूवुः। नगरस्त्रियः सार्वजनिकोद्यानेषु क्रीडाविनोदेन कालं नयन्ति स्म। अनेकाः स्त्रियः स्वतन्त्रजीविकां चक्रुः। काश्चिद्राजमन्दिरेषु कर्मकर्यो बभूवुः। राज्ञः शरीररक्षिकाणां सैन्यमेवासीदिति मेगास्थिनीनाम्नो यात्रिकस्य लेखनाद् बाणकवेः हर्षचरितादपि विज्ञायते। अयं क्रिस्तशकस्य नवशताब्दीपर्यन्तं प्रचलितो वृत्तान्तः।

अथैकोनविंशशतकावसानपर्यन्तं भारतीयमहिलानां सर्वतः सामाजिका धार्मिकाश्च निर्बन्धाः संजाताः। अनेन ताः प्रतिकार्यक्षेत्रमवसन्नप्रायाः बभूवुः। इमं कालमैतिहासिका बन्धनयुगं वदन्ति। अस्मिन् युगे महम्मदीयै राष्ट्रस्याक्रमणाद् भारतीयसमाजस्य व्यवस्थानियमा शिथिलीबभूवुः। संस्कृतेरभिमानो विद्याभिरुचिश्च न पर्याप्ते आस्ताम्। एभिः कारणैः स्त्रीशिक्षणस्य परिमाणमतित्वरया अधोगतिं प्राप। अस्य बन्धनयुगस्यावसानात्पूर्वं किञ्चित्किञ्चित्पठनलेखनज्ञराजपुत्रामहिला धर्मग्रन्थानां वाचने किञ्चित्पटवो जैनविधवा— एवंविधा वर्जयित्वा शतस्य नैकापि स्त्री सुशिक्षिता ददृशे। अनेनाज्ञानेन सहान्धविश्वासे रूढे

दास्यक्षुद्रत्वादिदोषाः प्रबलीभूय स्त्रीसमाजं हीनस्थितिं प्रापयामासुः । अस्या दुर्दशायाः केचिदितरेऽपि हेतवः सहकारिणो बभूवुः । तेषां बाल्यविवाहो मुख्यतमः । अस्मिन् बन्धनयुगे बाल्यविवाहो रूढमूल आसीत् । व्यासपराशरादयः स्मृतिकाराः कन्यकानां विवाहमष्टमे वर्षे कर्तव्यमाहुः । एकादशशताब्द्याः प्रारम्भे बाल्यविवाहः सार्वत्रकी पद्धतिरासीत् । उच्चवर्णेषु प्ररूढा पद्धतिरेषा सांक्रामिकव्याधिरिव शनैः शनैरन्यवर्णेष्वपि प्रससार । बाल्यविवाहमनु बाल्यवैधव्यमागतम् । समाजशासकैः शास्त्रकारैस्तत्पुनर्विवाहो निषिद्धोऽभूत् । तत्कालमारभ्य भारतेऽस्यां पुण्यभूमौ वैधव्यं नाम नूतनो नरको नारीणां निर्मितोऽभूत । एते निरोधाः प्रवर्तमानशताब्द्यामल्पीभूताः । महिलाश्चांग्लविद्यां शिक्षितुमारेभिरे । अर्वाक् पञ्चाशतो वर्षाणामन्तराले तासामांग्लभाषाशिक्षणेऽभिरुचिरधिकाधिका दृश्यते । परंतु सा विद्यार्यवंशसंभूतानामतिस्पृहणीया न भवति । आर्यधर्मोज्जीवनाय महिलाः संस्कृतज्ञानसंपन्ना भवितुमर्हन्ति । परंतु तत्सौकर्यमासां न परिकल्पितम् । विश्वविद्यालयेषु संस्कृतभाषाध्ययनमैच्छिकं विहितम् । उपरिनिरूपितैरितिहासवृत्तान्तैरेतावत्प्रत्यक्षीभवति यदार्यभाषाशिक्षणे पारङ्गताः स्त्रियो बभूवुस्तथा मान्यस्थानं प्राप्य विद्यावतीनामग्रेसर्यः संजाताः । समुन्नतिपदादधः पतनकारणं च मुख्यतया तदध्ययनलोपः । संस्कृतोज्जीवनाय प्रथमं स्त्रीणामेव संस्कृतशिक्षणमत्यन्तमावश्यकम् । यद्यस्मदीयाः कन्याः संस्कृतज्ञा भवेयुस्तदा बालकाश्च स्वयमपि कृतादरा भविष्यन्ति । सांप्रतं त्वहो दौर्भाग्यं भारतीयानां यदेतदध्ययने पुरुषेषु संस्कृताभिमानः स्वल्प एव दृश्यते । जनपदभाषाणां मातृभूतत्वाद् आर्यवंश्याणां गृहेषु कन्यकाः परवाणीं दूरीकृत्य संस्कृतमेव प्रथमं यथा शिक्षेरन् तथा सौकर्याणि परिकल्पनीयानि ।

MEDICAL LORE IN BĀṆA'S KĀDAMBARĪ[1]

BY

D. V. S. REDDI

No apology is needed for taking up the study of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* as a source of folklore as well as a mine of ancient Sanskrit learning. Three short contributions have been sent to Medical journals one describing the "beliefs with regard to sterility and the rituals for its relief", the second, the "common practices observed and the antenatal care for the health of the pregnant women and the safety of the mother and child during the first few days after confinement" and the third dealing with the "rites performed to the new-born baby and the development and growth of the child." The rest of the medical lore in the book is collected and classified in this paper.

BIOLOGICAL AND PHYSIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND LORE

1. *Heredity and Medical Science*: The poet quotes the vedic saying "As man's parents are, so he is." and then adds "The Medical science, too, declares their weakness." (203)

2. *Emotional instability of youth*: "Who is there in this world who is not changed by youth? When youth shows itself, love for elders flies away" (190).

[1] *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa, translated by C. M. Ridding, Oriental Translation Fund, New Series II, London, 1896.

All the numbers in the brackets refer to the page numbers in the above edition.

3. *Description of old age*: An old herald leaning on the gold staff has slow gait, tremulous speech, and a top-knot silvered—with age (15). A bird is said to be afflicted with painful old age (23). The appearances of old age are cleverly woven into the descriptions of other objects. The old tree is girt with creepers which stand out like veins of old age. Thorns have gathered on its surface like moles of old age. (21) The wrinkles of old age are depicted It is even emphasized that there was no loss of teeth except in old age (40).

4 *Common practices:* Children's necks were adorned with rows of tiger's claws and rhinoceros' horn (17). Maidens in love wore sandal, musk and a *tilaka* of alœs (17). Kādambarī sent to the Prince presents of camphor, and sandal ointment with rich musk (164). The ascetics purified their body and mind by holding breath, by muttering Aghamarṣana (a *mantra* in *Ṛgveda* X. 190) and worshipping the sun. (38). The teeth of youthful ascetic are specially noted as being white as pieces of moon-lotus petals (36).

The use of meditation or certain postures for curing a poisoned man is worthy of note (200). In giving a list of subjects taught to the Prince Candrāpīḍa, the poet includes, not only the arts of war, law, literature, painting, music and dancing but also Physics, antidotes etc. (60). Charms against snakes were popular (42).

Personal Hygiene: The king took pleasant exercise at a specified hour in the hall of Exercise, where all was duly prepared. Then he entered the hall for Bathing at a certain hour. After the bath, he worshipped the Gods. Next, his body was annointed in the perfuming room with sandalwood sweetened with fragrance of saffron, camphor and musk. He then put on garlands of *mālatī* flowers and broke his fast by a fitting meal of viands of sweet savour. Then, he drank a fragrant drug, rinsed his mouth and took his betel (12-14). A similar account is gives of Candrāpīḍa's bath and dressing. (73).

Other features of the age: The floor of the hall of Audience was watered to coolness with sandal water. The mosaic was ceaselessly strewn with masses of blossoms (14). The attendants in the harem were eunuchs, using the speech and dress of women (217). The city of Ujjain had not only painted halls but also water wells, hostels for new-comers, wayside sheds for cattle and charms against poison (211) The temple of Divine mothers in Ujjain was visited by people seeking favours. There was no loss of children by death and no loss of teeth except in old age (40). But death in child-bed is alluded to. "My mother overcome by the pains of child birth when I was born, went to another world" (22). People seem to have belief in gaining longer life by sacrifices (20) *Amṛta* or Ambrosia is mentioned frequently The parents of Prince Candrāpīḍa praise the Princess Kādambarī thus "Surely, thou must be made wholly of *Amṛta* that we are again able to behold his face" (203). Again, at later stage it is recorded "At her ambrosial embrace, the prince's life came back to him" as if awakened from sleep (206) Even the perspiration due to ambrosia and the foam balls of ambrosia are described. It was also an age when the philosophy preached and practised was that people should leave bodies beset with ills of birth, old age, pain and death (205).

Food, etc.: The little orphan bird, with no wings, was reared by the hermits of fruit juice and handfuls of rice (43). The bird in the palace says "I have drunk my full of the juice of Jambu fruit, aromatically sweet, I have cracked the pomegranate seeds. I have torn old myrobalams (15). The eating places of the sages were protected from pollution by ashes cast all-round them. All round the hermitages there were yards with scattered parched grains. Myrobalam, Lavali, jejube, banana, mango, jack fruit, palm plant, etc., were in plenty. The midday meal of the hermits consisted of "roots and fruits." The Caṇḍāla's food comes in for comment, *e.g.*, deer's flesh, birds, lotus stalks and aromatic

drinks. Another interesting side light is given by the remark of the Caṇḍāla maiden " Nay, even for those who have a law concerning food, it is lawful, in a time of distress, to eat food not meant for them, in order to preserve life, (204-205).

INTERESTING CLINICAL CONDITIONS

Deformities. In the description of the people forming the routine of the king, the poet mentions humpbacks, deafmen, eunuchs, dwarfs and deaf-mutes (122).

Methods of suicide: Kādambarī vowed to end her life by " hunger, fire, cord or poison " if her father compelled her to marry against her will (140).

Dressing of wounds: Wounds were probably dressed with leaves. " Like one wounded with Love's arrows, the prince placed a covering of lotus leaves on his breast " (94).

Swooning: Many a character in the story swoons. As the lady Mahāśvetā narrated her tragic story to Candrāpīḍa the revival of painful memories caused her to fall in a swoon bereft of her senses. Due to the force of her swoon, she fell on a rock. Candrāpīḍā stretched out his hand and supported her. Afterwards, he brought her back to consciousness by fanning her with the edge of her own bark garments (132). The Gāndharī Princess, Kādambarī, also fell into a swoon. So, the king asked his Queen to take the princess in her arms and bring her back to consciousness. At the mention of Candrāpīḍa's name, Kādambarī recovered her senses (202).

Narration of cases (miracles): People nearly dead were brought back to life " Padmāvatī lost her life through a poisonous snake at a hermitage and the ascetic Ruru provided her with half of his own life. Arjuna following the aśvamedha steed was pierced by an arrow from his own son, Babhruvāhana and the Nāga maiden Ulūpī brought him back to life. Parīkṣit, was pierced and killed by Aśvatthāman's dart at birth, but Kṛṣṇa restored the precious life (138).

The case of Candrāpīḍa. The body of Candrāpīḍa, from which the soul had deserted by reason of a curse, was not subject to death, partly because of its own nature and because it was nourished by the touch of Kādambarī. The body of the Prince was like the body of a mystic, whose spirit had passed into another form (195). Kādambarī went on ministering to the body worshipping it like common folk worshipping images of wood and stone. She bathed and worshipped Candrāpīḍa's body with incense, flowers and unguents. That day and night, she spent motionless, holding the feet of the Prince. On the morrow, she joyfully saw that his brightness was unchanged. Kādambarī watched and worshipped the body of the Prince during the rainy season. Tārāpīḍa's messengers come and see the Prince's face and body free from change. When the parents of the Prince came to see his body, they also had the same impression. The prince seemed to be in sleep. When the spring season came, Kādambarī clasped Candrāpīḍa's neck as if he were alive. At her ambrosial embrace, life came back to him. He clasped her saying "Thou art born of Apsara race sprung from nector" (195-206).

A POET'S BAG ON MEDICAL LORE

Bāṇa describes the evil results of power, and high birth in a passage full of medical lore (76-80).

(1) The darkness arising from youth is by nature very thick nor can it be pierced by sun or dispelled by lamps.

(2) The intoxication of Lakṣmī is terrible and does not cease even in old age.

(3) The fever of pride runs very high and no cooling appliances can allay it.

(4) The blindness of power is not to be cured by any salve.

(5) The madness that rises from tasting the poison of the senses is violent and not to be counteracted by roots or charms.

(6) The sleep of multitude of Royal pleasures is very terrible and the end of night brings no waking.

(7) The nature of kings is perturbed, being darkened by the madness of pride's fever.

(8) The Royal glory causes the torpor brought about by the poison of kingly power.

(9) Lakṣmī, like an evil demon, crazes the feeble mind.

(10) Laksmī, manifests her ways in a world as if in a jugglery that unites, contradictions, for though, creating constant fever, she produces a chill; though loading men with power, she deprives them of weight, though sister of nectar, she leaves a bitter taste.

(11) Lakṣmī is the cataract gathering over eyes lighted by śāstras.

(12) Kings are troubled by the onrush of passion as by a blood poisoning brought on by accumulated disease. They are bewildered by the mind which follows its impulses. They are seized by demons, conquered by imps, possessed by enchantments, held by monsters, mocked by wind, swallowed by ogres. Pierced by arrows of Kāma, they make a thousand contortions. Like cripples, they are led helplessly by others. Like stammerers, they can scarce babble, like *saptacchada* trees, they produce headache in those near them. Like dying men, they know not even their kin. Like purblind men (men with throbbing eyes) they cannot see the brightest virtue. Like men bitten in a fatal hour, they are not awakened even by mighty charms. Like lac ornaments, they cannot endure strong heat. Like men with cataract, they can see no distance.

Love, Love-Sickness and its Manifestations

If love is the central theme of Sanskrit Kāvyas, Bāṇa's descriptions of the effects of love in his Kādambarī may be said to represent the high water mark of poetry, describing love-sickness. Thrilled by the newly entered love, the ascetic

youth, Puṇḍarīka, was visibly moved. His sighs went before him. Drops of perspiration rose on his cheeks. His pupils were dilated. Though the youth was unversed in the feeling of earthly joy, Kāma taught him the play of the eye and the art of love. "Whence comes this exceeding skill that tells the heart's longing wordlessly by a glance alone" (108). Modern Physiologists would substitute for the word Kāma the rapid changes due to the harmones as the cause for the astonishing effects. Let us look at the next picture "From his entire absence of employment, he was as one painted or engraved or paralysed or dead or asleep or in a trance of meditation. By his great stillness, he appeared to be deserted by the senses which had entered into him to behold the love and had fainted in fear at its unbearable heat. From eyes steadily closed and dimmed within by the smoke of love's keen fire he ceaselessly, poured a storm of tears (116). Examining his state, Kapiñjala became despondent. He thought in his trembling heart, 'This is of a truth that love is something whose force none can resist; for, by him, Puṇḍarīka has been in a moment brought to a state for which there is no cure. He is paralysed by love.' When Kapiñjala asked the ascetic why he was like that, with great difficulty he opened his eyes which seemed to be fastened together and which were red from incessant weeping as if shaken and in pain. He replied in a murmur slowly and in pain. Kapiñjala recognized that Puṇḍarīka was suffering from a cureless ill. However, he spoke and tried to deflect the friend from the wrong course." "Like a fool thou seest not that thou art made a laughing stock by that miscreant Love" (118). Wiping his eyes streaming with tears, the lovesick youth replied "Thou hast not fallen within the range of love's shafts cruel with the poison of snakes. The time for advice is past. While I breath I long for some cure for the fever of love, violent as the rays of the twelve suns at the end of the world. My limbs are baked; my heart is seething, my eyes are burning and my body is on fire".

Then he became silent. Kapiñjala realised that his friend was gone too far and that all advice was useless. So he makes an effort to preserve the life of the friend. So, he prepared a couch of juicy lotus fibres and lotus petals from the lake. Crushing the soft twigs of the sandal trees, he applied the juice, sweet and cold as ice, and annointed the body from head to foot. He allayed the perspiration by camphor-like dust powder, fanned with a plantain leaf dipped in water. The bark worn was made moist by sandal on the breast. He strewed again and again fresh lotus couches, and annointed him with sandal and removed the perspiration and fanned him constantly. As he did so, Kapiñjala thought "Truly it is a curious illness that has befallen him. Or by what skill may he yet live? His life must be preserved by any means good or bad. This disease of love admits of no delay. I will go to her and tell her his state" (121).

Vaiśampāyana's body was dried up by love's fire. He was mentally upset by disappointment in love. He says "I have no power over myself and I am as it were, nailed to the spot and cannot go with you." The king explains in this manner "Yet the mind of the wisest is made turbid by grief as the Mānasa lake in the rainy season and their sight is destroyed. Who is there in this world who is not changed by youth? Let him be brought hither. Then we can do as is befitting." Mahāśveta's description of Vaiśampāyana reads: "Here I behold a young Brahmin like into thee gazing hither and thither with vacant glance. But, at the sight of me, his eyes were forced on me alone as if, though unseen before, he recognised me, though a stranger, he had long known me and gazing at me like one mad or possessed, he said at last "If thou deign not to bestow thyself on me, the moon and love will slay me". Mahāśvetā, choked by wrath, scolded him, cursed him and prayed to the moon. "Then straight away, the youth fell lifeless" (185-194).

The feminine sex too, was equally subject to love sickness: Mahāśvetā already lovesick was further upset by the letter

received from her lover She felt as if she lost her way or lost the bearings She was like a blind man on a dark night or a dumb man, whose tongue was cut (114)

The princess tells Taralikā that her mind is confused and her senses bewildered with uncertainty (123) As the moon begins to rise on the eastern horizon the Princess says, "My heart cannot bear it. Its rising is now like a shower of coals to one consumed by fever, or a fall of snow to one ill from cold, or the bite of a black snake to one faint with the swallowing of poison."

A swoon closed her eyes—like the sleep brought by moon light. "Soon, however, she regained consciousness, by means of the fanning and sandal unguents. Taralikā, also pressed the moist moon-stone to the brow of the Princess as an aid to treatment (124). But still her limbs were yet unsteady with weakness of swooning and as she rose she had to lean on Taralikā. Her eyes were throbbing presaging ill (125). Taralikā appears to be an expert nurse for first aid—she accompanied the patient "holding powders, perfumes, unguents, betel and various flowers" and the princess also kept ready a napkin wet with the sandal ointment which had been applied in her swoon (126).

King Candrāpīda contemplates thus: "This evil love has a power hard alike to cure and to endure. For even great men, when overcome by him, regard not the course of time but suddenly lose all courage and surrender life. Yet all hail to Love, whose rule is honoured throughout the three worlds! (139).

THE BIRDS AND BEASTS IN KĀLIDĀSA

BY

T. CHANDRASEKHARAN

I PROPOSE to confine myself in this paper to an appreciation of Kālidāsa's treatment of the birds and beasts in as brief a manner as possible. I have not included in the list the Bhramara or bee as the zoologists classify it under insects and not under birds. This classification is accepted by Kālidāsa also—

पदं सहेत भ्रमरस्य पेलवं शिरीषपुष्पं न पुनः पतत्रिणः । K. V. 4.

In the case of some of the animals, only a casual mention is made by the poet Following the etiquette of the poets, he has referred to a good number of birds and beasts and their qualities which are known to us only through epics and Purāṇas like the divine elephants and serpents, the different avatārs of Viṣṇu, gems on the hoods of serpents, horses of Indra and of the Sun, S'arabha, S'iva's decorations with serpents, Garuḍa, Gavaya etc. Some of the traits of the animals known to us are, by poetic convention, standardised and held out as ideal upamāna; and Kālidāsa has made use of these ideals of comparison to the fullest extent—gait compared to that of the elephant and of the swan, eyes compared to those of the deer and to fish etc. I have not endeavoured to give a picture of these as it is not possible to deal with them within a limited time. My aim has been to give an appreciation of various situations and aspects of animal life as depicted by Kālidāsa.

The following is a complete list of the birds and beasts referred to by Kālidāsa ;

1. Swan हंस, 2. Parrot सारिका, 3. Cuckoo कोकिल, 4 Crow वायस 5. Cātaka, 6. Cakravāka, 7 Cakora, 8. Crane बलाक, 9. Sārasa, 10. Garuda, 11. Hawk श्येन, 12. Vulture गृध्र, 13. Dove कपोत, 14. Goose Kādamba, 15 Deer मृग, 16. Cow गो, 17. Bull ककुद्मान्, 18. Buffalo महिष, 19. Horse अश्व, 20. Gavaya, 21. Lion सिंह, 22. Tiger व्याघ्र, 23. Boar वराह, 24. Bear ऋक्ष, 25. Elephant गज, 26. Jackal शिव, 27. Monkey वानर, 28. Camel उष्ट्र, 29. S'arabha, 30. Peacock मयूर.

Curiously enough we do not find in this list the dog, cat, ass, cock and hen, though they are domestic animals. There are only two latent or indirect references to the dog in his works, श्वगणि in *Raghavaṁs'a* IX. 53 and a corrupt reading श्वगणलुब्धैः instead of शकुनिलुब्धकैः in the second act of the *S'ākuntala*, where the jester complains of the hardships of life in a forest Even here only the hunters accompanied by packs of dogs are mentioned.

Kālidāsa is at his best in describing the life in an *As'rama* which abounds in tame birds and animals like the parrot, swan, deer, cow and peacock. Horses and elephants, which are more common in palaces and cities, have also received equal attention from his pen, as they formed part of the parapharnalia of the kings, who looked after the safety of the sages by making courteous calls on them in their *Ās'ramas*.

But the dog and the cat have been referred to in the *Mahābhārata* on various occasions. Even a dog is described as following Dharmaputra to the Heaven—nay, Dharmaputra was prepared to forsake Heaven itself if the dog also were not permitted to accompany him. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* too, we find stray references to them. Bāṇa gives a long and vivid description of the dog ; but it is only incidental to his description of the hunter and Bhairavācārya. Māgha makes mention of the cat in the third Sarga, Verse 51.

मार्जारमप्यायतनिश्चलाङ्गं यस्यां जनः कृत्रिममेव मेने ।

Bhoja compares Sītā in the midst of the Rākṣasīs in the *As'okavana* to a flower-garland removed by a dog from the temple, mistaking it for a piece of flesh and dropped in the cemetery.

माला देवकुलादिवामिषधिया क्षिप्तां श्मशाने शुना ।
(Campū Rāmāyaṇa-Sundarakāṇḍa—17).

Kālidāsa has lavished his talents on the description of the deer. He has practically given a sketch of its life-history, beginning with its birth, dwelling on its rearing, and ending with its death at the hands of hunters and wild animals. S'akuntalā, on the occasion of her departure to her husband's palace, makes a special appeal to her foster-father, Kaṇva (Kas'yapa), to send word to her after the easy delivery of a child to the deer which is pregnant—

तात, एषोटजपर्यन्तचारिणी गर्भमन्थरा मृगवधूः यदा अनघप्रसवा भवति, तदा मह्यं कमपि प्रियनिवेदयितृकं विसर्जयिष्यथ । S'. IV.

The deer are very dear to the sages who develop fatherly affection for them to such a degree that they allow the *kus'a* grass, intended for sacrificial purposes, to be eaten by them, which even drop the umblical cord on their laps after delivery.

क्रियानिमित्तेष्वपि वत्सलत्वादभग्नकामा मुनिभिः कुशेषु ।
तदङ्कशय्याच्युतनाभिनाला कच्चिन्मृगीणामनघा प्रसूतिः । R. V-7.

These young ones are brought up by the women-folk of the *Ās'rama*. The young deer cluster round them, obstructing the door of the hermitages and demanding the distribution of the corn, even as young children would cling to their mothers, preventing them from attending to their duties until their desires are satisfied.

आकीर्णमृषिपत्नीनामुटजद्वाररोधिभिः ।
अपत्यैरिव नीवारभागधेयोचितैर्मृगैः ॥ R. I. 50.

The sages live with them as if they were their companions in life.

चरन्मृगैः सार्धमृषिर्मघोना । R. XIII-39.

मृगैरजर्यं जरसोपदिष्टमदेहबन्धाय पुनर्बबन्ध । R. XVIII-7.

They should under no circumstances be angry with them.

अपि प्रसन्नं हरिणेषु ते मनः करस्थदर्भप्रणयापहारिषु । K. V-35.

The deer enter *As'ramas* freely even to the अग्न्यागार where sacrificial fires are kept alive.

मृगवर्तितरोमन्थमुटजाङ्गणभूमिषु । R. I-52.

सायं मृगाध्यासितवेदिपार्श्वं स्वमाश्रमं शान्तमृगं निनाय

R. XIV-79.

आविशद्भिरुटजाङ्गणं मृगैः । K. VIII-38.

The sages often help the deer in scratching their bodies with their hands, and this act of theirs is regarded as highly religious as wearing the *rudrākṣamālā* and the cutting of the *kus'a* grass.

एषोऽक्षमालावलयं मृगाणां कण्डूयितारं कुशसूचिलावम् ।

सभाजने मे भुजमूर्ध्वबाहुः सव्येतरं प्राध्वमितः प्रयुङ्क्ते ॥ R. XIII-43.

Sometimes the male deer assists the female deer in scratching;

शृङ्गेण च स्पर्शनिमीलिताक्षीं मृगीमकण्डूयत कृष्णसारः । K. III-36.

or the female deer rubs his eyes against the horns of its mate.

शृङ्गे कृष्णमृगस्य वामनयनं कण्डूयमानां मृगीम् । S. VI-17.

They have got a keen ear for music.

मैथिलीतनयोद्गीतनिःस्पन्दमृगमाश्रमम् । R. XV-37.

सकृद्विविग्नानपि हि प्रयुक्तं माधुर्यमीष्टे हरिणान् ग्रहीतुम् ।

R. XVIII-13.

The deer in the penance-grove is not frightened by noice

विश्वासोपगमादभिन्नगतय· शब्दं सहन्ते मृगाः । S. I-13.

and it should not be killed by kings who go out for hunt.

आश्रममृगोऽयं न हन्तव्यः । S. I.

They always raise their heads to look anxiously at their human companions. उत्सुकसारङ्गा (R. XII. 24) उन्मुखकृष्णसारा R. XIII. 34, R. XV. 11. उत्कण्ठमृगे R. XI-23. They become so intimate with women in the *Āśrama* that they place their face close to theirs to have a comparison of the eyes

अरण्यबीजाञ्जलिदानलालितास्तथा च तस्यां हरिणा विशश्वसुः ।
यथा तदीयैर्नयनैः कुतूहलात् पुरःसखीनाममिमीत लोचने ॥ K. V-15.

Besides eating the *kuśa* and *nīvāra*, they taste the *kandali* and drink deep the fragrant air

नीपं दृष्ट्वा हरितकपिशं केसरैरर्धरूढै-
राविर्भूतप्रथममुकुलाः कन्दलीश्चानुकच्छम् ।
जग्ध्वारण्येष्वधिकसुरभिं गन्धमाघ्राय चोर्व्याः
सारङ्गास्ते जललवमुचः सूचयिष्यन्ति मार्गम् ॥ M. I-21.

After grazing they resort to shady places and chew the cuds.

छायाबद्धकदम्बकं मृगकुलं रोमन्थमभ्यस्य तु । S. II-6.

Their gratitude and tie of friendship indeed deserve emulation at the hands of all persons. If any calamity happens to their friends, they desist from eating the grass, overwhelmed by grief for their suffering and try to help them as best as they can.

मृग्यश्च दर्भाङ्कुरनिर्व्यपेक्षाः तवागतिज्ञं समबोधयन्माम् ।
व्यापारयन्त्यो दिशि दक्षिणस्यामुत्पक्ष्मराजीनि विलोचनानि ॥
R. XIII-25.

नृत्यं मयूराः कुसुमानि वृक्षा दर्भानुपात्तान् विजहुर्हरिण्यः ।
तस्याः प्रपन्ने समदुःखभावमत्यन्तमासीद्रुदितं वनेऽपि ॥ R. XIV-69.

When S'akuntalā leaves the forest, the deer brought up by her drops down the grass from its mouth on account of sorrow at the thought of separation from her and obstructs her path.

उद्गलितदर्भकवला मृग्यः । S. IV-11.

यस्य त्वया व्रणविरोपणमिङ्गुदीनां तैलं न्यषिच्यत मुखे कुशसूचिविद्धे ।
श्यामाकमुष्टिपरिवर्धितको जहाति सोऽयं न पुत्रकृतकः पदवीं मृगस्ते ॥
S XIV-13.

The wild deer migrate in groups in the forest, eating the grass, led by the male black antelope, with the young ones hindering the path of their mother who is suckling them.

तस्य स्तनप्रणयिभिर्मुहुरेणशावैर्व्याहन्यमानहरिणीगमनं पुरस्तात् ।
आविर्बभूव कुशगर्भमुखं मृगाणां यूथं तदग्रसरगर्वितकृष्णसारम् ॥ R. IX-55.

अस्यान्तिकमायान्ती शिशुना स्तनपायिना मृगी रुद्धा ।
तामयमनन्यदृष्टिर्मुग्धग्रीवो विलोकयति । V. IV-32.

They are sometimes dispersed by frightened elephants.

मूर्तो विघ्नस्तपस इव नो भिन्नसारङ्गयूथो
धर्मारण्यं प्रविशति गजः स्यन्दनालोकभीतः । S. I-29.

They are pursued in hunt by the hunters.

यद्वायुरन्विष्टमृगैः किरातैः K. I-15.

A beautiful description of the deer-hunt is given in the *Raghuvaṁs'a.* They are dispersed in all directions.

तत्प्रार्थितं जवनवाजिगतेन राज्ञा तूणीमुखोद्धृतशरेण विशीर्णपङ्क्तिः ।
श्यामीचकार वनमाकुलदृष्टिपातैर्वातेरितोत्पलदलप्रकरैरिवार्द्रैः ॥ R. IX-56.

When the arrow is aimed at a male deer, its wife covers him with its own body, thus offering protection to it even at the cost of its own life. But the king refrains from discharging the aimed arrow by reason of himself being a lover of women.

लक्ष्यीकृतस्य हरिणस्य हरिप्रभावः प्रेक्ष्य स्थितां सहचरीं व्यवधाय देहम् ।
आकर्णकृष्टमपि कामितया स धन्वी बाणं कृपामृदुमनाः प्रतिसंजहार ॥
R. IX-57.

The other deer also are spared as their tremulous eyes remind him of his beloved having similar eyes.

तस्यापरेष्वपि मृगेषु शरान्मुमुक्षोः
कर्णान्तमेत्य बिभिदे निबिडोऽपि मुष्टिः ।
त्रासातिमात्रचटुलैः स्मरयत्सु नेत्रैः
प्रौढप्रियानयनविभ्रमचेष्टितानि ॥ R. IX-58.

This last idea is expressed in a slightly different form in S. II-3.

न नमयितुमधिज्यमस्मि शक्तो धनुरिदमाहितसायकं मृगेषु ।
सहवसतिमुपेत्य यैः प्रियायाः कृत इव मुग्धविलोकितोपदेशः ॥

They run in joy against the wind on grounds strewn with dry leaves with their vision dimmed by the fall of the pollen dust into their eyes.

मृगाः प्रियालद्रुममञ्जरीणां रजःकणैर्विघ्नितदृष्टिपाताः ।
मदोद्धताः प्रत्यनिलं विचेरुर्वनस्थलीर्मर्मरपत्रमोक्षाः ॥ K. III-31.

They are fast runners, remaining at the time of running more in the air than on the earth.

ग्रीवाभङ्गाभिरामं मुहुरनुपतति स्यन्दने बद्धदृष्टिः
पश्चार्धेन प्रविष्टः शरपतनभयाद्भूयसा पूर्वकायम् ।
दर्भैरर्धावलीढैः श्रमविवृतमुखभ्रंशिभिः कीर्णवर्त्मा
पश्योदग्रप्लुतत्वाद्वियति बहुतरं स्तोकमुर्व्यां प्रयाति ॥ S. I-7.

This is an oft-quoted famous verse appreciated by all critics.

The enemy of the wild deer is the tiger. It cannot afford to wag its tail before a tiger.

मृग्याः परिभवो व्याघ्र्यामित्यवेहि त्वया कृतम् । R. 12-37.

It usually meets with its death at the hands of this foe.

सद्यो हतन्यङ्कुभिरस्रदिग्धं व्याघ्रैः पदं तेषु निधीयतेऽद्य । R. XVI-50.

There are different varieties of the deer, Camarī, proud of its tail, Musk-deer proud of its musk, Khaḍga, proud of its lofty horns etc., all of which are mentioned by Kālidāsa. Their eyes are the standards of comparison for the eyes of women, their hide is worn by sages and used as mats. Thus Kālidāsa has given us a vivid picture of every aspect of the life of a deer.

Next in importance comes the cow. Everything about the cow is holy and useful for a person. The dust which comes into contact with its hoofs becomes sanctified to such a degree that it becomes an agent of purification.

रजःकणैः खुरोद्धूतैः स्पृशद्भिर्गात्रमन्तिकात् ।
तीर्थाभिषेकजां शुद्धिमादधाना महीक्षितः ॥ R. I-85.
तस्याः खुरन्यासपवित्रपांसुमपांसुलानां धुरि कीर्तनीया ।
मार्गं मनुष्येश्वरधर्मपत्नी श्रुतेरिवार्थं स्मृतिरन्वगच्छत ॥ R. II-2.

As Āpad-Dharmas, Manu has prescribed a variety of baths, one of which is called Vāyavya, which is only the besmearing of the body with the dust raised by the hoofs of the cow.

आग्नेयं भस्मना स्नानमवगाह्यं तु वारुणम् ।
आपोहिष्ठेति च ब्राह्मं वायव्यं गोरजः स्मृतम् ॥

To its urine are attributed not only the capacity to purify others but also magical powers. Wiping his eyes with it, Raghu was able to perceive the invisible God Indra who was carrying away the sacrificial horse that was entrusted to his care by his father Dilīpa.

तदङ्गनिस्यन्दजलेन लोचने प्रमृज्य पुण्येन पुरस्कृतः सताम् ।
अतीन्द्रियेष्वप्युपपन्नदर्शनो बभूव भावेषु दिलीपनन्दनः ॥ R. III-41.

They vie with the Sun's rays to purify the directions by their contact.

सञ्चारपूतानि दिगन्तराणि कृत्वा दिनान्ते निलयाय गन्तुम् ।
प्रचक्रमे पल्लवरागताम्रा प्रभा पतङ्गस्य मुनेश्च धेनुः ॥ R. II-15.

Its luke-warm milk flowing out of its own accord at the sight of its calf is as sacred as the अवभृतस्नान at the end of a sacrifice.

भुवं कोष्णेन कुण्डोध्नी मेध्येनावभृतादपि ।
प्रस्नवेनाभिवर्षन्ती वत्सालोकप्रवर्तिना ॥ R. I-84.

Even its sight is holy. शुभदर्शना (R I-86). Every householder should possess the cow as it is useful in accomplishing the worship of the Gods, Manes and the Guests.

तां देवतापित्रतिथिक्रियार्थाम् । R. II-16.

It deserves *Pradakṣiṇa* and worship.

प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य पयस्विनीं तां सुदक्षिणा साक्षतपात्रहस्ता ।
प्रणम्य चानर्च विशालमस्याः शृङ्गान्तरं द्वारमिवार्थसिद्धेः ॥ R. II-21.

Pradakṣiṇa of a cow with its calf is on a par with the *Pradakṣiṇa* of the sacred fire, Preceptor and Preceptor's wife, in augmenting one's powers.

प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य हुतं हुताशमनन्तरं भर्तुररुन्धतीं च ।
धेनुं सवत्सां च नृपः प्रतस्थे सन्मङ्गलोदग्रतरप्रभावः ॥ R. II-71.

The ways of propitiating the cow are described by Kālidāsa. Tender grass, sweet in taste, should be offered. It should be scratched all over the body gently. The forest flies approaching them should be warded off. It should be allowed to pursue its own path without any restriction.

आस्वादवद्भिः कवलैस्तृणानां कण्डूयनैर्दंशनिवारणैश्च ।
अव्याहतैः स्वैरगतैः स तस्याः सम्राट् समाराधनतत्परोऽभूत् ॥ R. II-5.

Sudakṣiṇā is asked to worship the cow in the morning and follow it up to the penance-grove when it leaves the *Āśrama* for grazing and welcome it in the evening by waiting in an advanced distance for its return.

वधूर्भक्तिमती चैनामर्चितामा तपोवनात् ।
प्रयता प्रातरन्वेतु सायं प्रत्युद्व्रजेदपि ॥ R. I-90.

Dilīpa is asked to follow the cow Nandinī in moving about, halting, taking rest by sitting and drinking water.

प्रस्थितायां प्रतिष्ठेथाः स्थितायां स्थितिमाचरेः ।
निषण्णायां निषीदास्यां पीताम्भसि पिबेरप ॥ R. I-89

After eating the grass to the heart's content they sit in the midst of the fields undisturbed,

स्वस्थस्थितप्रचुरगोकुलशोभितानि ॥ Ṛtu. III-16.

and return to the hermitages in the evening.

आश्रमाः प्रविशदग्र्यधेनवो बिभ्रति श्रियमुदीरिताग्नयः K. VIII-38.

Only after feeding the calf and reserving the necessary quantity for the oblation, the milk of the cow can be used for personal consumption.

वत्सस्य होमार्थविधेश्च शेषमृषेरनुज्ञामधिगम्य मातः ।
औधस्यमिच्छामि तवोपभोक्तुं षष्ठांशमुर्व्या इव रक्षितायाः ॥ R. II. 66.

On occasions of festivities like coronation, the cow is not milked, so that its entire milk may be drunk by its calf.

बन्धच्छेदं स बद्धानां वधार्हाणामवध्यताम् ।
धुर्याणां च धुरो मोक्षमदोहं चादिशद् गवाम ॥ R. XVII-19

As it is not possible to give a detailed account of all the animals referred to by Kālidāsa, a few salient features about some of them may be given. The bull ककुद्मान् or वृष is always described as practising वप्रक्रीडा on the banks of the rivers.

मदोदग्राः ककुद्मन्तः सरितां कूलमुद्रुजाः ।
लीलाखेलमनुप्रापुः महोक्षाः तस्य विक्रमम । R. IV-22.

धारास्वनोद्गारिदरीमुखोऽसौ शृङ्गाग्रलग्नाम्बुदवप्रपङ्कः ।
बध्नाति मे बन्धुरगात्रि चक्षुर्दृप्तः ककुद्मानिव चित्रकूटः ॥ R. XIII-47.

They split the rocks with the hooves and make a terrible roar in reply to that of the lion, frightening the Gavaya.

तुषारसंघातशिला: खुराग्रै: समुल्लिखन् दर्पकल: ककुद्मान् ।
दृष्ट: कथंचित् गवयैर्विविग्नैरसोढसिंहध्वनिरुन्ननाद ॥ K. I-5.

The Vidūṣaka, in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* sleeping seated, is compared to the bull in the market sleeping विपणिगतो वृषभ इव विस्रब्ध: आर्यगौतम: आसीन एव निद्रायते

The buffalo strikes its horns againt the waters of the pond.

वन्यैरिदानीं महिषैस्तदम्भ: शृङ्गाहतं क्रोशति दीर्घिकाणाम् । R. XVI-13.
गाहन्तां महिषा निपानसलिलं शृङ्गैर्मुहुस्ताडितम् । S. II 6.

It is also killed by kings in hunts.

तेनाभिघातरभसस्य विकृष्य पत्री वन्यस्य नेत्रविवरे महिषस्य मुक्त: ।
निर्भिद्य विग्रहमशोणितलिप्तपुङ्खस्तं पातयां प्रथममास पपात पश्चात् ॥
R. IX-61.

Horses are said to be born from a particular cave of the Himalayas.

यत्राश्वा बिलयोनय: K. VI-39.

They are delighted with the chanting of the *Sāma Veda* which is regarded as one of its seven sources of birth.

सामभि: सहचरा: सहस्रश: स्यन्दनाश्वहृदयङ्गमस्वनै: । K. VIII-41.

To refresh themselves after long journey they roll on the ground and shake their shoulders to be rid of the dust.

विनीताध्वश्रमास्तस्य सिन्धुतीरविचेष्टनै: ।
दुधुवुर्वाजिन: स्कन्धान् लग्नकुङ्कुमकेसरान् ॥ R. IV-67.

Rock-salt is given to them in the early morning to be licked by them.

वक्त्रोष्मणा मलिनयन्ति पुरोगतानि लेह्यानि सैन्धवशिलाशकलानि वाहा: ।
R. V-73.

On the eve of setting out on an expedition, the horses in the army are worshipped with *Nirājana*

तस्मै सम्यग्घुतो वह्निर्वाजिनीराजनाविधौ । R. IV-25.

A very good description of its running is given in the *S'ākuntala.*

मुक्तेषु रश्मिषु निरायतपूर्वकाया निष्कम्पचामरशिखा निभृतोर्ध्वकर्णाः ।
आत्मोद्धतैरपि रजोभिरलङ्घनीया धावन्त्यमी मृगजवाक्षमयेव रथ्याः ॥
S. I-8

On account of maintaining the same high speed the Cāmara on its head remains long and steady as if in a picture.

चित्रन्यस्तमिवाचलं हयशिरस्यायामवच्चामरं
यष्ट्यग्रे च समं स्थितो ध्वजपटः प्रान्ते च वेगानिलात । V. I-4.

As a contrast, the description of the horse while descending is given in the *Kumārasambhava.*

सोऽयमानतशिरोधरैर्हयैः कर्णचामरविघट्टितेक्षणैः ।
अस्तमेति युगभुग्नकेसरैः संनिधाय दिवसं महोदधौ ॥ K. VIII-42.

The famous सिंहावलोकन which consists of lying, undaunted, in the midst of disturbing elements and looking back by turning the head, is referred to.

शशंस तुल्यसत्त्वानां सैन्यघोषेऽप्यसंभ्रमम् ।
गुहाशयानां सिंहानां परिवृत्यावलोकितम् ॥ R. IV-72.

The lions strike the elephants on their heads with their claws.

नखाङ्कुशाघातविभिन्नकुम्भाः । R. XVI-16.

The hunters pursue them by the path indicated by the strewn pearls that had stuck to their claws while striking on the heads of elephants.

विदन्ति मार्गं नखरन्ध्रमुक्तैर्मुक्ताफलैः केसरिणां किराताः । K. I-6

The hunting of the tiger is described in the *Raghuvaṁśa.*

व्याघ्रानभीरभिमुखोत्पतितान् गुहाभ्यः फुल्लासनाग्रविटपानिव वायुरुग्णान् ।
शिक्षाविशेषलघुहस्ततया निमेषात् तूणीचकार शरपूरितवक्त्ररन्ध्रान् ॥
R. IX-63.

The wild boar spends the hot days of the summer by plunging itself into the waters of the pond, which they leave only after the fall of the dusk.

स पल्वलोत्तीर्णवराहयूथानि । R II-17.
उत्तरन्ति विनिकीर्य पल्वलं गाढपङ्कमतिवाहितातपाः ।
दंष्ट्रिणो वनवराहयूथपाः दष्टभङ्गुरबिसाङ्कुरा इव ॥ K VIII-350.

They are fond of the *mustā* grass.

विस्रब्धं क्रियतां वराहपतिभिर्मुस्ताक्षतिः पल्वले । S. II-6.

A picture of its hunting is given in the *Raghuvaṁśa*

उत्तस्थुषः शिशिरपल्वलपङ्कमध्यान्मुस्ताप्ररोहकवलावयवानुकीर्णम् ।
जग्राह स द्रुतवराहकुलस्य मार्गं सुव्यक्तमार्द्रपदपङ्क्तिभिरायताभिः ।
R. IX-59.
तं वाहनादवनतोत्तरकायमीषद्विध्यन्तमुद्धृतसटाः प्रतिहन्तुमीषुः ।
नात्मानमस्य विविदुः सहसा वराहाः वृक्षेषु विद्धमिषुभिर्जघनाश्रयेषु ॥
R. IX-60.

The divine elephants, eight in number, are said to have sprung from the *Sāma Veda.*

सुरद्विपानामिव सामयोनिर्भिन्नोऽष्टधा विप्रससार वंशः । R. XVI-3.

Its temple is said to split when it attains the proper age of maturity.

कटप्रभेदेन करीव पार्थिवः । R. III-37.

The rut flows from its body in seven ways.

असूययेव तन्नागाः सप्तधैव प्रसुस्रुवुः । R. IV-23.

They are caught in pits in the forest.

रोधांसि निघ्नन्नवपातमग्नः करीव वन्यः परुषं ररास । R. XVI-78

They generally have a chain round their necks.

नास्रवत्करिणां ग्रैवं त्रिपदीछेदिनामपि । R. IV-48

There are separate treatises on गजशास्त्र written in the usual Sūtra style.

विनीतनागः किल सूत्रकारैः । R. VI-27.

Bells are hung on either side of it, which announce in advance its movement.

विलोलघण्टाक्वणितेन नागः । R. VII-41.

It does not like to be tied to a post.

सोढुं न तत्पूर्वमवर्णमीशे आलानिकं स्थाणुमिव द्विपेन्द्रः ।
R. XIV-38.

It should have its daily bath in the pond or lake. Otherwise it will suffer from pain in the stomach.

अरुन्तुदमिवालानमनिर्वाणस्य दन्तिनः । R. I-71.

It takes delight in playing the Vaprakrīḍā by butting against the banks of rivers with its tusks.

वप्रक्रीडापरिणतगजप्रेक्षणीयं ददर्श । M. I-2.

अभ्यस्यन्ति तटाघातं निर्जितैरावता गजाः । K. II-50.

To scratch its body having a very hard skin त्वचि कर्कशत्व it rubs it usually against the Sarala trees which break exuding a fragrant milky juice.

कण्डूयमानेन कटं कदाचिद्वन्यद्विपेनोन्मथिता त्वगस्य । R. II-37.

कपोलकण्डूः करिभिर्विनेतुं विघट्टितानां सरलद्रुमाणाम् ।

यत्र स्रुतक्षीरतया प्रसूतः सानूनि गन्धः सुरभीकरोति ॥ K. I-9.

Its body is decorated with lines of white ash.

भक्तिच्छेदैरिव विरचितां भूतिमङ्गे गजस्य । M. I-19.

भक्तिभिर्बहुविधाभिरर्पिता भाति भूतिरिव मत्तहस्तिनः । K. VIII-69.

Red round spots, known as Padmakas, are found on its body indicating its age.

भूर्जत्वचः कुञ्जरबिन्दुशोणाः । K. I-7.

The female elephant waits on its mate with lotus stalks to eat and mouthful of water to drink.

करेणुभिर्दत्तमृणालभङ्गाः । R. XVI-16.

ददौ रसात्पङ्कजरेणुगन्धि गजाय गण्डूषजलं करेणुः । K. III-37.

Two elephants are trained to give a show of their fight with a wall between them. (raised platform.)

जयश्रीरन्तरा वेदिर्मत्तवारणयोरिव । R. XII-93.

Except in battlefields they should not be killed.

तमापतन्तं नृपतेरवध्यो वन्यः करीति श्रुतवान्कुमारः । R. V-50.

नृपतेः प्रतिषिद्धमेव तत् कृतवान्पङ्क्तिरथो विलङ्घ्य यत् । R. IX-74.

A person of sturdy growth is often compared to a wild elephant.

गिरिचर इव नागः प्राणसारं बिभर्ति । S. II-4.

A good picture of an elephant, emerging from a river, to attack an army, is given in the *Raghuvaṁśa* V. 43-48.

The jackal is a carnivorous animal.

उपान्तयोर्निष्कुषितं विहङ्गैराक्षिप्य तेभ्यः पिशितप्रियापि ।
केयूरकोटिक्षततालुदेशा शिवा भुजच्छेदमपाचकार ॥ R. VII-50.

Its yelling if frightful,

शिवा घोरस्वना । R. XII-39.

and indicates a bad omen

भास्करश्च दिशमध्युवास यां तां श्रिताः प्रतिभयं ववासिरे ।
क्षत्रशोणितपितृक्रियोचितं चोदयन्त्य इव भार्गवं शिवाः ॥ R XI-61.

They emit phosphorescent light from their mouth

नदन्मुखोल्काविचितामिषाभिः संवाह्यते राजपथः शिवाभिः ।
R. XVI-12.

In addition to the reference to the Vānaras which formed part of S'rī Rāma's army, there are two references to the monkey in Kālidāsa's works. It pulls out the creepers of the garden and destroys them.

वन्यैः पुलिन्दैरिव वानरैस्ताः क्लिश्यन्त उद्यानलता मदीयाः । R. XVI-19.

During the summer it resorts to the bowers of creepers on the mountains.

कपिकुलमुपयाति क्लान्तमद्रेर्निकुञ्जम् । Ṛtu. I-23.

There is a solitary reference to the camel, on the back of which, the pieces of gold given to Kautsa by Raghu, were transported to his abode.

अथोष्ट्रवामीशतवाहितार्थं । R. V-32.

The Yakṣa advises the cloud to scatter away the S'arabhas in a defiant attitude by pelting them with showers of hail-stones.

ये संरम्भोत्पतनरभसाः स्वाङ्गभङ्गाय तस्मिन्
मुक्ताध्वानं सपदि शरभा लङ्घयेयुर्भवन्तम् ।
तान्कुर्वीथास्तुमुलकरकावृष्टिपातावकीर्णान्
के वा न स्युः परिभवपदं निष्फलारम्भयत्नाः ॥ M. I-57.

In summer it draws water from the wells.

शरभकुलमजिह्मं प्रोद्धरत्यम्बुकूपात् । Ṛtu. I-23.

The peacock has a special stand placed on the tops of trees or poles. It dances to the tāla of women or tabor.

तन्मध्ये च स्फटिकफलका काञ्चनी वासयष्टि-
मूले बद्धा मणिभिरनतिप्रौढवंशप्रकाशैः ।
तालैः शिञ्जावलयसुभगैर्नर्तितः कान्तया मे
यामध्यास्ते दिवसविगमे नीलकण्ठः सुहृद्वः ॥ M. II-19.
वृक्षेशया यष्टिनिवासभङ्गान्मृदङ्गशब्दापगमादलास्याः । R. XVI-14.

Womens' hair decorated with flowers is compared to the plume of feathers of the peacock.

शिखिनां बर्हभारेषु केशान् । M. II-44.

Das'aratha spared it in the hunt as it reminded him of his wives' hair.

अपि तुरगसमीपादुत्पतन्तं मयूरं न स रुचिरकलापं बाणलक्ष्यीचकार ।
सपदि गतमनस्कश्चित्रमाल्यानुकीर्णे रतिविगलितबन्धे केशपाशे प्रियायाः ।
R. IX-67.

The rainy season makes it dance to the thunder of clouds.

धौतापाङ्गं हरशशिरुचा पावकेस्तं मयूरं पश्चादद्रिग्रहणगुरुभिर्गर्जितैर्नर्तयेथाः ।
M. I-47.

प्रवृत्तनृत्यं कुलमद्य बर्हिणाम् । Ṛtu. II-6.

Even on hearing the sound of the conch it begins to dance.

कलापिनामुद्धतनृत्यहेतौ । R. VI-9.

The षड्जस्वर is said to resemble its note.

षड्जसंवादिनीः केकाः द्विधा भिन्नाः शिखण्डिभिः । R. I-39.

Kālidāsa's treatment of birds is not so vast and varied as his treatment of the beasts. The swan, white in colour, is the famous *upamāna* for fame which is unsullied.

हंसश्रेणीषु तारासु कुमुद्वत्सु च वारिषु ।
विभूतयस्तदीयानां पर्यस्ता यशसामिव ॥ R. IV-19.

When the swans become mixed with the Kādambas, bluish in colour, the whole group becomes an apt illustration for the confluence of the waters of the Ganges and the Jumna

कचित्खगानां प्रियमानसानां कादम्बसंसर्गवतीव पङ्क्तिः । R. XIII-55.

The gait of women is compared to the gait of swans

कलहंसीषु मदालसं गतम् । R. VIII-59

सा राजहंसैरिव सन्नताङ्गी गतेषु लीलाञ्चितविक्रमेषु ।
व्यनीयत प्रत्युपदेशलुब्धैरादित्सुभिर्नूपुरशिञ्जितानि ॥ K. I-34

At the approach of the rainy season they start for the Mānasa lake, taking with them sufficient stock of food in the form of lotus stalks.

आकैलासाद्बिसकिसलयच्छेदपाथेयवन्तः
संपत्स्यन्ते नभसि भवतो राजहंसाः सहायाः ॥ M. I-11.

On their way they have to pass through the क्रौञ्चरन्ध्र.

हंसद्वारं भृगुपतियशोवर्त्म यत्क्रौञ्चरन्ध्रम् । M. I-60.

At the commencement of the autumn they come back to their usual abodes in the Ganges and other rivers and lakes.

तां हंसमाला शरदीव गङ्गाम् । K. I-30.

The parrots have sweet voice.

पृच्छन्ती वा मधुरवचनां शारिकां पञ्जरस्थाम् । M. II-25.

They are clever in imitating and repeating the words of men.

अयमपि च गिरं नः त्वत्प्रबोधप्रयुक्तामनुवदति शुकस्ते मञ्जुवाक् पञ्जरस्थः ।
R. V-74.

On occasions of great joy, as when a king ascends the throne, they are set at liberty.

क्रीडापतत्रिणोऽप्यस्य पञ्जरस्थाः शुकादयः ।
लब्धमोक्षाः तदादेशाद्यथेष्टगतयोऽभवन् ॥ R. XVII-20.

The Kokilā also is gifted with a sweet voice, which is a standard of comparison.

कलमन्यभृतासु भाषितम् । R. VIII-59.

कोकिलामञ्जुवादिनीम् । R. XII-39.

Pārvatī's voice is described to be so sweet that, when compared with the voice of the Kokilā, the latter becomes the harsh note arising out of an improperly tuned lute.

अप्यन्यपुष्टा प्रतिकूलशब्दा श्रोतुर्वितन्त्रीरिव ताड्यमाना । K. I-45.

It kindles love in the minds of people,

परभृताविरुतैश्च विलासिनः स्मरबलैरबलैकरसाः कृताः । R. IX-43.

and is the messenger of love.

रतिदूतिपदेषु कोकिलां मधुरालापनिसर्गपण्डिताम् । K. IV-16

It eats the mango sprouts and Cupid speaks through its voice.

चूताङ्कुरास्वादकषायकण्ठः पुंस्कोकिलो यन्मधुरं चुकूज ।
मनस्विनीमानविघातदक्षं तदेव जातं वचनं स्मरस्य ॥ K. III-32.

The only reference to the crow is at the time of the narration of the काकासुरवृत्तान्त in the twelfth Sarga of the *Raghuvaṃśa.*

The Cātaka can drink water only when it rains and hence it requests the cloud to shower rain when it is afflicted with thirst.

सोऽहं तृष्णातुरैर्वृष्टिं विद्युत्वानिव चातकैः । K. VI-27.

It is very clever in catching the drops of rain water.

अम्भोबिन्दुग्रहणचतुरांश्चातकान्वीक्षमाणः । M. I-22.

It praises the cloud to get water.

प्रबुद्ध इव पर्जन्यः सारङ्गैरभिनन्दितः R. XVII-15.

वामश्चायं नदति मधुरं चातकस्ते सगन्धः । M. I-10.

Only those clouds pregnant with water are approached by it.

अम्बुगर्भो हि जीमूतश्चातकैरभिनन्द्यते । R. XVII-60.

and not the dry empty white clouds of the autumn.

शरद्घनं नार्दति चातकोऽपि R. V-17.

The love of Cakravāka birds is the ideal for the mutual love of a couple

रथाङ्गनाम्नोरिव भावबन्धनं बभूव यत्प्रेम परस्पराश्रयम R. III-24.

They exchange their food in the form of lotus fibres.

अत्रावियुक्तानि रथाङ्गनाम्नामन्योन्यदत्तोत्पलकेसराणि । R XIII-31.

अर्धोपभुक्तेन बिसेन जायां संभावयामास रथाङ्गनामा । K. III-37.

They become separated at nights.

निनाय सात्यन्तहिमोत्किरानिलाः सहस्यरात्रीरुदवासतत्परा ।

परस्पराक्रन्दिनि चक्रवाकयोः पुरो वियुक्ते मिथुने कृपावती ॥ K. V-26.

Though the space separating them is very little, they feel the pangs very intensely.

निम्नयोः सरसि चक्रवाकयोरल्पमन्तरमनल्पतां गतम् । K. VIII-32.

Kālidāsa refers to this separation as सन्निधिवियोग in the Mālavikāgnimitra.

अहं रथाङ्गनामेव प्रिया सहचरीव मे । अननुज्ञातसंपर्का धारिणी रजनीव नौ ॥ V-9.

They are deceived at nights by the reflection of the moon in the water.

पश्य पक्वफलिनीफलत्विषा बिम्बलाञ्छितवियत्सरोम्भसा ।

विप्रकृष्टविवरं हिमांशुना चक्रवाकमिथुनं विडम्ब्यते ॥ K. VIII-61.

They endure the separation on the hope of becoming united in the morning.

शशिनं पुनरेति शर्वरी दयिता द्वन्द्वचरं पतत्रिणम ।

इति तौ विरहान्तरक्षमौ कथमत्यन्तगता न मां दहेः ॥ R. VIII-56.

The eyes of Indumatī, red on account of the smoke at the time of her marriage, are compared to the eyes of the intoxicated Cakora bird.

चकार सा मत्तचकोरनेत्रा लज्जावती लाजविसर्गमग्नौ । R. VII-25.

The cranes are at the height of their joy in the rainy season

सेविष्यन्ते नयनसुभगं खे भवन्तं बलाकाः । M. I-10.

They fly in groups along with the clouds.

श्रेणीभूताः परिगणनया निर्दिशन्तो बलाकाः । M. I-22.

बलाकिनी नीलपयोदराजी । K. VII-39.

The Sārasa birds closely resemble the cranes in many respects.

Though Garuḍa is the natural enemy of the serpents, it does not attack the water-snakes.

किं महोरगविसर्पिविक्रमो राजिलेषु गरुडः प्रवर्तते । R. XI-27.

The hawk hovers over the battlefield.

हृतान्यपि श्येननखाग्रकोटिव्यासक्तकेशानि चिरेण पेतुः । R. VII-46.

The eagles also remain in the battlefield providing shade as it were to the men of the army locked in eternal sleep.

अप्रबोधाय सुष्वाप गृध्रच्छाये वरूथिनी । R. XII-50.

They are usually found in cemeteries.

क्रव्याद्गणपरीवारः चिताग्निरिव जङ्गमः । R. XV-16.

The dove is mentioned only to illustrate the colour of the ash.

तदिदं कणशो विकीर्यते पवनैर्भस्म कपोतकर्बुरम् । K. IV-27.

Though the serpent, whale, alligators and fish do not come under the category of beasts, I am tempted to deal

about them also on account of their charming descriptions by Kālidāsa.

The serpents generally do not bite of their own accord unless they are disturbed.

आक्रान्तपूर्वमिव मुक्तविषं भुजङ्गम R. IX-79.

If awakened from sleep they are all the more ferocious.

सुप्तसर्प इव दण्डघट्टनाद्रोषितोऽस्मि तव विक्रमश्रवात् । R. XI-71.

It has no thirst for blood.

अमर्षणः शोणितकाङ्क्षया किं पदा स्पृशन्तं दशति द्विजिह्वः ।
R. XIV-41.

Kālidāsa makes use of the fear of the people for snake to frighten the Vidūṣaka by making Nipuṇikā throw a stick on him. Punch-marks will be left on the body if a snake bites.

नन्वेते द्वे दंशपदे ।

इमं भुजङ्गभीरुं ब्रह्मबन्धुमनेन भुजङ्गकुटिलेन दण्डकाष्ठेन स्तम्भान्तरिता भीषयिष्यामि ।

He speaks of three remedies to be applied effectively immediately after being bitten by a snake.

छेदो दंशस्य दाहो वा क्षतेर्वा रक्तमोक्षणम् ।
एतानि दष्टमात्राणामायुष्याः प्रतिपत्तयः ॥ Mala. IV-4.

If some time has elapsed, the case should be entrusted to a *Viṣavaidya*, who will remove the virulence of the poison by performing worship to the image of the serpent placed in an उदकुम्भ. *Mantras* have infallible efficacy in the case of snakes and snake-poisons. When the earth receives the first showers of rain, the serpents will rush out of the ant-hills, unable to bear the hot steam formed in the holes by the heat of the earth.

उद्वमेन्द्रसिक्ता भूः बिलमग्नाविवोरगौ ॥ R. XII-5.

The casting of the sloughs by the snakes is mentioned twice.

न तु सर्प इव त्वचं पुनः प्रतिपेदे व्यपवर्जितां श्रियम् । R. VIII-13.
निर्मोकपट्टाः फणिभिर्विमुक्ताः । R. XVI-17

In the summer they resort to the shades even of the feathers of the peacocks who abstain from killing them.

अवाङ्मुखो जिह्मगतिः श्वसन्मुहुः फणी मयूरस्य तले निषीदति ।
Ṛtu. 1-13.
हुताग्निकल्पैः सवितुर्गभस्तिभिः कलापिनः क्लान्तशरीरतेजसः ।
न भोगिनं घ्नन्ति समीपवर्तिनं कलापचक्रेषु निवेशिताननम् ॥ Ṛtu. 1-16.

In the ocean they are distinguished from the surging waves by means of the gems on their hoods, whose redness is increased by the rays of the sun.

वेलानिलाय प्रसृता भुजङ्गा महोर्मिविस्फूर्जथुनिर्विशेषाः ।
सूर्यांशुसंपर्कसमृद्धरागैर्व्यज्यन्त एते मणिभिः फणस्थैः ॥ R.XIII-12.

The whales in the ocean drink the water of the rivers along with the animals flowing with the flood by keeping their mouths wide open at the confluence, and close their mouths, retaining the animals alone in the stomach, the water being pumped out through the holes at the top of their heads.

ससत्त्वमादाय नदीमुखाम्भः संमीलयन्तो विवृताननत्वात् ।
अमी शिरोभिस्तिमयः सरन्ध्रैरूर्ध्वं वितन्वन्ति जलप्रवाहान् ॥
R. XIII-10.

The alligators are generally found in lakes and rivers which are deep. Their depth gives them an appearance of calmness and serenity though they contain concealed within their waters the *nakras*.

ह्रदाः प्रसन्ना इव गूढनक्राः । R. VII-30.

They are often removed from the rivers by fishermen to enable the kings to have their baths in them along with their wives.

स तीरभूमौ विहितोपकार्यामानायिभिस्तामपकृष्टनक्राम् ।
विगाहितुं श्रीमहिमानुरूपं प्रचक्रमे चक्रधरप्रभावः ॥ R. XVI-55.

However they are once again dropped into the water, as otherwise the reference to the presence of the alligators in the river in R. XVI-79 is not possible (तस्मात्समुद्रादिव मथ्यमानादुद्वृत्तनक्रात्सहसोन्ममज्ज)

The eyes of the women are compared to the fish.

मोघीकर्तुं चटुलशफरोद्वर्तनप्रेक्षितानि । M. I-43.

The fish live upon the dirt in the water which is consequently purified by them.

बभुः पिबन्तः परमार्थमत्स्याः पर्याविलानीव नवोदकानि । R. VII-40

The water of the lake remains undisturbed when the fish go to sleep.

सुप्तमीन इव ह्रदः । R. I-73.

When anybody gets into the water to take a bath they surround him close to the body.

सा व्यगाहत तरङ्गिणीसुमा मीनपङ्क्तिपुनरुक्तमेखला । K. VIII-26.

When the lake dries up in the summer they are afflicted, but are consoled by the first shower of rains.

शफरीं ह्रदशोषविक्लवां प्रथमा वृष्टिरिवान्वकम्पयत ।

Kālidāsa makes some general observations on a few of the characteristic features of the birds and animals. After watering the plants the ladies go away from them to enable the birds to drink the water remaining in the water-basins.

सेकान्ते मुनिकन्याभिस्तत्क्षणोज्झितवृक्षकम् ।
विश्वासाय विहङ्गानामालवालाम्बुपायिनाम् । R. I-51.

Valour often associated with cruelty is a natural trait of animals.

शौर्यं श्वापदचेष्टितम् । R. XVII-47.

The weaker ones attack the stronger.

ऊनं न सत्त्वेष्वधिको बबाधे । R. II-14.

Kālidāsa refers to the Vāstu ceremony which is performed after the completion of a building. Offering of animals is made on such occasions to ward off evils.

ततः सपर्यां सपशूपहारां पुरः परार्ध्यप्रतिमागृहायाः ।
उपोषितैर्वास्तुविधानविद्भिर्निर्वर्तयामास रघुप्रवीरः ॥ R. XVI-39.

The association with the holy sages in the penance-groves makes the wild animals discard their natural enmity and become tame without being threatened with punishment.

सिद्धाश्रमं शान्तमिवैत्य सत्त्वैः नैसर्गिकोऽप्युत्ससृजे विरोधः । R VI-46.

अनिग्रहत्रासविनीतसत्त्वम् । R. XIII-50.

तपस्विसंसर्गविनीतसत्त्वे तपोवने वीतभया वसास्मिन् । R. XIV-75

स्वमाश्रमं शान्तमृगं निनाय । R. XIV-79.

विरोधिसत्त्वोज्झितपूर्वमत्सरम । K V-17.

Thus it will be seen that Kālidāsa has dealt with a variety of animals and birds in a manner which justifies his claim to कविसार्वभौमत्व. He shows a deep insight into the different aspects of animal life which is harnessed harmoniously with human life, both in the forest and in the city.

THE JAGANMOHANAKĀVYA

BY

DR. J. B. CHAUDHURI

THE Madras Government Oriental MSS. Library is in possession of a MS. (D 12049) of the above-mentioned work (DC XX. 8055) This work has not yet been published. It is exclusively devoted to the description of women. The work begins with the description of the wife of a S'aiva (vv. 1-3). The following two sections are devoted to the description of the women of Karṇāṭa and Āndhrades'a respectively (vv. 4-7 and 8-11). Whereas the women of Karṇāṭa are stated to be fond of wearing Ketaka flowers in their hair, Āndhra women wear the Mallikā flowers:

कर्णाटकस्त्री

केशान्तरालगतकेतकिपत्रजालं कस्तूरिकाकलुषकोमलकर्णमूलम् ।
विन्यस्तकुङ्कुमविशेषकमुत्पलाक्षं कर्णाटयौवतमिदं कमनीयवेषम ॥ ४ ॥

आन्ध्रस्त्री

धम्मिल्लमध्यविनिवेशितमल्लिकानां ताटङ्करुद्धतरलायितलोचनानाम ।
आनाभिकञ्चुकजुषाममलाम्बराणामायाति बृन्दमिदमान्ध्रविलासिनीनाम ॥

The wife of the gold-smith with her ashy *tripuṇḍra* on the forehead and red paint inside it and the Liṅga on her bosom is indeed graphically painted by the poet as a South Indian woman, but the heading to the verse "Hemakārastrī" does not carry much meaning:

हेमकारस्त्री

भस्मत्रिपुण्ड्राङ्कितफालभागा तन्मध्यरक्ताङ्कितचित्रका च ।
उरोजमध्याङ्कितलिङ्गपीठा विराजते काचन हेमकारी ॥

Then we get the description of a woman getting up from her bed and going on with her daily round of duties. A woman getting up from her bed is beautifully described here:

दोर्मूलद्वितयावरुद्धवसनोद्भिन्नस्तनोत्सेधया
बिभ्रत्या करपल्लवेन शिथिलं क्षौमं स्फुरन्मेखलम् ।
निद्रान्तान्तदृशा नताङ्गलतया विश्लिष्टधम्मिल्लया
पर्यङ्कान्मणिपादुकार्पितपदं तन्व्या समुत्थीयते ॥ १५ ॥

She goes to the pond with a pitcher in her left hand and cleanses her teeth (vv. 18-22); and washes her face in a beautiful manner quite befitting herself:

मुग्धा मुखक्षालनमाचरन्ती पानीयमानीय करद्वयेन ।
जलाञ्जलौ नेत्रद्वयं विलोक्य मीनेक्षणा मीनभयान्मुमोच ॥ २३ ॥

Then she puts on the mark on her forehead, grinds turmeric to powder and rubs oil to the great joy of her lover:

अभ्यञ्जयित्री

लाक्षारञ्जितपादकञ्जयुगले विन्यस्य पाणिद्वयं
शीर्षे चन्दनतैलमुज्ज्वलतरं तन्व्या दधत्याः शनैः ।
उद्वेल्लत्करकङ्कणद्वयरवं शृण्वन् विलोलत्कुच-
प्रोद्यन्मौक्तिकमञ्जरीमनुकलं पश्यन् प्रियो मोदते ॥ २४ ॥

She bathes (v. 32) and, while emerging, she appears to be another Goddess of Fortune coming out of the nectarine sea of love (v. 33):

स्नानोत्थिता

शुभ्राङ्गी नवमज्जनादरुणिमप्रोल्लासनेत्रोत्पला
ज्योत्स्नापूरविपाण्डुराम्बरधरा रात्रिर्यथा शारदी ।
बिभ्राणा करपल्लवेन कबरीमार्द्रामियं दृश्यते
श्रीः शृङ्गारसुधापयोधिसलिलादभ्युत्थितेवापरा ॥ ३३ ॥

Then she enjoys the morning sun in a perfect pose:

बालातपसेविनी

अंसस्रस्तमनेकगन्धसुरभिं धम्मिल्लमुन्मुञ्चती
बाह्वोर्मूलमनङ्गमङ्गलगृहं संदर्शयन्ती शनैः ।
शीतांशोः शिशिरावदाततदशना शीतांशुबिम्बानना
बाला काचन लोललोचनयुगा बालातपं सेवते ॥ ३४ ॥

After enjoying the sun, the woman arranges her hair. She places scented Hallaka flowers in it and charms young minds with the foreparts of her arms:

क्रीडासंभ्रमतः श्लथान् घनरुचः केशान्मिथस्सङ्गता-
नुद्यत्कङ्कणनिस्वनं नखमुखैरुन्मुच्य लीलाञ्चितैः ।
अन्तर्न्यस्तसुगन्धिहल्लकदलैर्धम्मिल्लमाबध्नती
मूलेन क्षणदर्शितेन भुजयोर्मुष्णाति यूनां मनः ॥ ४० ॥

Then she stretches herself and goes out with pitchers and engages herself in filling it up with water of the well by means of ropes—affording thus great pleasure to the poet with her graceful form, dangling hair and the tinkling sounds of her bracelets:

रज्ज्वाकर्षणी

तिर्यक् पादतले प्रसार्य तरसा रज्जुं विकृष्यानता
कूपान्तर्निहितेक्षणा कुटिलदृक्कुम्भं निपूर्यांसता ।
आलोलालकमात्तकङ्कणरवं पर्यायनृत्यत्कुचं
रज्ज्वाकर्षणतत्परा रमयते रामा मदीयं मनः ॥ ४९ ॥

She is also described as husking the paddy:

व्रीहिहन्त्री

पादाभ्यां परितः प्रसारितकणान् पर्यायतश्छिन्दती
पर्यायोद्यतबाहुमूलयुगला पर्यायनृत्यत्कुचा ।
गायन्ती कलकलनादमधुरं चेता भुवो विक्रमं
यूनामेव मनो निहन्ति न पुनर्व्रीहीनियं कामिनी ॥ ५७ ॥

Her graceful physical movements while churning the curd are also much captivating:

> आश्लिष्टालकमाननं श्रमजलैर्व्यावर्तयन्त्यंसयोः
> निश्वासेन निवारयन्त्यलघुना नेत्रापकर्षश्रमम् ।
> नीवीं संदधती नितम्बवलनैर्विस्रंसमाना मुहु-
> र्बाला तुङ्गपयोधरं दधि शनैर्मथ्नाति शातोदरी ॥ ६१ ॥

The *Jaganmohanakāvya* appears to be incomplete, in any case, in its present form, the ending is quite abrupt.
The verse:

> यवनी नवनीतकोमलाङ्गी शयनीये यदि नीयतां कदाचित् ।
> अवनीतलमेव साधु मन्ये न वनी माघवनी विनोदहेतुः ॥ १२ ॥

quoted under the heading Āndhrastrī is popularly believed to have been composed by Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha (who hailed from the Āndhradeśa) with reference to his beloved Muslim wife Lavangī.[1] As such, the *Jaganmohanakāvya* could not have been composed earlier than the seventeenth century A.D.

The verses quoted above will show that the present work deserves appreciation of the lovers of Sanskrit poetry. It is rather strange that these verses have escaped the notice of the compilers of Sanskrit anthologies. As stated above, the *Jaganmohanakāvya* is rather a recent work; even then, there are many anthologies compiled in the 17-18th Centuries A.D. which could have noticed some of these verses. The verse यवनी नवनीतकोमलाङ्गी etc., quoted above tends to show that the work in itself is a compilation. Be it what it may, a work of this type exclusively devoted to the description of a woman in her daily round of duties is a valuable addition to our wealthy Sanskrit literature.

[1] See my *Muslim Patronage to Sanskritic Learning*, p. 48.

'NAMMAGAN' S'ĒMA PIḶLAI

BY

K. R. VENKATARAMA AIYAR

"AN undated inscription from Tirukkaṇṇapuram[1] mentions a certain S'ēmapillai called by the King '*nammagan*', 'our son'; but as this description is often applied to feudatories in Cōla inscriptions[2], it is doubtful if S'ēmapiḷḷai was really a son of Rājēndra III;"—such is Professor K. A. N. Sastri's brief account[3] of S'ēma Pillai, not an inconspicuous figure in the politics of the 13th century, to whom scholars wrongly attributed the dignity of a prince of the Imperial Cōla line.

The term *nammagan* (or *nammaganār*) is expressive of royal favour and esteem, and was applied to nobles of rank, close to the person of the king and distinguished for loyal and meritorious services.[4] *Pillai*, as a suffix to a personal name, indicates social position and dignity. In the Pudukkōṭṭai inscriptions the chief is referred to as Aḻagiya S'ēman. *S'ēmam* means 'stronghold', 'protection', 'preservation', 'defence', 'security' etc.; and its personal noun form *S'ēman* or *S'ēmakkāran* means a trusty and prudent man entrusted with the duty of protection, defence and security.

[1] *A R.E.* 515 of 1912.

[2] The case of Tennavan Viḻuppēraraiyan, a Muttaraiya vassal, who was addressed *nammaganār* by Parāntaka I, is an example.—*S.I.I* III-145 (*A.R.E.* 245 of 1912).

[3] *Colas*, Vol. II, p. 207.

[4] It may be recalled here that in royal writs and commissions British sovereigns address earls and peers of high ranks as Our right trusty and right well-beloved *cousin*. Spanish monarchs greeted their grandees as cousins.

A general condition of turbulence and insubordination to the royal decrees set in under the weak rule of Rāja Rāja III and continued in the reign of his successor Rājēndra III Contemporary inscriptions record numerous instances of *rāja-drōha*. When treason was rampant, the king naturally surrounded himself with the most dependable of his officers, who were sincerely attached to his person and were deserving of his confidence and affection. It will not be wide of the mark to say that Aḷagiya S'ēman was at the head of the trusted groups of *Vēlaikkārar* or *tirumeikkāppār*, as the officers of the king's bodyguard were designated in Cōla times.

Aḷagiya S'ēman must have participated in the early victories of Rājēndra III, who, even as heir to the throne in the reign of Rāja Rāja, showed much vigour and initiative. He forced the weak Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II (acc. 1238 A.D.) to acknowledge his overlordship, and scored some initial success against the Hoysala Vīra Sōmēs'vara. In some of the *pras'astis*[1], he is described as *Pāṇḍya-maṇimakuṭa-s'iraḥ-khaṇḍana-paṇḍita*, or 'expert in humbling the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya', and it is clearly inferable that his faithful vassal imitated his master and styled himself *Aras'akaṇḍa-rāman* or 'Rāma who had subdued kings'.

After the accession of Vīra Rāmanātha, who from his capital at Kannanur ruled the Tamil provinces of the Hoysala kingdom, the Cōla kingdom, though nominally administered in the name of Rājēndra, was really a Hoysala protectorate. Grants were sometimes dated in the regnal years of both Rājēndra, and Rāmanātha[2]. Large parts of the kingdom were directly ruled by Hoysala daṇḍanāyakas. Aḷagiya S'ēman was associated with at least one Hoysala general in the administration of a Cōla district or *nāḍu*. Two inscriptions from Tirumanañjēri in the Pudukkōṭṭai State record that Aḷagiya S'ēman and Mahāpradhāni S'okkanātha Daṇḍanāyaka, a younger brother of Siṅgaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, jointly built the

[1] cf. *A.R.E.* 420 of 1911, and 515 of 1922.

[2] cf. *A.R.E.* 207 and 208 of 1931. (Tiruccāttuṟai, Tanjore Dist.)

Amman shrine in the S'iva temple[1]. In another shrine[2], which S'ēman renovated, Mahāperiyapiadhāni Singaṇa Daṇḍa-nāyaka consecrated an idol of the Dēvī.

There are no records in the Pudukkōttai State or any where south of the modern Tanjore district of the reign of Rājēndra III after his seventh regnal year, whereas there are a good number of the reigns of the contemporary Pāṇḍya rulers Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (acc. 1251), Jatāvarman Vira Pāndya (acc. 1253) and Māravarman Kulas'ēkhara (acc 1268). It may safely be said that the modern Puduk-kōṭṭai State and much of the country to the east of it had been incorporated in the Pāndyan kingdom by about 1254 A.D. The final stages in the disintegration of the Cōḷa empire were marked by Jatāvarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya's incursion into the country north of the Kāvērī, and the completion of the con-quest by Māravarman Kulas'ēkhara. Simultaneously the Hoysalas were driven north beyond the ghats. The Cōla empire became *S'ōlamaṇḍalam*, a province of a renascent Pāṇḍyan empire. When such revolutionary changes were taking place, it is no wonder that Aḷagiya S'ēman, Rājēndra's *nammagan* changed his allegiance and accepted the over-lordship of Vīra-Pāṇḍya and Kulas'ēkhara. Pudukkōṭṭai inscriptions of the reigns of these two Pāṇḍyan sovereigns refer to him as a *Sāmantanār*. The provenance of Sāman-tanār Aḷagiya S'ēman's inscriptions indicates that he was ruler over parts of the Ālaṅguḍi and Kulattūr taluks of the Puduk-kōṭṭai State, comprising the old territorial divisions of Valla-nāḍu, Tenkavirnāḍu, Kiḻippaṉṟunāḍu and Vīrakkuḍināḍu or Panṟiṟkūṟṟam in Rājarājavaḷanāḍu, and Panangāṭṭunāḍu and Kulamaṅgalaṉāḍu in Jayasiṅgakulakālavaḷanāḍu. Eleven of his records[3] range from the 4th to the 17th regnal year of Vīra-Pāṇḍya, and one other is dated in the 10th year of

[1] *P.S.I.* 1056 and 1057. There is an inscription here dated in the 18th year of Rāmanātha's reign.

[2] *P.S.I.* 1054 and 667. (Sembāṭṭūr).

Kulaśēkhara's reign: the period covered by his dated inscriptions as a Pāṇḍya feudatory is roughly 1257-1279.[1]

Sāmantanār Alagiya Śēman enjoyed the royal prerogatives usually conceded to prominent feudatories. He was addressed as *nāyanār*, and maintained his own *agambadi-mudaliyārs* or officers of the royal household, one of whom Udaiyañceydān-Bhuvanasiṅgadēva figures as the donor in several grants to temples, all made to secure merit for his master. There are references to the Chief's treasury[2] and his accountants. The *araiyars* and the local assemblies, acting under the chief's authority, collected and remitted taxes, and fixed the *vārams* of tenants. A record of the 10th year[3] of Vīra-Pāṇḍya's reign refers to the rates which tenants of the lands belonging to the Tiruvaiangulam temple paid to the *Śrīkāryamśeivar* or temple authorities for collection and supervision work: the rates were one *kuruṇi* of paddy for every *tadi* of land at the time of reaping and another at the time of thrashing, and one *kuruṇi* of each of the dry crops grown in the village. One *kuruṇi* was set apart for feeding the supervising officers at harvesting time. Another inscription[4] records a fine which Bhuvanasinga had sentenced an officer Kuraṅgan Uḍaiyān also called Rājagambhīramārāyan,[5] to pay. The officer paid the fine by selling his land for 6000 *kāśu*, and both the land and the money were made over to the temple. At Temmāvur (Tēnvāyūr), Śēman built a fort called *Araśagaṇḍa rāmankōṭṭai.*[6]

Śēman was a great devotee of Śiva. *Śēmāṇḍān* meaning 'Śēman the *āṇḍān* or devotee' and *Tiruvambalapperumālarulperiya (perugu) Caṇḍēśvaran*[7] or 'Caṇḍēśvaran blessed

[1] *P.S.I.* 443.
[2] *P.S.I.* 427.
[3] *P.S.I.* 435.
[4] *P.S.I.* 429.
[5] *Mārāyan* was an ancient title conferred upon high officers in the Tamil country.
[6] *P.S.I.* 1119.
[7] The chief called himself Caṇḍēśvara after the foremost of the devotees and servants of Śiva.

with the grace of Tiruvambalapperumāl (Natarāja)' are two of S'ēman's characteristic surnames His Pudukkōttai records refer to construction of temples, institution of *sandis* or daily worship, endowments for food offerings, gifts of gardens, land etc. and assignment of taxes in favour of temples. Though a worshipper of S'iva, S'ēman made gifts to Viṣṇu temples also, one of which is referred to in an inscription from Tirukkaṇṇapuram.[1]

The central shrines in the Tiruvarudaiyar temple[2] at S'embāṭṭūr (called S'embādu in the inscriptions) and the Mūlanātha temple at Tiruviḍayāpaṭṭi on the left bank of the Veḷḷār are two monuments that S'ēman built. These two temples have this peculiarity that the *mahāmaṇṭapa* of each is of the 'late Cōla style' while the *garbhagṛha* and the *ardhamaṇṭapa*—with polygonal pilasters supporting similar polygonal members above, *padmams* below the abacus having clearly marked petals, corbels of the *puṣpapōdigai* type, *kumbhapañcarams* in the recesses of the walls and *pañcarams* with wagon-shaped tops over the niches—represent definitely the 'Pāṇḍyan style' of the 13th-14th centuries. S'ēman rebuilt the sanctums and the *ardhamaṇṭapas* without interfering with the structures in front of them. These are two of the unique monuments for which Pudukkōṭṭai is famous, and are of interest to students of South Indian temple architecture as illustrations of how the 'late Cōḷa' style of the 11th-12th centuries shaded into the 'Pāṇḍyan style.' Pudukkōṭṭai inscriptions assign the Amman (Dēvī) shrine at Tirumanañjēri and a Gaṇēs'a shrine[3] in the Tiruvaraṅgulam temple to S'ēman.

The campaigns and political upheavals of the times little affected the normal life of the people. Through their group assemblies and guilds, they controlled their own local affairs. The village temple and the *maṭha* attached to it

[1] *A.R.E.* 515 of 1922.
[2] The Government of Pudukkōṭṭai have conserved this monument.
[3] Built by Bhuvanasiṅgadēva to secure merit for S'ēman (*P.S.I.* 436).

were the rallying ground for all activities—religious, cultural, civic, social and economic. How the emperors fostered the social and cultural impulses of the times as reflected in the temples and the civic institutions is a very fascinating study of ancient South Indian history. The feudatories shared with the emperors, not only their victories and reverses in the campaigns, but also the task of directing the people's surge for self-expression in the realms of art and religion. Aḻagiya S̄ēman is but a little vignette in the long cameos of the past, but his career, nevertheless, is one of interest.

PAINTING TERMINOLOGY FROM SANSKRIT LITERATURE

BY

DR. VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA

INDIAN literature is characteristically rich in terms relating to various fine arts (ललितकलाविधि, *Raghu*, 8-67). Painting (आलेख्य or चित्रकर्म) was specially close to the heart of the poets, and there are numerous instances of the art of colour-drawing or painting being used as a device to further the ends of the story. Such portions from classical Sanskrit poetry furnish us with interesting technical terms relating to Painting.

The picture gallery was called चित्रशाला (*Mālavikā*, Act I) or चित्रशालिका (*Tilakamañjarī*, p. 29) and painted homes are referred to as चित्रवत्सद्म (*Ragh.* 14. 25). The *Uttararāmacarita* (Act I) refers to the gallery as वीथिका in which paintings on walls were painted (अभिलिखित). In this case the whole Rāmāyaṇa story was illustrated in a series of narrative panels and some of the scenes painted were extremely realistic, so much so that Sītā had once to be reminded that it was a picture and not a scene from life that she was looking at (अपि चित्रमेतत्). An hour spent in the picture-gallery is called चित्रदर्शन. Both according to Bhavabhūti and Bāṇabhaṭṭa looking at and painting of pictures were means of diversion (विनोदार्थ), and sometimes kings and nobles entertained themselves by cultivating painting as a hobby (आलेख्यविनोद). The noble king in the *Tilakamañjarī* devotes whole days in examining painted portraits of beautiful maidens from far and near—

कदाचिदङ्गनालोल इति निपुणचित्रकारैश्चित्रपटेष्वारोप्य सादरमुपायनी-कृतानि रूपातिशयशालिनीनामवनिपालकन्यकानां प्रतिबिम्बानि परित्यक्तान्यकर्मा दिवसमालोकयत । (p. 18).

The wall-paintings are referred to as भित्तिचित्र in Classical Sanskrit *Tilakamañjarī*) p. 71; 179) which term more or less must correspond to what we usually understand by fresco-painting In the *Vinaya-piṭaka* (III 36) we find a more expressive term in लेपचित्र(लेप्यचित्र) for paintings on plastered walls. In the *Mahaummaga Jātaka* the great tunnel having brick walls worked over with stucco (सुधाकम्म) was adorned with all manner of paintings done by clever painters, and its timbered roofs smeared with cement (उल्लोकमत्तिका) and whitened (सेतकम्म) were beautiful with full-blown lotus-flowers—a description which brings to mind the concentric bands of lotus designs on ceilings in Cave II and XVII at Ajanta.

The *Mālavikāgnimitra* refers to master-painters as चित्राचार्य (Act I), and the *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla designates them with the honorific title चित्रविद्योपाध्याय (p. 177) who must have also worked as talented exponents of art to a crowd of gifted students attached to them as pupils. The discriminating citizens who cultivated a taste for fine arts specially painting, are referred to as आलेख्यशास्त्रविद्नागरलोक. Some of them were practical connoisseurs well-versed in the theory of æsthetics (चारुत्वतत्व, *Tilaka*) and therefore competent to act as judges of pictures. Dhanapāla also uses the general term चित्रकर for a painter (p. 179), and the *Medinī* gives वर्णाट, a colour-expert, as the synonym of चित्रकर, and the *Nānārthārṇavasaṁkṣepa* adds रागजीवः to it (III. 520). The latter uses the term कारुज (literally, produced by an artist) for a picture done by a workman (शिल्पिनां चित्रे), which only shows how much more common were pictures amongst all other creations of the artists. The brush is called तूलिका in the *Kumārasambhava* (I. 16) and the colour pencil was known as वर्तिका. The word लेखनी also occurs as a synonym of चित्रतूलिका

(*Nānārthārṇavasaṁkṣepa*, II, 1572). Skill in the use of the colour pencil is referred as वर्तिका-निपुणता. Several kinds of colours were in use and most of them were prepared from different coloured earths or stones. The inorganic colours were found to be more lasting, and their use is referred to in a casual dialogue in the drama *Nāgānanda*.[1] (Act II)

Hero—Friend, let me divert myself by painting the dear one on this slab Bring you please from yonder rock a piece of red arsenic (मनः शिला).

Vidūṣaka—As you desire. You ordered, O friend, for one colour only, but look, here have I brought five varying pigments readily picked up from amongst rock pieces on the spot.

This piece of information (7th cent. A. D.) contemporaneous with the work at Ajanta, is on that account extremely valuable as it suggests the probable source of the beautiful permanent colours from coloured stones used in executing those wonderful paintings. Mixing of colours for painter's work is referred to in a poetic way by Bāṇabhaṭṭa as चित्रकर्म-सुवर्णसंकराः which surely has reference to the preparation of secondary colours from basic tints.

The artist first drew the picture in outline called रेखा (*cf.* दयितामुखस्य सुखयति रेखाऽपि प्रथमदृष्टेयम्, *Nāgānanda*) The outline was generally done in red chalk called गैरिक. The Yakṣa in speaking of the attempted portrait-painting of his wife says:—

त्वामालिख्य प्रणयकुपितां धातुरागैः शिलायाम्,

(*Meghadūta*, II. 42), *i.e.* the painting is drawn with the help of the mineral colours (धातुराग) which according to Mallinātha included गैरिक and others. The use of the mineral paints

[1] नायकः—वयस्य जाने तामेवास्यां शिलायामालिख्य तया चित्रगतयात्मानं विनोदयामीति । तदित एव गिरितटान्मनःशिलाशकलान्यादायागच्छ ।
विदूषकः—यद्भवानाज्ञापयति । भो वयस्य, त्वयैको वर्णक आज्ञप्तः, मया पुनरिहैव सुलभाः पञ्चरागिणो वर्णा आनीता इति आलिखतु भवान् ।

(धातुराग) however stands clearly emphasized. In speaking of the technique at Ajanta, Mrs. Herringham writes: "The ground of these ancient paintings having been prepared, the artist then proceeded to sketch out his own composition in a bold red line-drawing on the white plaster. The scheme was drawn out in red." In Sanskrit this would be like saying—

धातुरागेण रेखाभङ्ग्यः क्रियन्ते स्म.

Sometimes the outline was drawn with a black chalk called कालाञ्जनवर्तिका (cf. कपालेष्वोन्मीलनकालाञ्जनवर्तिका in the *Kadambari* describing the श्मश्रुराजिलेखा of चन्द्रपीड, Vaidya's Text, p. 267).

The portrait is referred to as प्रतिकृति which was distinguished by extreme likeness to real form (सुसादृश्य). But the picture, whether a portrait or an imaginary one, must always first be a mental conceptional (मनसाकृत) with the artist, for he transfers to the canvass what he first creates as a mental image (संकल्पस्थापितं पुरः) [*Nagananda*, Act II]. In painting a portrait from memory the painter has to work on the basis of his own mental impressions of the likeness (भावगम्यं सादृश्यलेखन, *Meghaduta*, II. 22).

The aesthetic appreciation of a good picture was based on the following three points. The remarks of Duryodhana in the *Dutavakya* in describing the द्रौपदीकेशाम्बरकर्षणचित्रपटः are very apt in this connection—

(1) Colour scheme (वर्ण)—अहो अस्य वर्णाढ्यता, (wonderful is the richness of its colours).

(2) Expression (भाव)—भावोपपन्नता, ('Oh, the propriety of its expression!)

(3) Drawing (आलेखन)—अहो युक्तलेखता, ('Oh, the surety of lines in it!)

Kṛṣṇa sums up his reaction to the same picture in a short dignified remark—अहो दर्शनीयोऽयं चित्रपटः, 'Truly lovely to look at is this picture.'

The female figurines painted in a picture or on canvas are referred to as चित्रपुत्रिका (*Harṣacarita*, N. S edition, p. 165; *Tilakamañjarī*, p. 162). In the *Udayasundarīkathā* of Soḍḍhala it is called लेख्यपुत्रिका (p. 96). The painted figure is आलेख्यगत or चित्रार्पित. The painting of foliage and creeper designs was called पत्रलेखन, lit. 'writing of leaves', the designs being called पत्रलता, पत्रावली or पत्रांगुलि. The root लिख् has been specially used as a technical term for 'painting' in Sanskrit literature. Kālidāsa sanctifies its usage in a beautiful line of the *Meghadūta* (II. 17). The Yakṣa directs the Cloud Messenger to identify his home in Alaka by the figures of शंख and पद्म painted on the door jambs of the entrance—

द्वारोपान्ते लिखितवपुषौ शङ्खपद्मौ च दृष्ट्वा ।

Harṣa also uses the same root in the *Nāgānanda*:

एवं नाम रूपं लिख्यते,

'You paint such beauty!'

In the medieval period the painting of scenes and portraits on cloth or canvass seems to have been much in vogue. According to *Medinī* the word पट had become synonymous with चित्रपट.[1]

Painting was made either on a rectangular or a square board (चित्रफलक, *Tilakamañjarī*, p 163), or on a big cloth folded as a roll, for which the significant name was कुंडलित पट (*Udayasundarīkathā* of Soḍḍhala, p. 51). The unfolding or spreading out of the roll is referred to as प्रस्तारित (*Tilakamañjarī*, p. 162) or more appropriately उद्वेल्लित (*Udayasundarī*, p. 51, सर्वं कुण्डलितपटम् उद्वेल्ल्य). Such painted rolls were preserved in appropriate covers made of costly Chinese silk (प्रकृष्टचीनकर्पटप्रसेविकायाः सयत्नमाकृष्य चित्रपटमेनमुपनीतवान् । *Tilakamañjarī*, p. 164, *i.e.*,

[1] In the north Indian dialects of Hindi the continued use of लिखना in this specialised sense is found even today. The female potter uses the idiom बासन लिखना for painting figures on pottery.

carefully took out the roll from inside a bag of excellent Chinese silk and presented it to the king).

Fortunately we have still preserved for us three descriptions of roll paintings on cloth (चित्रपट) in late classical literature. The first occurs in the *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, ch. 33). Kalāvatī who was in her former life the daughter of Harisvāmin, a learned Brāhmaṇa of Benares, is in her next life born in the house of the ruler of Karṇāta. One day a dealer brings to her an elaborately painted roll which consisted of a चित्रपट of काशी, portraying the city as it then stood, in the most detailed manner. The sight of the painting revived subconscious memories in Kalāvatī's mind, and she began to name and identify in the picture all the sacred spots and temples of the holy city. The list is a beautiful literary device of the author of the Purāṇa to introduce a detailed account of the S'ivaliṅgas and other holy temples of Benares. Elsewhere the same Purāṇa eulogises the making of painted scrolls with figures of gods and goddesses. S'ivas'armā, a learned Brāhmaṇa of Mathurā sorrowfully accuses himself for having neglected the pious duty of getting Gaurī and Mahālakṣmī painted on चित्रपट (*Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, ch. 7). Such religious rolls were either used for personal worship or presented to temples. We meet with a lengthy account of a *Citrapaṭa* in the *Tilakamañjarī*, a romance of Dhanapāla (a court poet of Muñja and Bhoja of Dhārā, 11th cent.)

An excellent scroll (दिव्यचित्रपट) is brought to Prince Harivāhana by his Pratīhārī who obtained it from a young painter named Gandharvaka. The king having heard of its exceeding beauty (सर्वातिशायिचारुत्व) hands it to the attendant flywhisk-bearer, with the remark: भद्रे, किमत्र लिखितम्. She spreads out the painting before him (विस्तारिते पुरस्तात्तत्र) and the Prince sees in it a beautiful maiden in the form of a painted figure—

कन्यकारूपधारिणी चित्रपुत्रिका

He also observes closely her beauty from head to foot in great detail (मुहुः . . . . कृतारोहावरोहया दृष्ट्या तां व्यभावयत). The clever painter

of this rare scroll, who had come with it from a distant quarter, is also soon ushered in the presence of the Prince. He who had painted that divine beauty (दिव्य कुमारिका रूप) with extreme care (सप्रयत्न) modestly asks: 'Prince, Does this scroll show something worth seeing? Does not some perceptible fault obtrude too much in it? My own skill in the painter's art not being yet perfect, please deign to instruct me with your gifted knowledge of theory and practice in this art—

'कुमार, अस्ति किंचिद् दर्शनयोग्यमत्रचित्रपटे रूपम्। उद्भूतरूपः कोऽपि दोषो वा नातिमात्रं प्रतिभाति।

अद्याप्यनुपजातपरिणतिश्चित्रविद्यायां शिक्षणीयोऽहमखिलकलाशास्त्रपारगेण महाभागेन।'

The Prince on his part already struck with the excellence of the picture bestows praise on the youthful painter and says, 'Thy proficiency in brush work (चित्रगति) seems to have come to thee from past life. You seem to be the very creator of this art in this world. What a beautiful pond fringed with many a tree and abounding in golden lotuses have you painted on the top of this mountain which rises high in gradual ascent? Here are lovely groves all round on its banks. Here strolling on its golden sands and surrounded with her female friends is this maidenly figure of such matchless beauty, so perfectly painted (सम्यगभिलिखिता) with the combination of colours properly arranged (यथोचितमवस्थापितवर्णसमुदाया), and the light and shade effects distinctly reproduced (प्रकाशित-व्यक्त-निम्नोन्नत-विभाग). Look at the winged birds and pairs of deer, activated into life at being disturbed by her attendants (साक्षात् सचेतनानीव प्रकाशितानि). In many a proper place are painted figures of female attendants all intent on their duties. Crowning above all, in the centre of the sky is the lunar orb shining in full glory on a full-moon night. Following her closely with a golden cane in hand is her betel-bearer, now warding off the officious cranes, then offering a betel-leaf in her open palm. In short, whatever painted form I see here, adds to the beauty of the

painting' (किं बहुना, यद्यदवलोक्यते तत्तत्सर्वमपि रूपमस्य चित्रपटस्य चारुता-प्रकर्षहेतुः, p. 166).

'Only one flaw do I notice in it—the absence of a single male form in the whole composition leaves its beauty rather incomplete. But that can even now be remedied and you may still have chance to demonstrate your comprehensive mastery of this art.' The painter takes the cue and rising to the occasion offers to paint the Prince himself to complete the picture. At this stage he reveals identity of the painted beauty—she is Tilakamañjarī herself, daughter of the great Vidyādhara, lord Cakrasena. She, having remained unmoved by the pangs of love in her youth, had declined to marry, till at last her mother thought of a strategem to be realised through her friend Citralekhā. The mother says, 'Thou art so skilled in brush work, O Citralekhā, and thy friend Tilakamañjarī is so fond of looking at pictures (चित्रदर्शनानुरागिणी). Why not show her, gradually starting from the pictures of her near ones, the true likenesses (विहरूपाणि) of all the beautiful princes in the land, each named individually (यथास्वमङ्कितानि नामभिः), and recount in glowing terms their virtues and beauty?' The suggestion is at once accepted and wise Citralekhā deputes skilled masters in all directions (तदैव क्षणे विसर्जिताः सर्वदिक्षु दक्षाश्चित्रकर्मणि).

Her own son Gandharvaka, a youth of fifteen years and highly accomplished in the art of painting, is sent on a special mission to Suvelagiri in Siṁhala, and it is on his way that the youth finds himself in the presence of the Prince with the excellent portrait of the prospective heroine described above. While promising to add the male figure of the Prince in the picture as best as he could, the painter makes the significant remark:

चित्तैकाग्रतातिशयनिर्वर्तनीयचित्रम्

i.e. only with extreme concentration of mind can a successful picture be painted (p. 171).

The description of the चित्रपट in the *Udayasundarīkathā* (first-half of 11th century) furnishes some interesting terms.

The scroll is simply called पट which confirms the evidence of the *Medini* in recording पट as a well-understood synonym of चित्रपट. The picture was rolled in the form of a scroll which was significantly called a कुडलितपट. It consisted of more than one piece of cloth as, on opening it (उद्वेलन), the king detected a seam or joining line between the first and the second piece—

अये सन्धानरेखया मेलित इवापरोऽयमुपलक्ष्यते पट इति कुतूहलात सर्वमुद्वेल्य, p. 52.

The first canvas contained a portrait of the king himself and the second that of a beautiful princess who was to be his future queen. The picture belonged to the king's commander-in-chief (सेनापति पंचालसिंह) who constantly possessed it for a specific purpose, *viz.*, to use as a ध्यानपट.

Here we have an important word which must have been used to denote a painted cloth bearing religious figures of deities whom the devotee worshipped. The pictures of Gaurī and Mahālakṣmī on painted cloth referred to in the *Skānda Purāṇa* as shown above must have been of the nature of *Dhyānapaṭas*. The background of the scroll was white (धवलितपट and सितप्रभासंभारशालीपट), and on it several colours were used in executing the picture (प्रपञ्चितानेकवर्णा चित्रगता युवति). The outline picture is called रेखामयीमूर्ति, and the sketching of the form in fine line सुरेख वपुस्.

It appears that the verb लिख् was used more often for sketching or for outline drawing (केनैतत् लिखितं). The compound colours were probably meant by the term वर्णकोष in the preparation of which some liquid was used. Reference is also found to the use of non-coloured ink (अमलमषी) in painting the forelocks (कुन्तलसंहति), probably the use of silver and gold colours met with in miniature paintings of the Apabhraṁśa period (11th-15th century).

The beautiful coloured designs on the floor were given the technical name of रंगावली (modern रंगोली). The word occurs

both in the *Yaśastilakacampū* of Somadeva (10th century, Vol. I, 133, 350, 369, Vol. II, 247) and the *Udayasundarīkathā* (11th century) In the latter, the city of Indīvara is compared, first with a set of रंगावली designs sketched on the floor of the earth (रङ्गावली वलयमिव प्राङ्गणासुव:) and second with a picture painted on a wall (चित्रमिव भित्ते:). The latter simile is suggestive of the fact that sometimes whole cities were represented in paintings on walls, specimens of which are still preserved in the wall-paintings inside the Amber palace of Raja Mansingh depicting both Benares and Ayodhya as they stood in the 16th century.

Somadeva on the other hand refers to designs worked permanently on the floor by fixing coloured stones in patterns रंगवल्लीमणीन्. The background was known as परभाग and, in one passage, Somadeva refers to the devising of appropriate backgrounds to set off the *Raṅgavallī* designs (रंगवल्लीपरभागकल्पनम् *Yaśastilakacampū*, Vol. II, 247).

THE *SVAPNA*—EPISODE IN THE *SVAPNA-VĀSAVADATTA*

AN ESSAY IN APPRECIATION

BY

DR. R. N. DANDEKAR

AMONG Sanskrit dramas the *Svapnavāsavadatta* (*Sv.*), generally ascribed to Bhāsa, occupies a very high place. The central thème of the drama has a universal appeal, and, the story of Udayana (U.) and Vāsavadattā (Vā.), through which that theme is presented, has all along proved a perennial source of delight to Indian audiences. Its plot is not very complicated, and is unfolded through a few dramatically effective situations. The author has made ample and clever use of various sources of dramatic interest, such as conflict, external and psychological, suspense and surprise. He has no where lost sight of the unity of purpose in the drama. Naturalness, realism, suggestiveness and dramatic irony are the conspicuous features of the dramatist's art as exhibited in this drama. He has scrupulously eschewed petty court-intrigues and vulgar adventures, which are commonly associated with the Udayana-legends, and has uniformly maintained the high level of the plot. Though, in the other plays attributed to Bhāsa, greater attention is paid to plot than to characterisation, in the *Sv.* the case is the reverse. Here situations are for characters and not characters for situations. And the one character round which the main dramatic situations in the *Sv.* are presented, namely, Vā., is one of the grandest female characters in Sanskrit dramatic literature.

It is therefore thoroughly understandable that ancient rhetoricians should have offered high tributes of praise to the author of this drama.

Out of the several episodes in the *Sv.*, the most important is of course the *Svapna*-episode in the fifth act The very title of the drama clearly shows this. It is also indicated by the special efforts which the poet seems to have made for the presentation of that episode. Among the dramatic motifs commonly employed in Sanskrit plays, such as, a play within a play, restoration of the dead to life, intoxication on the stage as a humorous device or for developing the plot, the use of letters and epistles, etc., the dream-motif must be considered, for obvious reasons, to be the most difficult of portrayal. But a critical analysis of the *Svapna*-episode in the *Sv.* will clearly show that the author of this drama has succeeded remarkably well in his task.

The *kārya* of the *Sv.* is twofold: firstly and primarily, the portrayal of Vā.'s noble sacrifice for the sake of her lord; and secondly and subsidiarily, the recovery, by U., of the Vatsa country, which he had lost to Āruṇi, the king of Pāñcāla. We are concerned here mainly with the central theme. In the first three acts of the *Sv.*, the self-abnegation of noble Vā. has been represented with all its sublime pathos. It seems to be the view of the author that Vā. should personally enjoy the reward for her sacrifice. For, according to him, it is almost a law of nature that no real sacrifice should go unrewarded. Vā. also must get the reward for herself, though, in her magnanimity, she herself might feel that, in the happiness of U. and the people of Vatsa, she was more than fully rewarded. The personal reward for Vā. would be twofold: psychological and practical. In the bifocal scene in the fourth act of the *Sv.*, the King proclaims to Vidūṣaka (Vi.) his undying love for Vā. Padmāvatī (P.), he adds, commands his respect and esteem, but she has not been able to wean his heart from Vā., on whom it is firmly set.[1] Vā., disguised as

[1] IV. 4.

Āvantikā, overhears this and exclaims in contentment: *dattam vetanam asya parikhedasya.* What greater reward can a wife expect than to know that, even after his second marriage, her husband continues to love her with the same old sincerity? Vā. is happy to know that she has been made immortal by U.'s love for her.[1] This may be called the psychological reward of Vā.'s sacrifice. But the author of the drama does not want to stop only here. He wants that Vā.'s sacrifice should be crowned with an actual reward as well, namely, in the form of her reunion with U. Vatsarāja Acts 5 and 6 in the *Sv.* are therefore devoted to this second kind of reward. The construction of the plot of the drama, from the point of view of the central theme, may therefore be demonstrated as follows: Acts 1 to 3:—Vā.'s noble sacrifice; act 4:—psychological reward for the sacrifice; acts 5 and 6:—actual reward for the sacrifice. The *Svapna*-episode in the fifth act may be said to be preparing the ground for the final reunion between Vā. and U.

Before we proceed to the critical analysis of the *Svapna*-episode, we have to note that this whole episode is the original creation of the poet himself. There is not the faintest trace of it in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, which is the principal source of most Udayana-legends. The credit for the success of the episode therefore entirely belongs to the poet. We shall consider this episode under three main heads: the background of the episode; the actual episode; and the dramatic consequences of the episode. To begin with, the first thing that strikes us is the fact that the author seems to have fully realised that the preparation of adequate background is very essential for the effective portrayal of a dramatic episode. As a matter of fact, in the present case, he has perhaps paid greater attention to the background than to the episode itself. The whole *praveśaka* at the beginning of the fifth act and a major portion of the act itself have been devoted by him to the preparation of the background. This background is

[1] Cf. I. 13.

prepared in two directions: psychological and external. The dream, as contemplated by the author, is a natural, logical, and almost inevitable, result of the mental condition of U., the dreamer, and the surroundings of the place, which have been here indicated in great detail.

One of the essential conditions of the *Svapna*-episode is that U. and Vā. should come together. It wasnot possible that they would come together of their own accord. U. for his part is convinced that Vā. is burnt in the fire of Lāvāṇaka.[1] And though Vā. knows about U.'s presence in the palace of Dars'aka, where she too is living as companion to P., she, in her disguise as Āvantikā, avoids, for obvious reasons, the sight of strangers.[2] How then could they be brought together? The poet has employed a very ingenious device for this purpose. P.'s illness was the only way to bring these two together. Both U. and Vā. were greatly attached to P. When therefore the news of P.'s illness[3] was independently communicated to each of them, both of them were bound to hasten to the side of P.'s sick-bed. We have to notice further the significance of the place where P.'s bed was reported to have been arranged, namely the *Samudragṛhaka* (SG.). The SG. must have been a quiet and an out-of-the-way part of the royal palace, where there was no likelihood of any outside disturbance. There would not be many people over there coming in and going out. Such a secluded place was best suited for a patient. It also suited very well the dream-episode as contemplated by the dramatist. The privacy which was necessary for the

[1] In this respect the author of *Sv.* has effected a change in the original story in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, wherein U. is represented to have gone to Dars'aka's capital and married P., knowing full well, all the time, that Vā. was still living. The dramatic significance of this change, particularly for the characterisation of U., is quite obvious.

[2] Cf. अम्मो, परपुरुषदर्शनं परिहरत्यार्या । Act. I; आर्ये, तव कारणादार्यपुत्रदर्शनं परिहरामि । Act. IV; प्रोषितभर्तृका परपुरुषदर्शनं परिहरति । Act. VI.

[3] Is the illness of P. due to her discomfiture? In the bifocal scene in the fourth act, U. had announced, in P.'s hearing, that she has not been able to wean his heart from Vā. cf. IV. 4.

purpose would be easily available there. The two facts mentioned above, namely, P.'s illness and the selection of the SG., are two important aspects of the external or factual background. The author then turns to indicate, through a few casual remarks, the mental condition of U. The mood of U. as represented in the fourth act is one of desolation and sorrow.[1] We know from the speech of Vi. in the *praveśaka*[2] that U.'s marriage with P. and the general atmosphere of gaiety associated with the ceremony have fanned the fire of love in his heart and made it blaze all the more fiercely. When the King enters on the stage at the beginning of the fifth act we find him brooding over Vā. and her fate. It is thus made clear that U.'s marriage with P., instead of taking him farther away from the thoughts about Vā., has produced, in his heart, strong passion for her. The stanza[3] wherein this fact is indicated clearly presupposes a long period of such brooding. It is hardly necessary to dilate upon the significance of this mood of the King for the dream-episode. We further see that, under the constant weight of sorrow, U. has grown exceedingly sensitive. This is suggested in a very natural way. When told about P.'s illness, U. gets almost panicky and expresses the fear that P., his new consort, also might go the same way as Vā.[4] This extreme sensitiveness, which is quite natural in a man who suffers as U. has suffered, and which is brought out by the poet in a very natural manner, is a very favourable background for dream. For, men, under such circumstances, become easy victims of dream.

The dramatist now again turns to the external surroundings. When U. and Vi. are about to enter the SG., Vi. suddenly steps back because he sees a serpent creeping

[1] IV. 6.

[2] Cf. अथ खलु देवीवियोगविधुरहृदयस्य तत्रभवतो वत्सराजस्य पद्मावतीपाणिग्रहणसमीर्प-णोऽत्यन्तसुखावहे मङ्गलोत्सवे मदनाग्निदाहोऽधिकतरं वर्धते । Act. V.

[3] V. 1.

[4] V. 2.

sinuously on the floor. On a careful observation, however, the King discovers that what Vi. takes to be a serpent is nothing other than the wreath of the frontal arch, that has fallen on the ground and is being tossed by the gentle breeze at night[1] A very ingenious suggestion is hereby made regarding the poor visibility of the SG. where P. is reported to be lying ill. And the beauty of it all is that it has been made in a very casual manner—without any trace of artificiality or far-fetchedness about it. We can easily understand that the sick-room should be only dimly lighted. As will be seen later, this detail about the SG., though indicated very casually, is of great significance for the main episode. We have also to note, in this connection, the dramatic suggestiveness of this incident. The illusion of the serpent on the part of Vi. is dramatically suggestive of the greater illusion that is to come, namely, U.'s dream. On entering the SG., the King finds to his dismay that P. had not come there at all. The bed was undisturbed, and the sheet was unruffled, and the spotless pillow did not bear any stains of the medicine which must have been applied to P.'s head.[2] Vi. therefore suggests that he should rest, for a while, on the bed prepared for P. and await her arrival. U. agrees to do so.[3] As we know, he was already very much worried on account of his own sorry plight. Even then, perhaps against his will, he must have been required to attend a round of formal functions in the palace of Darśaka, whose esteemed guest he was.[4] Naturally enough he must be feeling quite exhausted, physically and mentally. When therefore, on that evening, in that quiet dimly-lighted place like the SG., he lay on the comfortable bed, it is quite understandable that sleep should begin to overcome him.

[1] V. 3.

[2] V. 4.

[3] It is strange that, having known that P. was ill and not finding her in the SG., U., instead of trying to find out where she was lying ill, agrees to wait for her in the SG.

[4] Cf. सत्कारो हि नाम सत्कारेण प्रतीष्टः प्रीतिमुत्पादयति । Act. IV.

Everything unmistakably tended to induce sleep. This sleepiness on U.'s part is, as may be easily realised, a necessary preliminary for dream. In order, however, to ward off sleep and to keep awake, the King asks Vi. to tell him some story. It is the normal duty of Vi. to amuse the King Vi. begins his story with the mention of the city of Ujjain and the beautiful bathing pools in that city. As soon as the word, Ujjain, was uttered, the reminiscences of his youthful adventures with Vā., in that city, instantly flashed before U.'s mind's eye. He remembered Vā.'s mixed feelings at the time of their elopement—her love for her own people was keeping her back, while her infatuation for U. was impelling her to take the headlong step.[1] He also remembered how, in the course of her music lessons, Vā. fixed her gaze on him, and how, with the bow slipped off from her hand, she used to play in the air.[2] These memories of the happy past made U. very uneasy. Vi. therefore left his first story unfinished and started another. He began to tell of the city, *Brahmadatta*, and its king, *Kāmpilya*. This funny interchange of names was quite in keeping with the character of Vi. The King corrects him by pointing out to him that the king's name was *Brahmadatta* and his capital was *Kāmpilya*. Before proceeding, Vi. wants to get this correction of names fixed in his mind. And so, in order to learn it by heart, in a deep humming voice, he repeats the phrase—*rājā Brahmadattaḥ nagaram Kāmpilyam*—over and over again. This monotonous drone only helps to increase the sleepiness of U. and ultimately induces in him complete sleep. Apart from the humour created by Vi.'s funny interchange of names, two facts are worth noting in this simple incident. Firstly, the mention of the city of Ujjain and its swimming pools aroused in U.'s mind the memories of his youthful adventures with Vā. They were thus the last predominant impressions on U.'s sensitive mind before he actually

[1] V. 5.
[2] V. 6.

dropped to sleep. And it was the thought of these adventures, which entered his half-sleepy mind, that was later revived in the form of a dream. The dramatist hereby shows his expert knowledge of dream-psychology. Secondly this simple incident of story-telling is introduced in the natural course of things. It has not got the appearance of being artificially thrust into the context. Further the fact that the device employed to ward off sleep should, instead of doing so, enhance the King's sleepiness is also a great source of dramatic interest. Here too we see the casualness of the whole incident.

The background is thus very cleverly prepared for the actual dream-episode. No single detail in this connection has been overlooked by the poet. Given the mental condition of U. and the external surroundings of the SG., as described by the dramatist so minutely in this scene, the dream, which is to be presented hereafter, was but a natural and logical next step. When Vi. finds that the King has fallen asleep, he goes out to fetch his quilt as the night was rather cold.[1] This casual reference serves two purposes. The exit of Vi. leaves the sleeping King alone on the stage. And this was necessary for bringing together U. and Vā. in privacy. This reference to the cold night also seems to suggest that U. must have, in the meanwhile, covered himself with the bed sheet completely—even over his face.

In the *praveśaka* we have seen the Ceṭī going to Vā. to convey to her the news of P.'s illness. They two now hasten to the SG. The Ceṭī however soon goes away to fetch the medicine for P. The exit of the Ceṭī, like that of Vi. a little earlier, is quite natural and dramatically significant. The very first remark, which Vā. makes, when she is alone, amply testifies to the nobility of her character. She is not thinking of her own pitiable plight. She is more concerned with the health of P. and the happiness of U. She feels greatly worried at this sudden illness of P., for, P., instead of being a

[1] Cf. अतिशीतलेयं वेला । आत्मनः प्रावारकं गृहीत्वागमिष्यामि । Act. V.

source of consolation to U. in his desolate condition, would now cause him great anxiety.

In a state of uneasy excitement Vā. approaches the bed of the patient. She finds that only a dim light kept ailing P. company.[1] There was no occasion for her to suspect that the person lying on the bed was any other than P. Further, on account of her own mental agony and excitement, the poor visibility of the room, and the fact, which is suggested above, namely, that the king had covered himself with the sheet over the face, it would indeed not have been possible for her to know the truth. The patient was sleeping; therefore, in order not to disturb her, Vā. sits away from the bed. But on second thought she feels that such aloofness, on her part, would mean that she regarded P. to be a stranger. Therefore she goes nearer and sits on the bed itself. Every thought which Vā. expresses in this context and the corresponding action which she takes are perfectly natural and clearly indicate the ingenuity of the poet. When Vā. sits on the bed she experiences some unusual thrill.[2] The suggestiveness of this her feeling is quite patent. She observes that the patient was breathing evenly (and there was no reason why the King's breathing should have been otherwise!) and therefore feels assured that P. was feeling better. We have to imagine that, in his sleep, U. had turned on one side—quite a natural movement—and was now occupying only a part of the bed. Vā. however thought that P. had purposely left that part of the bed for her to lie upon. She interpreted that circumstance as an invitation to her from her dear P. to sleep by her side in a close friendly embrace. In view of the very cordial and almost sisterly relations that had developed between P. and Vā., one is not at all surprised at the fact that Vā. eagerly responds to that invitation. Indeed one hardly expects Vā. to feel and do otherwise. This

[1] Cf. अहो परिजनस्य प्रमादः । अस्वस्थां पद्मावतीं केवलं दीपसहायां कृत्वा परित्यजति । Act. V.

[2] Cf. किं नु खल्वेतया सहोपविशन्त्याश्च प्रह्लादितमिव मे हृदयम् । Act. V.

There are even then occasional 'lapses', but they only help to emphasise her humanness. And it is this fully developed aspect of her character that makes it possible for the author to keep Vā. and U together for the duration of the dream.

The dream itself does not last long. As a matter of fact no dream is normally said to last long As one can reasonably expect, in his dream, U. sees Vā. But she was standing away from him. She was not wearing any ornaments and seemed to refuse to speak to him. Some features of this dream-episode are specially to be noticed. We have to note that three characters take part in this episode, though only two are actually seen on the stage. They are the dreaming King, the real Vā., and the Svapna-Vā. When U. sees Svapna-Vā., he calls her by her name—*hā Vāsavadatte.* There is no answer. He again calls out —*hā Avantirājaputri.* Again no answer. He further entreats her. O darling! O dear pupil !! answer me !!! And still there was no response. U. begins to wonder—of course in his dream—why Vā. should refuse to speak to him. She must be angry, though she does not say so. Why otherwise has she abandoned her ornaments? Has she by any chance again remembered the old Viracikā-affair? It has been already pointed out that the material for U.'s dream would naturally be supplied by the final impressions which he received in his half-sleepy condition. These impressions centred round his youthful adventures. One of the incidents of those blissful days of old, the impression of which must have once been very deep in U.'s mind, but which was, in course of time, relegated to his subconscious mind, is now revived. U. was by nature a very romantic person. During the early days of his married life with Vā., he had, in his youthful enthusiasm, made some overtures to Viracikā, a dainty maid in their service. Perhaps he did this only to tease his dear young wife. But Vā. took it very seriously. She abandoned all her ornaments in protest and declared a no-speech strike against her lover. When therefore U., in his

dream, sees Vā. in a similar condition, he wonders whether she was reminded of that sorry affair. Apart from the naturalness of its occurrence, from the psychological point of view, the Viracikā-affair has helped the dramatist to bring about a clever correspondence between the dream-world and the actual facts. In the dreamland, Vā., perhaps being reminded of the Viracikā-affair, refuses to have anything to do with U. She even refuses to go near him. In actual life also Vā. has kept herself away from U. The Svapna-Vā. was without ornaments, because she had abandoned them in protest against the former misbehaviour of U. The real Vā. also was unadorned as she was disguised as Āvantikā—a woman whose husband has gone away on a journey. Ladies who are *proṣitabhartṛkā* are forbidden to wear ornaments. The Svapna-Vā. refused to speak to U. In actual life also, though Vā. was replying to U.'s remarks, the dreaming U. could not hear her.

We have also to note, in this connection, the very clever arrangement of speeches in this scene. U. is addressing Svapna-Vā. The real Vā. realises this, but, in those peculiar circumstances, she forgets it almost entirely. She therefore actually responds to U.'s words as if they were addressed to her. Vā.'s remarks could not naturally be heard by U. but he continues to speak to Svapna-Vā. in such a manner as would suggest that he had really heard the real Vā.'s words. When the King asks Svapna-Vā. whether she was reminded of the Viracikā-affair, the real Vā., being a very human character, feels greatly annoyed. The real Vā. is thus angry at the mention of the Viracikā-affair by U. even in his dream. The Svapna-Vā. was angry because, as U. believed, in his dream, she was reminded of the Viracikā-affair. Here the correspondence between the dream and the actual life becomes complete.[1] Like a gallant lover, U., in his dream,

[1] Some critics may object to the introduction, by the author, of the Viracikā-affair in this otherwise pathetic scene. They would argue that it ill suits the prevailing sentiment and definitely lowers U. in our estimation. This objection can be partly justified. But has this affair not

stretches out his arms in a gesture of apologising to Svapna-Vā. But we see that, in real life too, sleeping U.'s hands are stretched out and are dropping out of the bed. The dream-action has produced a corresponding reflex action in real life. This is a clever stroke of the author's ingenuity It indicates that U. is now passing through the transition from the dream-condition to the waking-condition By this time the real Vā. had become conscious that she had tarried perhaps too long and was afraid that she might be seen in U.'s company. So she prepares to go away. But before she actually goes away —and here again the dramatist gives a homely touch to the whole episode—she softly approaches the bed and properly replaces on it U.'s hand, which was hanging down. Then she quickly hastens out. This is again one of the many instances of the naturalness of the dramatic action in *Sv.* and of the humanness of Vā.'s character.

The touch of Vā.'s hand thrills the King. He takes it to be an assurance from the angry Svapna-Vā. that she has pardoned him. But that touch also awakened him from his sleep almost unknowingly. In U.'s mind indeed there was no clear distinction between sleep and wakefulness—between dream and reality. He was taking his entire experience to be real and a uniform whole. Was the touch of Vā.'s hand not real? And was he not still actually experiencing the thrill of it? In his half-sleepy half-wakeful condition he sees Vā. (from our point of view the real Vā., but, from the King's point of view, the Vā., whom he had been addressing so long) hurriedly going out of the chamber. Thoroughly excited he follows her crying out: *Vāsavadatte tiṣṭha tiṣṭha.* He is struck by the panel of the door while rushing out after Vā. and is completely awakened. There was now no Vā. to be seen. Was it all then a dream? It cannot be, for he

helped to bring about the dramatically effective correspondence between the dream-world and the actual life? Is it not natural from the psychological point of view? And was not U. inherently a romantic adventurer? His present pathetic condition was only incidental. In a dream, the real character of a man subconsciously comes to the forefront.

still felt on his body the thrill of Vā.'s touch. And did he not see Vā. going out of the chamber? But it must have been after all a dream! He was rudely awakened on account of his impact against the door-panel. Did it not indicate that he was not quite wakeful till then? The illusion is thus perfectly maintained. When he later narrates the episode to Vi., the latter argues that the King's experience must have been a dream, and offers a rational explanation for it by pointing out that the thought of Vā. and the bathing pools must have occasioned the dream. How can he see Vā., who was burnt to death, long ago, in the fire at Lāvānaka? Or perhaps the King has seen the fairy called Avantisundarī who was reported to be haunting the SG. But U. is not satisfied by any of these explanations. Granting that the earlier part of his experience was a dream, U. still felt sure that, in his half-awakened condition, he had actually seen Vā.'s face with its long loose tresses of hair and collyriumless eyes.[1] And, he asked, Vi. how could Vā.'s touch in a dream produce a thrill of joy in real life—a thrill which he still experienced?[2] The dramatic beauty of the Svapna-episode lies in the fact that U. is left undecided as to whether what he saw was dream or reality!

One of the dramatic consequences of this episode was that new hope was now created in U.'s mind that Vā. might still be living. Till now he had fully believed in the rumours about the death of Vā. and Yaugandharāyaṇa. This episode may therefore be said to be preparing the King, psychologically, for the final reunion. Additional weight is given to his hope by the discovery of the *ghoṣavatī vīṇā*, which was invariably associated with the romance of Vā. and U. This episode has also to be regarded as a symbolic indication of things to come. It represents a reunion between U. and Vā.—a reunion which was but temporary and illusory. What the drama ultimately aims at is a permanent and real reunion!

[1] V. 10.
[2] V. 11.

ĀTMA-HITA

BY

PROFESSOR F. W. THOMAS

IN Monier Williams' *Sanskrit Dictionary* the expression *ātma-hita* is given in its proper place, among the compounds of *ātman*, meaning 'beneficial to one's own self' and, as a noun, 'one's own profit or advantage.' As a head-word it is not entered in the St. Petersburg Lexicon, but under *hita* some occurrences of it are cited. The occurrences do not seem in general to countenance exactly the meaning 'one's own profit or advantage', but rather, as one would independently prefer, that of 'one's own good'. The word *hita*, originally signifying 'adapted', 'suitable', had in the late Vedic period acquired the sense of 'serviceable', 'beneficial', in denotation of things and of 'well-intentioned', 'friendly' when applied to persons. Its antithesis to *priya*, 'dear', 'liked', is apparent in the compound *priya-hita* and very explicit in such passages as (*Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, ed. Shamasastry, p. 39)—

> prajāsukhe sukhaṃ rājñaḥ prajānāṃ ca hite hitam ।
> nātmapriyaṃ hitaṃ rājñaḥ prajānāṃ tu priyaṃ hitam ॥

> 'In the people's happiness is a king's happiness and in the people's good his good:
> Not what is dear to himself is a king's good, but what is dear to the people is his good'.

With this sense, and with the tacit antithesis to *priya* the word *hita* was excellently suited for use by the givers of good advice, public or private, and it figures in the title of the

famous *Hitopadeśa*, 'Good Counsel', ethical and practical. It would be hard to believe that there has ever been a human group in which individuals have not been advised for their own good; but the bestowal of such advice in cases where it is expected to be unpalatable, and perhaps perilous to the giver, constitutes a more complex situation. The adviser must give some reason for his at times rather aggressive action, and, the only plausible ones being benevolence and duty, these were fitted to become 'stock' both in life and in literature. In the India of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* the most obvious or common of such situations imitated, of course, in later literature, are those of the minister proffering unwelcome advice in the royal council and the envoy delivering a caustic or defiant communication to a foreign court. The *hita* is here rarely wanting, and it seems hardly accidental that most of the citations of it in association with *ātman* are from those two poems.

The expression 'one's own good' (*ātma-hita*) seems usually to have a common sense value, in which it may sometimes, in fact, not be far removed from 'one's own advantage'. Thus in the Nala story of the *Mahābhārata* (III, v. 2316 = *Nalopākhyāna*, IX. 20) the hero, hinting to his wife the advisability of parting from her unfortunate husband, says—

> vaiṣamyaṃ paramaṃ prāpto duḥkhito gatacetanaḥ ।
> bhartā te'haṃ nibodhedaṃ vacanaṃ hitam ātmanaḥ ॥

> 'Fallen into utter ruin, sorrowful and distraught,
> Am I, your husband: mark what I now say for your
> own good'.

and in V. 343 (II. 2) Nahuṣa, approached by the gods and Ṛṣis with a proposal that he should become their king, demurs for prudential reasons—

> parīpsan hitam ātmanaḥ

> 'seeking to ensure his own good',

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 63. 28, Indra, fearing to be supplanted by Viśvāmitra, summoned the Apsaras Rambhā, and—

> uvācātmahitaṃ vākyam ahitaṃ Kauśikasya ca |
>
> 'spoke words good for himself, not good for Kauśika'.

The expression 'self-good', composed of two variables and so open to a large number of interpretations, might, one would suppose, have been taken up in the Upanisad discussions, so rich in discriminations of selves, and their goods; and indeed the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* does record (3 1) an inquiry as to what is best (*hitatama*) for a man, addressed to Indra, whose reply is 'to know me'. But *ātma-hita* does not occur, nor does *ātma-śreyas*, although in the Upanisad literature *śreyas* becomes the preferential word for 'good', used for instance in the famous 'Choice of Hercules' passage of the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* (II. 1), where it is said that—

> 'Better (*śreyas*) is one thing, pleasanter (*preyas* 'dearer'), again another'

and 'better' holds the field not only against 'dear and dear-seeming desires' (*priyān priyarūpāṃś ca kāmān*) but also as preferred to 'gain and security' (*yogakṣema*).

It may be that *śreyas*, originally the socially 'higher' or more distinguished, never lost its connotation of grade. Though in the *Katha Upaniṣad* the 'higher' or 'better' is knowledge (*vidyā*) and in other passages it may be the high status of dwellers in heaven; and though in the *Mahābhārata* Nala can ask (X. 10)

> 'Is death the 'better' (*śreyas*) for me, or desertion of my kindred?'

yet in the same epic (V. 742-3) king Dhṛtarāṣṭra is said to see and hear only 'better', sc. superior, figures and music, and to have only 'superior' garlands, scents, unguents and dress. Hence with the clarification of the conception of the ultimate 'Self' (*ātman*), beyond all gradation or comparison, the

expression *ātma-śreyas* would be felt as incongruous: only in the form negating anything superior (*niḥśreyasa*) does the term become applicable at times to the unconditioned *ātman*. For *hita*, the 'good', there was clearly no place in the refined notion of the Self, beyond good and evil. Even the originally contemned *priya*, 'dear', 'pleasant', acquired more recognition in a doctrine which discovered in the *ātman*, as *ānanda*, 'bliss', the ultimate basis of all delight.

Confined to the commonsense sphere of normal 'own good', *ātma-hita* maintained itself in later ethical literature: its correlate, *parahita*, 'others' good', occurs even in some personal names. With the Buddhists, aspiring on all occasions for the 'good and happiness' (*hita-sukha*) of all beings, *ātmahita* may, especially with the spread of the Bodhisattva doctrine, have been shunned as insufficiently altruistic: at least this impression is received from the few occurrences in Pali and from a notice concerning its Chinese rendering (*A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, by Soothill and Hodous, p. 218b). This lends interest to the appeal addressed by the relatively ancient poet, Aśvaghoṣa (Tibetan translation, *Indian Antiquary*, 1903, p. 357) to the Emperor Kaniṣka—

> 'Therefore so long as he (sc. Death), whose patience is in no large measure, has not shot forth his irresistible, unavoidable shaft, so long give heed to your own concern (*ātmārtha* ?)'

Evidently here, in accordance with the whole tenour of the text, the emperor is exhorted to consider his own spiritual or moral, but not doctrinally definite, good.

In the comparative early literature represented by the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and also in the *Manusmṛti*, one has the impression that *ātma-hita* was not only commonplace, but also originally a *bon-mot*. Possibly a like impression is conveyed by a familiar passage in the *Oedipus Coloneus* (II. 308-9) of Sophocles, where the old blinded

wanderer, on being informed that the king of the country, Theseus, is coming to consider his case, says—

> 'Well, may his coming be fortunate, both for his own city
> And for me. For what good man is not to himself a friend?'

It seems always to have been recognized that the idea latent between the two sentences is 'I need not say "and to himself"': and that here 'a friend' (*philos*) means, as the Scholiast observes, 'of service', 'beneficial' (*chresimos*) rather than 'dear', though on both alternatives the upshot is the same, appears from the epithet in 'good man', since simply loving oneself may be even more inevitable in the case of the not-good. The goodness of the king, politely assumed by the refugee on the ground of his willingness to inquire personally into the situation, is to redound to his own benefit. One does not, however, see how the benefit, which was, the refugee was aware, to accrue to the land of the latter's last resting place, would be, moreover, personal to its king: and this seems to favour the interpretation to the effect that 'the king needs no personal benefit, since goodness is its own reward'.

Is it possible that some time in the 5th century B.C. a saying, mainly ethical, about attending to 'one's own good' went the round of the civilized world? If so, it might be adducible from other early literatures.